

Verwoerd Speaks

H. J. Verward.

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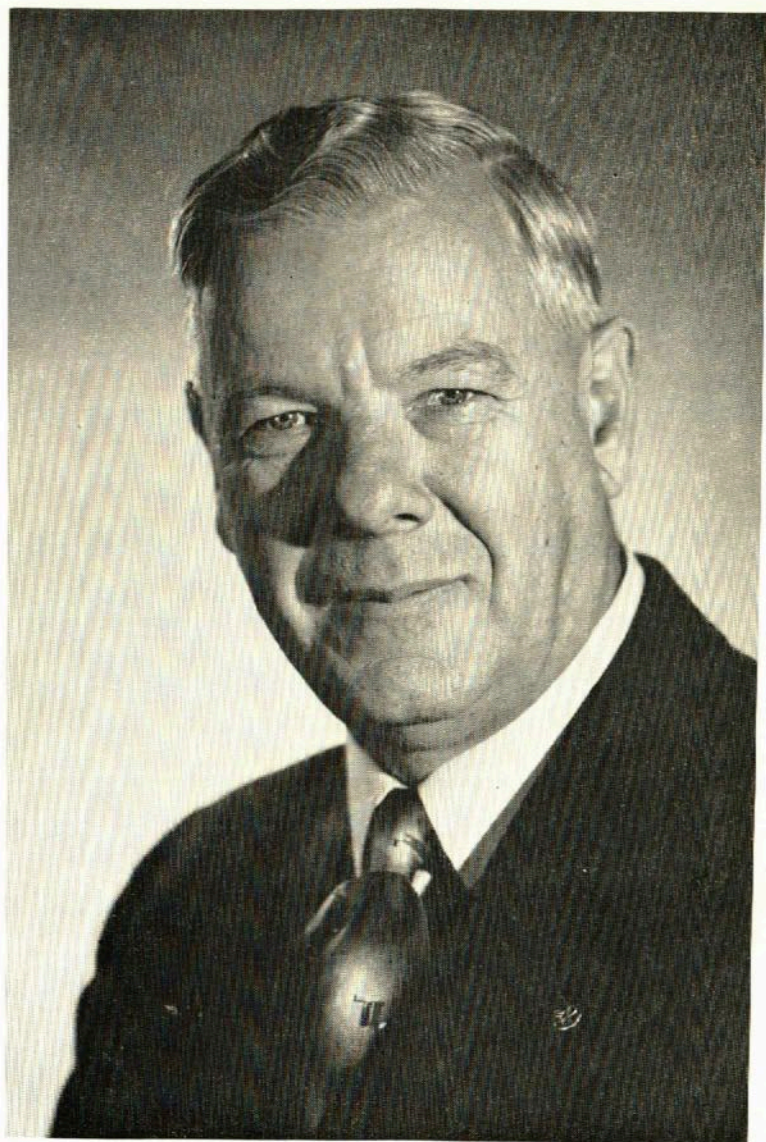
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Dr. H. F. Verwoerd

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Speeches 1948-1966

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All the speeches contained in this volume with the exception of his Republic Day Speech on May 31, 1966 have been edited by the late Dr. Verwoerd himself.

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Information

The collection of speeches presented here are some of those made by Dr. H. F. Verwoerd from September 2nd, 1958, the date on which he became Prime Minister, to the end of 1962. Although the emphasis falls on the period in which he was Prime Minister, some of his other more important speeches have also been included. These were made before September, 1958 and illustrate in particular the evolution of his policy of separate development.

For several reasons no attempt has been made to publish all Dr. Verwoerd's speeches, the chief being his practice of unfolding his thoughts to his listeners almost conversationally, without the use of a manuscript or even short notes. Because of this, written copies of the numerous speeches made by him in the past years exist only in rare cases. Fortunately the S.A.B.C. has fairly complete recordings of his non-parliamentary speeches of more or less official character or purely cultural nature, and it has been comparatively easy to obtain copies of these.

In some other cases, when Dr. Verwoerd delivered speeches on invitation, provision was made for tape recordings.

However, this was not always done, and a great number of Dr. Verwoerd's speeches have been lost completely. The chief culprit in this respect is the National Party itself. Of the dozens of speeches delivered by Dr. Verwoerd at party congresses, party rallies and other gatherings of a purely party political nature, only a few at the most were retained.

Many tape recordings of speeches which are the only copies in existence, are technically faulty or badly recorded, with the result that they could not be used. In a few cases, available speeches were not used because the occasion was solely of local importance.

Absolutely no attempt has been made here to reconstruct with the use of press and other reports, speeches made by the Prime Minister which have not been kept fully intact. No matter how complete such secondary reports have been, it has been proved quite impossible to interpret Dr. Verwoerd's original line of thought purely by using the reports. Because the spoken word, especially with someone like Dr. Verwoerd — who talked without notes — does not always follow the constructional demands of the written word, the speeches published here have been corrected, but in such a way that the content has not been changed.

The parliamentary speeches of Dr. Verwoerd are of particular

importance concerning political policy. A selection of this group of speeches has also been made and only those in which central points of policy come to the fore have been published. Although verbatim official reports of all parliamentary speeches are published, it has nevertheless been found necessary to correct them. The parts which are more or less of passing value have been omitted as well as interjections, except where they are necessary for a better conception of what follows.

One would have preferred to present the speeches in thematical classification. However, due to Dr. Verwoerd's habit of drawing more than one subject into a speech, and sometimes paying attention to a great number of diverse subjects, the application of this principle would have resulted in the speeches being cut to pieces and made altogether unrecognizable. To counteract these difficulties a purely chronological classification has been decided on. For the reader's benefit, an index published at the end of the book will be a most effective method of orientating the different themes dealt with in Dr. Verwoerd's speeches.

Since the speeches published were made in both official languages, it has been necessary to aid the reader in ascertaining the original language medium. The speeches of Dr. Verwoerd are thus classified in the following four groups:

(a) Speeches delivered entirely in Afrikaans are marked with an x in the contents.

(b) Speeches delivered entirely in English are marked with an * in the contents.

(c) Speeches (mainly radio speeches) which were originally delivered in both official languages, separately, are marked with an ° in the contents.

(d) Speeches in which the Prime Minister used both official languages alternately are marked with a + in the contents.

Since the original thought does not always translate in all its nuances, the following additional information is given regarding the use of the official languages:

(a) Speech at Umtata, 7th May, 1957: The first half of the speech was made almost entirely in English and thereafter, everything in Afrikaans. The Afrikaans portion begins with the paragraph: "I now proceed to the following idea . . ."

(b) Speech at Pretoria, 25th March, 1960: The speech was made in Afrikaans with the exception of paragraphs 13, 14 and 15.

(c) Speech at Meyerton, 26th March, 1960: Paragraphs six up to and including twelve, were made in English.

(d) Speech at Johannesburg, 9th April, 1960: This speech was made in Afrikaans from paragraph seven up to and including seventeen and also the last paragraph.

(e) Speech at Bloemfontein, 30th May, 1960: The first twelve and the last two paragraphs were in Afrikaans.

(f) Speech at Pretoria, 15th October, 1960: With the exception of the seventh paragraph the speech was made in Afrikaans.

(g) Speech in the House of Assembly, 30th January, 1961: The first eight paragraphs of this speech were delivered in Afrikaans. Thereafter the Prime Minister proceeded in English but spoke Afrikaans again in the last seven paragraphs.

(h) Speech at King William's Town, 8th February, 1961: This speech was made in English with the exception of three successive paragraphs towards the end of the speech, beginning with: "At this thought I want to say to my Afrikaans friends . . ."

(i) Speech in the House of Assembly, 23rd March, 1961: Of this speech approximately the last third was made in English.

(j) Speech at the State Banquet, Pretoria, 31st May, 1961: The last two paragraphs of the speech were delivered in Afrikaans, while at the end the toast was proposed in both official languages.

(k) Speech at Wylliespoort, 18th November, 1961: The fifth, fourth, third and second last paragraphs were made in English.

(l) Speech at Johannesburg, 16th May, 1962: The introductory paragraph and paragraphs 15 up to and including 23 were made in Afrikaans.

(m) Speech at Pretoria, 31st May, 1966: The first eleven paragraphs of this speech were delivered in Afrikaans. Thereafter Dr. Verwoerd proceeded in English but again spoke in Afrikaans in the last six paragraphs.

In conclusion, it is a privilege to thank the F.A.K. (Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings) and in particular the S.A.B.C., who made the records of Dr. Verwoerd's speeches available. For valuable hints, advice and thoughts, especially in connection with writing the introduction, a word of thanks is expressed to Minister M. C. Botha, Minister Marais Viljoen, Dr. W. W. M. Eiselen, Mr. Fritz Steyn, Mr. S. G. J. van Niekerk, Dr. P. Meyer, Mr. J. G. van der Merwe, Mr. Willem van Heerden, Mr. J. H. Steyl, Dr. P. Koornhof, Dr. P. S. Rautenbach and Mr. J. Fred Barnard, former private secretary to the Prime Minister.

Introduction

When Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, who had been Minister of Native Affairs since 19th October, 1950 was appointed Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, six days before his 57th birthday, reaction varied. Although he was not unanimously elected leader, he was immediately accepted unconditionally in National Party circles. Among his party colleagues, both inside and outside Parliament, there existed no doubt that with his steadfast leadership South Africa would remain and continue to progress on its set course and that with his many talents and versatile qualities new heights would be attained.

But not only were his party colleagues and those in closest contact with him impressed by his outstanding qualities. The general public was also fully aware of these. Since his first leader for *Die Transvaler* on 1st October, 1937 as Chief Editor, he had increasingly become one of the much-discussed public figures of South Africa. Verwoerd, the man, came into the limelight and his political opponents kept the full glare of public attention continually on him.

When Dr. Verwoerd became Prime Minister of South Africa in 1958, his career up to that time was well known to the public. Everybody was aware that both as a child and a young man he had shown signs of unusual cleverness; that as a scholar of the Milton High School, Bulawayo, he had done so well that the Beit Bursary was awarded to him; that in 1918 he had matriculated at the Brandfort High School and thereafter attained B.A. and M.A. degrees at the University of Stellenbosch, with distinctions, and that he was not only a bookworm during his student years, but a powerful influence in student life. In addition to being chairman of the Debating and Philosophical Society he was chairman of the Student Council. At the age of twenty-two the young man (who shortly afterwards completed his studies by attaining a Doctorate before leaving for overseas to study further at the Universities of Hamburg, Leipzig and Berlin) became a lecturer in psychology. Four years later he received further recognition of his ability when he was promoted to a professorship.

By 1958, everybody was aware of Dr. Verwoerd's interest in his fellowman and in a sound society and of his ability to deliver sound judgment in matters of this nature. During the early thirties, as a practical academician, he came into contact with some aspects of politics when he unfavourably criticized the administration of

welfare services. As a result of his interest in this field, he became co-director of the Good Hope Model Housing Scheme and played a leading role in countering the poor white problem. When a national congress was arranged in Kimberley in 1934 to discuss this very question Dr. Verwoerd, as organizer, had been responsible for the preparations. When he was chairman of the Continuation Committee which had to implement the decisions of the congress he did much to counteract poverty.

But in 1958, the general public was made aware of the fact that Dr. Verwoerd's interest in his impoverished fellow countrymen arose from his love and respect of his people. When he wrote in his first leader in *Die Transvaler*: "*Die Transvaler* has come with a calling — it has come to serve a nation by making the voice of loyal and sublime nationalism resound to the farthest reaches",¹ these were not idle words. From the start and with courage bordering on intrepidity, he took up the cudgels in the interest of the Afrikaner who, especially in the cold war years, had not been granted his place in the sun by the Government and extremists of the other language group. To-day it may sound unreal and untrue that when *Die Stem van Suid-Afrika* was played over the radio in 1937, it was greeted with hysterical outbursts; that as late as November, 1938 a member of the Johannesburg City Council was almost shouted down when he dared to speak in Afrikaans. Because Dr. Verwoerd opposed such attitudes he was often regarded as an extremist and racialist by his opponents. He could, however, easily defend himself against such accusations by pointing out that he was acting in reaction to the government of the time, which did not know or respect Afrikaans, although it was an official language. Afrikaners were persecuted and interned in camps (often without a reasonable or unbiased hearing), forced to take part in a war for which they had no sympathy and deprived of freedom of speech and movement in various underhand ways. Never before in the history of South Africa had so strenuous a defiance of another population group's rights been experienced.² Dr. Verwoerd cannot be accused of extremism for while he was fighting for the recognition of the Afrikaner's just rights, he also indicated what the basis of a necessary South African nationalism should be. As early as 1938 his writings defined the unity sought by the Nationalists as follows: "It is the unity of all who can think, feel and work together

1. *Die Transvaler*, 1st October, 1937.

2. Debates, House of Assembly, 18th September, 1958.

for their own and only fatherland, South Africa; it is the solidarity of people of one mind and feeling, who may truly be called members of the nation; it is only in this real unity that domestic peace and bonds of friendship will be able to be found".³ What he said then was precisely what he had always strived for.

These characteristics which are laudable in any person and were found in Dr. Verwoerd in marked degree contributed to the fact that at least the Afrikaans-speaking people came to trust him and began to think of him as a person in whom their interests could be safely vested. This confidence gradually became more pronounced when his extraordinary intellectual talent and ability to distinguish the essential from the non-essential in all matters became known. Perhaps it was his logical way of thinking, coupled with his ability to predict affairs ten years ahead, in their broad context and in detail, which in his speeches gave him the ability to unravel complex questions so easily, step by step, calmly, with great confidence and without notes. On hearing such speeches, listeners gained the impression that Dr. Verwoerd had given the subject forethought and that in his speech he had given form to their own thoughts in the only logical way.

But not only were his intellectual talents impressive. As chairman of the Continuation Committee in 1934, he proved conclusively that he was perfectly capable of coupling the intellectual qualities of the academically trained professor with practical considerations. His practical ability was also manifested when, without journalistic training or experience, he started a newspaper under difficult circumstances and built it up from scratch. His long and successful term as Minister of Native Affairs was also proof of his precision in administrative affairs.

Besides this, he possessed all the other attributes which vested him with the qualities of a leader in the minds of the people. He was particularly true to his own principles and took a steadfast attitude in the execution of policies which were fundamental to him. His faith in the ideals for which he strove and the state policy which was carried out under his leadership was deep and firmly anchored. He was dauntless and proved that he and his family were prepared to defy hardship and sacrifice much for the promotion of his ideals, which were, at the same time, also the ideals of his people. Even before 1958 his public life clearly revealed his enterprising spirit and daring courage — characteristics which a

3. *Die Transvaler*, 18th May, 1938.

true leader of the people and a statesman must have, balanced among other attributes with judgment, confidence and a sense of duty. The people of South Africa were aware of the leadership qualities of Dr. Verwoerd. Doubt was unknown to him. In the midst of the deepest uncertainty about the future, which brought doubt to the heart of every person, he radiated faith and confidence and succeeded in conveying it to the nation. His power to inspire was derived from his ability to give people faith and certainty in their affairs. His strength was supplemented by his dynamic personality and his ability not only to fill the demands of every great task which he attempted and every great demand made on him, but to attain new heights. A leader must walk ahead and Dr. Verwoerd did indeed walk far ahead! It had often been said that Dr. Verwoerd was hard and unapproachable. Precisely the opposite was true. Dr. Verwoerd was a friendly and tolerant person. Many strangers have had their illusions to the contrary dispelled on encountering the genial personality so much the opposite of the image created by his enemies. If circumstances allowed it, even the most humble visitor would be granted an interview, during which he would listen patiently to him and then analyse his arguments and, if necessary, destroy them completely during the process. Because he had great respect for someone else's point of view, he would, however, not humiliate a person or make his arguments seem ridiculous. He would always accept a strong argument and, if it seemed necessary, sacrifice his own. Because of this particular characteristic, Dr. Verwoerd, in the political and cultural field, did not find it difficult to co-operate with people with whom he had previously differed. For this reason there was nobody within the ranks of his former kindred spirits from whom he had become totally estranged during the years; as is so often the case with people in positions of authority.

The most conspicuous characteristic of the man Hendrik Verwoerd which impressed one on first meeting him, was his personal charm and vivacity which immediately created a refreshing social atmosphere and gave one the feeling of having access to the spirit and soul of the man. While conversing with him one was constantly aware of how close one could come to him and one felt that there were no barriers between. His natural simplicity manifested itself in many ways: in his way of life, his thought images, and in his choice of words when giving expression to his clear-sighted vision in social and political affairs.

And thus, in the course of years, an image was built up of Dr. Verwoerd, which not only made him a very acceptable Prime

Minister in 1958, but in the opinion of many ardent admirers, a Prime Minister who would lead South Africa to safety, rest and peace. It is true that during the years before his election some tried to create a different image of him and in the process many unfriendly words were said about him and his policy. This process had already begun in 1937 but as he came to the fore in the political field it increased in vehemence and reached a peak at the time of his election as Prime Minister. In the years preceding his election the English-speaking Press had revelled in telling South Africa what would become of the country if ever a man like Dr. Verwoerd should come into power. And when this happened, the public was told that his election was a triumph of extremism and that South Africa "can expect to be ruled by an arbitrary government, paying no attention to the opinions of the outside world or to the wishes and feelings of any Union citizens other than those in his own section of the Nationalist Party".⁴ Another newspaper⁵ went even further and described Dr. Verwoerd as "impervious to the advice of friend and foe alike"; in Natal it was said "his principles are terrifying and his very virtues are a menace".⁶ It is not necessary to go into detail. Hardly any newspaper reserved its views completely and although various adjectives were used to express feelings of dissatisfaction, the Opposition Press was more or less unanimous in its judgment that South Africa had handed over the reins to somebody who would lead her along a short cut to a precipice.

Thus we see that there were two lines of thought in South Africa in 1958 — so diverse that they were irreconcilable. These lines of thought still exist to-day. In the past eight years much has happened, and even should one not be prepared to form a final opinion, it does help us to be able to see in perspective the contrast between 1958 and to-day, and to view with greater clarity the contentious questions at issue. The tree will be known by its fruit.

His election as Prime Minister immediately made great demands on Dr. Verwoerd for it was the first time in the history of the National Party that a leader had to be chosen by taking a vote among different candidates and the first time in the history of South Africa that a Prime Minister had to take office whilst Parliament was in session. With hardly any oppor-

4. *The Star*, 2nd September, 1958.

5. *The Cape Argus*, 1st September, 1958.

6. *The Natal Witness*, 3rd September, 1958.

tunity to prepare himself, Dr. Verwoerd had to undertake new and responsible official duties and go through his parliamentary baptism of fire as leader. Nevertheless, on the day after his election he was prepared to give in a radio talk to South Africa an indication in broad context⁷ of his policy as leader of the Government. So important was this address, that in a certain way it may be regarded as Dr. Verwoerd's political testament. Two foundations on which his Government would rest were emphasized therein: his strength and leadership, he would seek in the future, just as in the past from Him who controls the destinies of nations; the democratic institutions of the country would be honoured and the rights of the minority groups protected. Over and above this, matters to which attention would be given in the field of practical politics were mentioned. The following may be termed the most important: the relationship between Afrikaans- and English-speaking people and the unification of the two groups into one nation; the Republican ideal to the fulfilment of which he pledged his most intense effort; the colour policy, which would be carried out further on the basis of separate development; the policy towards the outside world and the African states with whom good relationships would be sought and the spiritual and material interests of South Africa, emphasizing economic development in particular. These points of policy are so interconnected that in reality they cannot be separated. For the sake of a total impression we shall, in passing, mention each one briefly.

In this broadcast address, short as it was, the first traces of a political philosophy could be clearly seen. To understand it we must see it against the background of the political situation in which South Africa found itself in the light of world events and international trends in September, 1958. Since World War II, the world image had changed to a great extent and an adjustment and reorientation problem presented itself to almost every country — to South Africa to an even greater extent than to most other countries. With the rising of Black nationalism and the willingness of public opinion throughout Europe, Asia and America to give ear to its demands, the continued existence of the Whites in South Africa came into play and the question was increasingly put as to whether the more or less three million Whites at the southern tip of Africa would be able to maintain themselves in the long run against more than 14 million non-Whites within its own

7. Message to the people of South Africa, 3rd September, 1958.

boundaries; the few hundred million Blacks of Africa and the increasing pressure of world opinion, embodied in particular in the U.N. The question of its continued existence became more acute because the Whites of South Africa, though small in number, did not present a united front with regard to basic problems. In the light of the general world situation, it is not surprising that general uncertainty and pessimism existed about the future.

In the midst of this great confusion, it became Dr. Verwoerd's task to direct the course to be followed and to give peace of mind to the Whites. To be able to do this in an increasingly compressed world it is impractical to regard the Whites of South Africa in any other context but in conjunction with other races which are their immediate neighbours, and the world in general. Isolation and seclusion are no longer possible. In his political philosophy Dr. Verwoerd, therefore, made allowances for all these elements and sought a solution to the problem by seeking harmony between divergent elements of the population and the outside world. The search for harmony may be regarded as Dr. Verwoerd's overall policy — a policy which reveals a number of facets in its application.

The White facet:

When Dr. Verwoerd spoke about the Whites of South Africa, it was noticeable that he was always joyful and predicted a great future. "My faith in the people of South Africa is deep-seated and I believe that all that we inherited by way of intellect and diligence and courage will help us in building up a grander South Africa in the next fifty years," were his words on the day an attempt was made on his life,⁸ to which he added in his first speech after this outrage: "The South African nation was not brought into existence here to disappear"⁹ and in the same vein, in a speech at King William's Town¹⁰ he added to this, saying: "We have been planted here, we believe, with a destiny," but he added meaningfully, "a destiny not for the sake of the selfishness of a nation, but for the sake of the service of a nation". The separate existence of a White nation on the southern tip of Africa could only be justified if the motive of service gave meaning and context to its existence. He emphasized what was included in

8. Union Exposition, Johannesburg, 9th April, 1960.

9. Radio address, 20th May, 1960.

10. King William's Town, 8th February, 1961.

this service on different occasions and in different ways but it included among others the task of maintaining a White civilization in our own country, and also the duty to fight for the continued existence of White civilization in general, "for the evolution of Africa and for the advancement of Christianity". In a festival address at Blood River this task was indicated concisely with the words: "Perhaps it was meant for us to have been planted here at the southern point within the crisis area so that from this resistance group might emanate the victory whereby all that has been built up since the days of Christ may be maintained for the good of all mankind."¹¹

The bright future which he believed in, would not, however, merely fall into our laps. With open-hearted honesty, he warned us that we would have to bring our ideals to fruition in the future "by the work of our hands and the diligence of our minds".¹² Effort and hard work would be necessary besides the preparedness to survive times of difficulty without sighing, without love of ease and without selfishness. Dr. Verwoerd was therefore not trying to create an illusion for the Whites with sweet-sounding words. The full, hard facts of reality were revealed and with heavy demands new meaning was given to the life of the people. "If we now at this time, when we are sometimes threatened by storms, become depressed, or selfish in our desire to retain material advantages, if we are not prepared to do what our forefathers did, to sacrifice everything rather than lose our freedom, then we as a White nation will lose out here. We must have, in the midst of everything, the will to resist."¹³

Dr. Verwoerd bore in mind the likelihood that storms might brew, but was undaunted. The history of South Africa told him that one crisis followed the other in our past, but that out of each crisis a greater triumph was born and that the most desperate onslaughts against the Whites failed time and again. On these grounds he was convinced in his heart that it would happen again in the future. Besides it is not always good for a nation to live easily and safely; hardship is necessary to purify and strengthen it. Just as iron is not processed without heat, so a nation

11. Cf. i.a. the following speeches: Blood River, 16th December, 1958; New Year's message 31st December, 1959; Kroonstad, 10th October, 1960; message to *Die Brandwag* when South Africa became a Republic; Christmas message to the national afternoon newspapers, 1962.

12. Kruger Day, Pretoria, 10th October, 1959.

13. Union Festival, Bloemfontein, 31st May, 1960.

is not moulded and made strong in character without experiencing difficulties in life. No nation has matured without making headway against strife and hardship. For that reason it is right that while we often pray to Providence for order and peace, "we should also be thankful that He tries us in the crucible".¹⁴ He regarded the demands, which are being made on us today, excessive as we think them, as a challenge and an opportunity to prove the honesty of our motives and the seriousness of our striving to the world. And, should everything that we say or do make no impression on the blind prejudice of an ill-informed world, he was prepared to do battle to the death for the sake of right and justice if it had to be so; and he demanded of the people of South Africa that they should not stand aloof. He drew inspiration from the past and just as our ancestors did not leave a challenge unmet, he encouraged his people not to be afraid but to fight "even though we might have to perish". He said it was our country and our heritage to which all expectations and desires were deeply attached, and for that reason we should not abandon it! As the pioneer generations of Voortrekkers and Settlers fought, so we should also fight: Man, woman and child. We should fight for our existence "and the world must know it. We cannot do otherwise because we are not fighting for money or possessions, we are fighting for the life of a nation."¹⁵

Words such as these have the ring of truth for average South Africans descended from pioneers who grew through hardships into an unusually independent and freedom-loving nation — a nation which cannot easily be put under restraint. True, there was a great deal of doubt in 1958, but it was not deeply rooted, neither was it characteristic of the nation. The events which took place between 21st March, 1960 with the outburst of riots at Sharpeville and other places, until the 9th April, 1960 when an attempt was made to assassinate Dr. Verwoerd, were of vital importance, for in those days of great doubt and uncertainty, when the people of South Africa longed for a leader who could give certainty and surety to its existence, it found such a leader in the person of Dr. Verwoerd. From Prime Minister and leader of the Government (who was at the same time the leader of the strongest political party) he became a leader of the people in the fullest

14. Address at Kroonstad, 10th October, 1960.

15. Cf. i.a. the following speeches: Blood River, 16th December, 1958; Kroonstad, 10th October, 1960; Union Festival, 9th April, 1960; New Year's Message, 31st December, 1962.

sense of the word within the course of a few weeks. This happened because he understood the need of the nation and succeeded brilliantly in conveying his confidence, his courage and his decisiveness to the nation. He not only removed the uncertainty but revealed a new vision to his nation. Through personal example and deep conviction, he created both peace of mind on the one hand and decisiveness on the other, thus giving the Whites the broader sense of harmony for which he strove.

This first, probably the most important merit of Dr. Verwoerd's White policy, was not to be the end. Although the results of the above development were favourable, they only affected one section of the South African nation in the main. For the safe continued existence of the Whites, it was important that the two elements of the population who were always at odds with one another in the past, should be joined together in unity. He gave his attention to this without delay and while he often admitted readily that the process of joining them together would be a lengthy one, he noted from the manner in which one flag, one national anthem and the principle of economic independence were accepted, signs of a better disposition which made him feel optimistic. The spontaneous mutual appreciation and mourning too, at the passing of a great national figure who had strong convictions, was proof to him of the fact that the barriers of division were beginning to crumble.

Apart from the fact that Dr. Verwoerd once more set an example, and in characteristic way acted absolutely correctly towards the other population group after the general election of 1961, when it became clear that a great number of English-speaking people supported the National Party, he backed up word by deed and included two leading English-speaking persons who supported the Government's policy in his Cabinet, namely Mr. A. E. Trollip as Minister of Labour and Immigration, and Mr. F. W. Waring who would take care of the new portfolio of Information. Besides this he also indicated the basis on which co-operation and unification might eventually take place. Where in certain English-speaking circles there had been a suspicion that their language in particular was not quite safe in the hands of the National Government, Dr. Verwoerd went out of his way to eradicate this suspicion at the earliest opportunity. He said in Parliament that the Afrikaners who had experienced the oppression of their language and who knew how much opposition it evoked, would be the last to deny another man his language¹⁶ and added that the absolute recognition of the

16. Debates, House of Assembly, 18th September, 1958.

two languages on an equal basis and their handling without a trace of differentiation, must be the foundation upon which a united nation should be built up in South Africa.

Just as a certain measure of apprehension existed amongst the English-speaking about the safety of their language, just so the Afrikaans sector was in doubt about whether it would not have to sacrifice its national festivals and cultural activities to which it is extremely attached for the sake of the ideal of national unity, especially since this characteristic interest of the Afrikaans sector was often labelled as a dividing factor by the English sector. This doubt Dr. Verwoerd was also able to dispel immediately by pointing out that the ideal of unity would bring about the erasure of pettiness and the striving for greatness. For this reason each group should continue to build up its language and cultural possessions, just as in the past. "We would become a poverty-stricken people and we would enter the republic empty and hollow on both sides of the language barrier, if it were not possible to continue to build with the help of our own languages, our own institutions and our own national festivals," he said at Vereeniging five days after the nation had voted in favour of a republic.¹⁷ He, therefore, wished cultural activities to continue undisturbed, not only because they contributed to the spiritual enrichment of a nation, but because he saw in them a means of bringing the two national groups closer together, and eventually joining them together as one nation. He called for the respect of one another's efforts to such an extent that we would attend one another's festivals and would learn to accept each other's cultural possessions as common property. The heroes of the two language groups, many of whom also were not acceptable to each other up to the present time, must also to a greater extent be regarded as our national possessions and be honoured as the common builders and creators of the South Africa which we inherited.

The unveiling of the Monument to Freedom at Vereeniging on 10th October, 1961 gave Dr. Verwoerd a unique opportunity of explaining the ideal of national unity in another way. One would have expected that his appearance on this occasion would have placed him in a difficult position because, after all, the monument was dedicated to the ability of a people — in this case the Afrikaners — to rise anew and grow in strength after defeat and humiliation. It could thus be said that this monument was

17. Vereeniging, 10th October, 1961.

sectional, and intended to express the triumph of the Afrikaner over the English-speaking people, against whom the Second War of Independence was waged. This was not, however, how Dr. Verwoerd viewed the matter. For him the monument held a message for all of us; it was a freedom monument "which makes one think of the many things of which one should become free." In this connection he thought that the monument should free us from conflict and the wounds inflicted on one another and which we do not wish to make permanent. To him the monument also symbolized victory, not over others but "over ourselves, our selfishness, our pride and our desires."

The implication of these words penetrate deeply and contain a message for both language groups. To the English-speaking person it implies that he should shake off his detached attitude to the country in which he is living and become attached to South Africa. To the Afrikaans-speaking person it says in reality far more. In an attempt to wipe out the humiliation of 1902, the Afrikaner often, in the years that followed, reached into the past and kept alive the grief and tears and often called them to memory at national festivals. It was a valuable help in unifying a people, but as a method of bringing the two population groups together it was of no value at all. While it served the realization of an ideal it could be justified, but thereafter no longer. If the reinstatement of a republic throughout South Africa, and not merely of the former Boer States, was the fulfilment of the ideal, it might rightly be expected that the Afrikaner would regard his past in a different light thereafter. Dr. Verwoerd sensed this and therefore on his return from London, and South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth, when the Republic of South Africa received its final endorsement, he frankly appealed to the Afrikaners to relegate to the past the conflict with Britain and between Englishmen and Afrikaners.¹⁸

For the sake of the ideal of National unity, Dr. Verwoerd appealed to both sections of the population, and asked for sacrifices from both. This was necessary because over the years the two groups in South Africa had each built up a pattern of life of their own, which not only did not fit in with that of the other, but in many ways irritated one another. The two groups, who had always been more or less distrustful of one another, continually built up walls and barriers between each other, inspired

18. Debates, House of Assembly, 23rd March, 1961.

mainly by prejudice more than anything else. Another reason was that they were of more or less equal strength. Dr. Verwoerd's attempts to eradicate this prejudice has been mentioned in a previous paragraph. But the lack of understanding between the two groups goes far deeper, and as far as the Afrikaner is concerned may be traced back over a period of a few hundred years, when through the force of circumstances his national character was moulded into a hard, freedom-loving being but at the same time also a headstrong individualist who did not easily turn back from a set course. Dr. Verwoerd had achieved what no leader had thus far been able to do, to lead the Afrikaner along certain lines where there were fewer causes of friction with the other population group, and yet, not deprive him of his individualism. It may be mentioned to the credit of the Afrikaner that he reacted willingly and threw some of his traditional outlooks overboard without opposition. His acceptance of the republican constitution, the flag of the Republic, the adoption of a new attitude towards the non-Whites and his preparedness to remain in the Commonwealth as a Republic, are a few examples of his contribution towards greater harmony in which a happy co-existence might be seen in prospect for everyone in the country.

Dr. Verwoerd's greatest contribution to national unity may be seen, however, in the fact that he cleared up the most important dividing factor between the two White population groups. When General Hertzog said in 1917 that he would strive for republicanism, the best form of government for the nation, a constitutional conflict began in South Africa which ended only on the 5th October, 1960. Not only did this conflict result in much unpleasantness, but it also divided the nation on the basis of sentiment and not on a factual one. This point of difference became the greatest factor in destroying the harmony between the English-speaking people and the Afrikaners. Dr. Verwoerd had already realized this when in 1938 he wrote that the Crown had always stood in the way of the so much desired national unity and that a republic . . . was the proper method to eliminate the divided love and loyalty of many people, so that South Africa alone might share their loyalty.¹⁹ Twenty years later when he addressed the nation for the first time as Prime Minister, he still believed that unity would be achieved only in a Republic of South Africa.²⁰

19. *Die Transvaler*, 12th August, 1938.

20. Radio Address, 3rd September, 1958.

He touched on this subject many times thereafter, and constantly emphasized the fact that in a republic the tug-of-war between the English and Afrikaans-speaking people would come to an end; that we would grow into one nation — one nation with two languages, but with one national anthem, one flag and one country, only if we were bound by one symbol of respect coming from our midst — a president. He wanted to cast aside the constitutional strife and the resultant artificial division of the nation, so that full attention could be devoted to the colour problem: the creation of a correct way of life for each colour group, and the increase of the prosperity of South Africa to the benefit of everyone.²¹

Because Dr. Verwoerd realized that the English-speaking person would not be able to accept the republican ideal so easily, he spoke to them, in particular in serious vein, on the occasion of the Union Festival at Bloemfontein. While he was speaking of the ideal of national unity, he said: "Quite candidly I feel that the process must begin with the early fulfilment of the republican ideal, not as a challenge, not as a party political object, but as the attainment of an almost generally accepted, inescapable constitutional end to what has gone before." With the supplication, "There should not only be a union of provinces in South Africa; there should be a union of hearts," he encouraged the English-speaking people not to stand aloof, but to work actively towards the fulfilment thereof. If this should happen "there would be rejoicing, such deep feeling of unity and common nationhood, that the result in all spheres of life would be immeasurable. Clashes of the past would fade into the mist of history. Friendship with Great Britain would become as natural for the Afrikaans-speaking as for the English-speaking South Africans . . . If the republic could be brought about by co-operation between the two sections . . . I have no doubt that with the constitutional struggle fading into the past, English and Afrikaans-speaking people would in future again participate together in the government of the country."

The reaction to this invitation was not as favourable as it was hoped to be, which was a pity. In spite of this Dr. Verwoerd still continued after the referendum to say that the republic "would embrace the whole nation", and that it "would not be the monopoly of our Afrikaans-speaking people only, but that from now on it would belong to us all — the Afrikaans- and

21. Message to *Die Piek*, 9th July, 1960.

English-speaking — with the strife behind us and the future before us".²² Still later, when it became evident that the Republic would not remain in the Commonwealth, he said in Parliament that he placed all his hope and all his trust on better relations within our country, and a much better basis for division of our differences in this country on the establishment of the Republic. He said that he also based his hope for good relations between our country and others on the results of what he hoped would now take place in our own country. He stated that he still firmly believed that once the struggle of the past between our language groups, which was transferred to the background and character of our parties, was past, we would necessarily have to find a basis for division, based on the true differences of opinion on other matters.²³

Attention must be drawn in passing to yet another final aspect of Dr. Verwoerd's White policy. In the preceding paragraphs it is shown how Dr. Verwoerd wanted to increase the defensibility of the Whites by promoting mutual harmony and building up spiritual resistance. Much was achieved in this respect, but because in the unsafe world of to-day numbers are an important factor, it is understandable that almost continually for many years ways and means of increasing the numbers of the White population have been under constant consideration. The obvious solution seems to be to throw open the portals and that foreigners from all the ends of the earth should be allowed to settle here, disregarding what the results of this may be. With regard to this matter, too, Dr. Verwoerd acted with his characteristic soberness. In his very first address as Prime Minister to Parliament he stated that he believed in immigration, but that he believed in the right sort of immigration. He said that he believed in judicious immigration and to an extent that the nation would be able to absorb socially and economically.²⁴

With regard to this matter, three considerations led him to be careful. In the first place he considered the economic implications of unjudicious admission of foreigners which might result in many of them not being able to make an independent living and being a burden to the state, or alternately, that the foreigners might rob our own children of a livelihood. In a developed country like South Africa with plenty of opportunities for work, this likelihood is not so great as the possibility that immigrants brought from

22. Address on the occasion of the thanksgiving festival, Monument Hill, 15th October, 1960.

23. Debates, House of Assembly, 12th April, 1961.

24. Debates, House of Assembly, 18th September, 1958.

liberalistically orientated Europe might not fit in with our standard of living or outlook on life. For that reason Dr. Verwoerd warned of the danger of a country like South Africa receiving immigrants on a large scale, coming from a world in which the colour problem as we know it is unknown, and who could add to our colour problem through their ignorance. But he also warned that a country cannot take immigrants on a large scale if it does not have a people of one mind to absorb those immigrants. This was one reason why he became hasty to create the Republic for, he said, it was only when there was one state to which everybody's loyalty was attached and the differences were based on other grounds instead of questions of sentiment, that the nation and country would be able to receive immigrants on a large scale.²⁵ With these restrictions in mind, the procedure has been simplified since the latter half of 1960 and a more lenient attitude has been taken towards bringing desirable immigrants, with the least possible delay, to South Africa. In other ways too, the Government has taken part in instituting a positive immigration policy. Financial aid was given to the South African Trust, an Immigration Council to advise the Government was established and later a Department of Immigration.²⁶

The non-White facet

Dr. Verwoerd's desire for harmony in his policy did not only concern the Whites, but all colour groups which come into contact with one another within the country's boundaries. It was characterized by his desire to create mutual peace, safety and stability for all groups — not only the Whites but simultaneously to provide the same privileges for all groups in relation to one another. The basis on which this harmony had to be sought was that of separate development which is also known as the policy of apartheid or segregation.

What is generally known as "apartheid" at present, was not a creation of Dr. Verwoerd. Neither is this system the idea of any particular individual, but developed in South Africa spontaneously after various colour groups had come into contact with one another. Apartheid is the behaviour pattern through which the relationship between the groups is determined. In actual fact, the first traces of it were already evident in the days of Van Riebeeck, after which it became more sharply and clearly defined

25. Debates, House of Assembly, 27th January, 1959.

26. Prime Minister's statement, 13th September, 1960.

according to the increasing degree of that contact between the colour groups. In the 19th century, when contact between the colour groups was fairly general, the policy of "apartheid" or segregation — the term to which preference was then given — was generally accepted although applied differently.

It is not the intention to give the history of the idea of segregation at this stage. It may, however, be of value to point out, in passing, how the most important statesmen in the period after Union in 1910, felt about the matter. The statesman who revealed the greatest measure of clear-sightedness about race relations in those days, was undoubtedly General Hertzog. In 1911 he already wrote: "Ever since 1903 I have advocated segregation as the only permanent solution of the question," to which he added that the Native franchise as it was in the Cape in those days, was a crime towards the Whites and for the Natives it was "a snare and a hypocrisy".²⁷ During the course of 1912, General Hertzog addressed several large gatherings, inter alia, a meeting at De Wildt, where he frequently mentioned segregation as the only solution. At De Wildt, he stated very clearly that firstly there would have to be a line of division which would mean that both Whites and Natives would have to cede some land.²⁸ Shortly after his much-discussed De Wildt speech, General Hertzog addressed a meeting at Pretoria, when he made himself even clearer about this matter. On this occasion, he warned us not to take the whole Union for ourselves but to give the Natives a portion where they could be developed according to their own nature under the supervision of the Union Government, because the Blacks and Whites must be separated and live separately.²⁹

These were not idle words. As a member of General Botha's first cabinet, he published a Bill in 1911 in his capacity as Minister of Justice with the aim "to regulate the residence of Natives in certain portions of the Union and to prohibit the unauthorized settlement of Natives on any land". Because this Bill would entail the removal of Whites from a certain area, such a storm of protest was let loose³⁰ that it was held over until 1913 when he was no longer a member of the cabinet.

27. Gen. Hertzog to F. W. Bell, 9th May, 1911 — cf. Scholtz, G. D.: *Die Naturellebeleid van die Nasionale Party*, p.5.

28. Cf. i.a. *De Volkstem*, 15th October, 1912, and Gen. Hertzog's De Wildt-speech.

29. *De Volkstem*, 21st January, 1913.

30. *Hertzog-Annale*, No. 9, p. 37.

After General Hertzog was excluded from the cabinet, Mr. J. W. Sauer took over the portfolio of Native Affairs and in 1913, handed in the well-known Native Land Draft Act,³¹ in which he proposed "that the bulk of the two races, the Europeans and the Natives, should live in the main in separate areas."³² This act which may be regarded as the first Union measure in which the principle of territorial segregation is laid down, was based to a great extent on the principles embodied in General Hertzog's Bill of 1911.

What is interesting, however, was the reaction of some leading political leaders at the time when the Bill was dealt with in the House of Assembly. Mr. H. W. Sampson, who was later taken up in Gen. Hertzog's cabinet, expressed the opinion that "The Native could only hope to aim at governing himself and making his own laws in the future by separating from the Whites,"³³ while Mr. Patrick Duncan held the opinion that "Everyone would agree with the principle enunciated by the Minister that it was to the best interests of Europeans and Natives that points of social contact should be reduced to the least possible area".³⁴

It is, however, especially important to note the attitude adopted by Gen. Botha at this stage. According to statements, not only during this historical debate, but also according to what he had said particularly during the previous year on different occasions, he must have been a champion of segregation. In April, 1912 he said that placing the races on the same level would never result in satisfaction and therefore something else would have to be done. He held the opinion that the solution to the problem would be found in extending the rights of the Natives and that they should be given a certain degree of self-government, naturally under supervision of the Whites so that they could better themselves. To this significant statement he added on the 24th September, 1912 at Heidelberg, that the "Kaffir" question was the most difficult of all, but that he believed that it could be solved by segregating the Natives in certain areas and giving them some kind of self-government there, but nowhere else.³⁵ The most lucid revelation of how he felt we find in the debate of 1913 when without mincing words, he proposed a reasonable and construc-

31. Law No. 27 of 1913.

32. Debates, House of Assembly, 1913, Col. 2270.

33. Debates, House of Assembly, 1913, Col. 2493.

34. Debates, House of Assembly, 1913, Col. 2287.

35. Cf. J. H. Steyl in "Dagbreek en Sondagnuus", 17th February, 1963.

tive arrangement. He said that the Whites should adopt a very careful attitude in connection with the Natives and that they were responsible for their development, to which he added that segregation was the only thing that was good for the Native and that if they were segregated they should be given the right to govern themselves and that it should be done under the supervision of the Whites.³⁶

It is remarkable that Gen. Smuts did not have much to say about this matter in 1913. From this it must not be deduced that he did not have any point of view whatever with regard to Native policy. In passing, we may, however, point out at least two occasions — each time, strangely enough, when he was abroad — on which he made statements on the matter. When he was in London in 1917 as a member of the Imperial War Cabinet, a dinner was held in his honour under the chairmanship of Lord Selborne, during the course of which he made a speech about “The White Man’s Task”. On this occasion he not only fully supported the idea of “apartheid” but saw therein a solution for the racial problem in South Africa. With a view to the importance of his speech, certain parts have been quoted verbatim. “We have realized that political ideas which apply to our White civilization largely do not apply to the administration of Native affairs. To apply the same institutions on an equal basis to White and Black alike does not lead to the best results, and so a practice has grown up in South Africa of creating parallel institutions — giving the Natives their own separate institutions on parallel lines with institutions for Whites. It may be that on those parallel lines we may yet be able to solve a problem which may otherwise be insoluble . . . We have felt more and more that if we are to solve our Native question it is useless to try to govern Black and White in the same system, to subject them to the same institutions of government and legislation. They are different not only in colour but in mind and in political capacity and their political institutions should be different, while always proceeding on the basis of self-government . . . We have now legislation before the Parliament of the Union in which an attempt is made . . . to create all over South Africa, wherever there are any considerable Native communities, independent self-governing institutions for them.” Thereupon the following prophetic words were spoken: “Thus in South Africa you will have in the long run large areas cultivated by

36. Debatten, Volksraad, 1913, Col. 2129 and 2133.

Blacks and governed by Blacks, where they will look after themselves in all their forms of living and development, while in the rest of the country you will have your White communities, which will govern themselves separately according to the accepted European principles."³⁷ The same idea, perhaps worded even more strongly, was expressed by him in 1929 when he gave a number of lectures at Oxford, in the series known as "Rhodes Memorial Lectures".³⁸

In 1913 there was reasonably large unanimity on the principle of Minister Sauer's Act. Just as unanimously the general public accepted the fact that the principle of separation had now been set in theory. In practice, however, little thought was given to the creation of possibilities for the full development of the Natives in their delimited territories. Attention was only given to this in 1936.

This delay should not cause one to assume that Gen. Hertzog had in the meantime changed his point of view. He remained consistent throughout from 1912, as was shown most clearly when he addressed a National Party Congress in 1921 in Pretoria. On this occasion he said, among other things: that it was their firm political policy that segregation must be enforced. He said that the Native would not be allowed to live where he wanted to but that ground would be set aside for him. He added that the White man would be treated in the same way with the ultimate object of the one not standing in the way of the other's development. He showed it especially when he said that they (i.e. the Whites) had a duty towards the Natives which was to see that they developed. Gen. Hertzog added a very positive aspect to the segregation policy of that time.³⁹ When he became Prime Minister in 1924, he managed the portfolio of Native Affairs himself, and during the course of 1926 presented four Bills, which he wished to pilot through together, being of the opinion that they formed a unity. As two of the Bills according to the South Africa Act required a two-thirds majority during the third reading in a joint session of both Houses, and he could not get the support of the South African Party of that time, they were consistently referred to a Select Committee, with the result that it was only in 1935 that

37. Cf. *Greater South Africa*, pp. 17 and 18 — Gen. Smuts's speech of 22nd May, 1917. This work, of which there also appeared an Afrikaans translation under the title "Groter Suid-Afrika", was published in 1940 and 1941 by the Truth Legion. In the Afrikaans edition the portion quoted appears between pages 17 and 18.

38. *Greater South Africa*, p. 48. In the Afrikaans version, cf. p. 53.

39. Scholtz, G. D.: *Die Naturellebeleid van die Nas. Party*, p. 8.

a report could be given on them, when two new Bills were prepared and presented to Parliament in the following year. In the House of Assembly, Gen. Hertzog clearly and definitely outlined his "apartheid" policy and without beating about the bush, stated that he was in favour of separate development of the non-Whites in their own areas. After he had explained that the Bill envisaged the delimitation of certain territories for the non-Whites and that the territory would be extended by buying land in the White area, he addressed himself to the Natives as follows: "We want as few of you as possible in the White man's area. For that reason we are setting aside defined areas for you in which you can go and carry on your farming operations and in which you can go and live. When you come within the White man's area you should know that really you come, in the first place to serve his interests." In their own areas it was a different matter: "There, you may live as you like and as many as you like. If possible, we would like to see you govern yourselves, if possible, in an autonomous way."⁴⁰

What Gen. Hertzog announced here, was carried out in 1936 by the Native Trust and Land Act. Not only was an additional 7½ million morgen of ground made available for the accommodation of Natives, but the necessary money for buying this land was granted by the Treasury. In this manner, for the first time, the promise to help was carried out and what is particularly significant was the fact that it was done with money which was not levied from the Bantu himself. Furthermore, the measure initiated the principle that the White who desired segregation would have to pay for it.

In this regard, Gen. Hertzog significantly altered the traditional attitude that segregation meant separate existence with dynamic development for the Whites, but for the Bantu only separate existence. While the Bantu had to develop the White community by means of his labour, the White community never regarded it as its duty to contribute towards the development of the Bantu. Anything which was done in this direction was done by the Churches and Missionary Societies. Whether Gen. Hertzog would have continued on his set course and to what extent, is difficult to say, because World War II broke out shortly afterwards. In the light of his seriousness in this respect, the supposition is justified that he would have desired to continue on these lines,

40. Debates, House of Assembly, 1936, Col. 4085.

but whether his voters were ripe enough to support him in this matter, is a different question.

The end of World War II roused an echo throughout the world which demanded, in particular, new rights for the backward and underdeveloped countries. In South Africa too the traditional Native policy came into the limelight. Gen. Smuts was immediately prepared to yield to world opinion, and was prepared to make concessions, even if only to a small extent. He sacrificed the segregation policy of Gen. Hertzog which he had supported in 1936, and stated that with the necessary adjustment on both sides, there should be more points of contact between the Whites and the Bantu in all spheres. The National Party, however, intimated its determination to continue to build on the basis of segregation and to do it in a positive way by encouraging the development of the Bantu areas. On the 29th March, 1948 — less than two months before the election which put the National Party into power — Dr. Malan made known his party's policy by stating that the general policy of the country must be drafted in such a way that it would promote the ideal of ultimate total segregation in a natural way. He said that the principle of segregation between Whites and Blacks was accepted in general and that the Native reserves must become the true fatherland or home of the Native. He said that a greater variety of economic activities would gradually be brought about to promote greater productivity and stability of the reserves.⁴¹

After coming into power, the National Government began to take preparatory steps to execute the programme which it had compiled when it was in opposition. Dr. Stals, in his capacity as Minister of Education, appointed a commission which after an investigation would formulate an educational policy to fit in with the principles of unilateral development. Dr. E. G. Jansen, as Minister of Native Affairs, was in the process of composing a Socio-economic Commission when he became Governor-General and was replaced by Dr. Verwoerd on the 19th October, 1950. Dr. Verwoerd, as a primary measure, initiated the commission known as the Tomlinson Commission to investigate the carrying capacity and the economic possibilities of the Bantu areas. Thereafter he continued to give the distinctive development a distinctive character, working in a manner which astounded his own supporters.

Dr. Verwoerd's zeal in the interests of racial harmony can be

41. Scholtz, G. D.: *Die Naturellebeleid van die Nasionale Party*, p. 14.

divided into three phases. The first phase actually begins before he became Minister of Native Affairs and continued throughout his career, i.e. after the two other phases were already in operation. During this phase it was his task to inform an uninformed but obstinate, prejudiced world opinion, what precisely the aims of "apartheid" were. The background of the prejudice may have been derived from a new form of humanism which made its appearance at the end of World War II, and was cleverly exploited by Communist propaganda to represent the Whites in South Africa as suppressors, thereby bringing South Africa and the White world generally into discredit with the African states which as the very result of the new humanism had become free and were in the process of playing a part on the world stage which was completely out of proportion to their real importance. The fact that a hostile world opinion should have been continually supported by an ambitious opposition party which eagerly exploited the embarrassment in which South Africa often found herself for political gain, did not make his task easier. But the National Party itself was also not without blame. In the days after World War II when the colour policy was in the process of taking shape, it thoughtlessly spoke of "baasskap", even at top level, whereby it was clearly suggested that a policy of supremacy and suppression was sought. A confusing and false image was built up in this way and had to be broken down. This was no easy task.

In elucidating "apartheid" Dr. Verwoerd adopted the standpoint that the Whites had a right to live in South Africa, a life task and a will to live in South Africa. South Africa was also their dwelling place, and here their descendants would have to make a living, and satisfy their ambitions. For their continued existence it was necessary to choose a political system which would enable them to maintain themselves in peace.

With a view to the new outlook all over the world with regard to human rights, the hostile world opinion which was bringing pressure to bear on South Africa in every possible way, and especially in the light of the development of the non-White communities in Africa and also in South Africa, it was no longer possible to maintain the old status quo, in which the Whites were in the ruling position. So serious were the times in which we were living, that South Africa was at a crossroads and had to decide whether it wished to move in the direction of a multi-racial society, with communal political life and eventually allow the control to pass into the hands of the numerically stronger non-Whites, or

whether it would follow the path of separation.⁴² There was no third possibility!

With the first alternative — that of a multi-racial society or integration — he could not identify himself because it held only disadvantages for both the Whites and the non-Whites. Political multi-racialism or political partnership must in the long run rob the Whites of their rightful inheritance. Even a small concession, by initially allowing the non-Whites a few White or even Native representatives in Parliament, would not suffice. No friendship or good relations could be built up on such a basis. Concessions, however small, would be interpreted as signs of weakness and lead to ever-increasing new demands whereby competition and clashes must ultimately arise between the racial groups. In such clashes the Whites would always come off best, at least for a long time, and the non-Whites would lose everything they had on the basis of "friendly competition". Obviously there would continually be an ever-increasing feeling of rancour and opposition on their part. In a multi-racial community where the power must eventually pass into the hands of the numerically stronger Bantu, not only would the Whites be overwhelmed but also the Coloureds and the Indians. In the long run not even the Bantu masses would benefit from this because, on a basis of what is happening elsewhere in Africa, it had to be taken into consideration that an autocracy and dictatorship would develop in South Africa.⁴³ On the grounds of their inability to handle a complicated government apparatus, the country would in any case go to ruin administratively and economically and end in chaos for everyone White and Coloured.

Because the first alternative — integration — was completely unacceptable to Dr. Verwoerd he preferred to follow the road of separate development and he explained to an uninformed world that contrary to the subtle propaganda which had been carried on for years, suppression, enslavement or discrimination, were not its aims. In fact, there is not a single negative characteristic to be found in "apartheid"; it is positive from beginning to end and in the interest of both the Whites and the non-Whites. The policy of separate development accepts all the residents of the country as human beings with dignities of their own, rights and

42. Cf. i.a. Debates, House of Assembly, 18th Sept., 1958; 27th January, 1959 and 10th April, 1961.

43. Speech to the Natives' Representative Council, Pretoria, 5th Dec., 1950 — Cf. *Die Transvaler*, 6th December, 1950.

just ambitions; it acknowledges the Bantu community and has confidence in its ability to grow and to produce responsible leaders; it desires to help the Bantu to work among their own people, under circumstances where they will not have to compete with forces to which they are unequal; it is merciful and just and offers each one a chance among his own people; it wishes to protect the weak against the strong and create a feeling of safety in the minority group against the majority group; it aims at, as Dr. Verwoerd said so concisely at the republican rally at Meyerton, "fairness to each and justice to all". Separate development is indeed a policy of justice to all. It wishes to eliminate the danger of a clash between racial groups and make safety, happiness and co-existence possible for everybody.⁴⁴ In short, separate development aims at harmony — harmony for the Whites and Bantu and as indicated later, also for the Coloureds and Indians.

To make the co-existence of different communities a success, Dr. Verwoerd realized that the policy would have to be positive, constructive and dynamic with regard to the Bantu, or else it would not hold any ideals for them and they would strive toward a higher standard of living by means of integration. For this reason, separate development, when applied practically, entails the parallel development of the Whites and the Bantu adjacent to one another, each in his own area. The Bantu will be able to claim the same rights and privileges in his own area as the Whites enjoy in their area. But because he will not be able to express himself completely from the start, the opportunity will be given him, under the sympathetic leadership and guidance of the Whites, to develop according to his own nature and ability and to govern himself according to the system which best suits his nature and traditions, and to serve his own community in all phases of his national life. The point of reference remains that this development, which is to take place gradually, will have to be complete eventually, i.e. it will have to lead to complete self-government. On the basis of the principle of domination ("baasskap") by the Bantu in his area, and domination by the Whites in their area, the Whites and Bantu will from the start have no right to ownership or citizenship rights in each other's territory. As early as 1956⁴⁵ Dr.

44. Cf. i.a. the following speeches: Institute of Administrators of non-White Affairs, Bloemfontein, 17th Sept., 1956; Radio Message, 3rd September, 1958; Blood River, 16th December, 1958; Meyerton, 26th March, 1960; Farewell Message, 3rd March, 1961; House of Assembly, 10th April, 1961.

45. Bloemfontein, 17th September, 1956.

Verwoerd made it quite clear that the Whites who go to the Bantu areas for the sake of gain, will be subordinate to the interests of the Bantu. The opposite is naturally also true.

It is generally accepted that the Bantu areas, according to the present pattern of living, are too small to accommodate the entire Bantu community. Because the Bantu cannot be allowed to starve in the reserves, the search for work and the resultant influx to the White areas, with all the related vices, will continue indefinitely unless steps are taken. However, even if we should try to expedite the intended programme, we were warned by Dr. Verwoerd that the numbers of Bantu in White areas would only begin to show a decrease in 1978 when there would be a turning point. A solution to the problem cannot be found in terms of the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936, by continuing to buy up some of the White area and adding it to the existing Bantu area. An effort should rather be made — and this too will be the task of the Whites and take place at their expense — to provide the Bantu population with another way of life so that he may eventually be able to maintain himself in his own area. A series of processes which will take much time, have been initiated to build up the Bantu homelands.⁴⁶ While this first phase of Dr. Verwoerd's Native policy had been going on — a phase which, as we have said, would continue until the end — the second phase had commenced, immediately after he became Minister of Native Affairs. This phase is characterized by a number of constructive measures, which in themselves did not introduce a new system but were only the consistent application and expression of accepted principles and a radical overhauling of the administrative machinery. All the measures mentioned in this section could be carried out without additional costs for Treasury and were, therefore, readily accepted by the White taxpayer.

One of the first matters which demanded immediate attention emanated from the swift industrial growth which South Africa experienced in the post-war years, with the resultant swift influx of Natives from the reserves and from the country districts to the cities, especially Johannesburg. Because the local authorities were totally unprepared to accommodate such a large Native population properly, terrible conditions developed, especially in

46. Cf. i.a. the following speeches: Natives' Representative Council, 5th December, 1950; Senate, 20th May, 1952; Vryheid, 25th August, 1955; Bloemfontein, 17th September, 1956 and 31st May, 1960; House of Assembly, 23rd March, 1961 and 23rd January, 1962.

the locations in the Johannesburg municipal area and eventually also in squatter communities outside the municipal area. Not only were the locations hopelessly overpopulated, but in the squatter camps especially, where White and Asiatic owners exploited the situation unscrupulously, no provision was made for sanitary facilities or water amenities. In this way the health, not only of the inhabitants, but also of the surrounding White areas, was threatened, because many of the squatter areas were situated in areas which either bordered on White residential areas or areas to which White residential areas would eventually extend. The spreading at random of Native residential areas around the cities was replaced as a result, with a system in which provision was made for planned residential areas around the cities.⁴⁷ Sufficient territory, with a view to future development, was set aside for this purpose, buffer areas between White and non-White urban areas were designed, roads and transport to them were planned in such a way that the movement of the Bantu through the White areas could take place with the least possible amount of friction.

In the new residential area a huge housing programme was initiated through which houses were made available on a scale unheard of before. To catch up on the great backlog, the Site-and-Service Scheme was started. Hereby, former squatters were provided with ground in a fully-planned residential area in which all services such as water, sanitation, street lights and roads were provided on a rudimentary basis; where they were allowed to erect a temporary residence on the corner of the site until more effective housing could be provided.⁴⁸

A principle which evoked much opposition, was that the resettlement of the urban Native took place on the basis of ethnic grouping. Actually it had many advantages, as was later generally admitted. In this way the urban Natives were linked with their various homelands and education was promoted. Not only would schools be within the reach of every group, but provision could be made for mother tongue education. Of special importance, however, was the fact that it facilitated municipal control. Bantu clerks and police would be chosen from the groups which they had to serve, and in this way friction in the carrying out of their duties would be limited to a minimum.⁴⁹ Tribal clashes, which had occurred rather often previously, could be controlled effectively to

47. Bantu, November, 1954, p. 8.

48. Bantu, October, 1954, p. 14.

49. Bantu, October, 1954, p. 16-17.

promote the happiness and peaceful existence of all the inhabitants.

While the authority and the community accepted the responsibility of properly housing the Bantu who carried out essential work in the White areas, an undue influx of Bantu to the White areas has to be guarded against. Although many employers welcome a surplus of labourers in the population and prefer to take "raw" or unskilled workers into their employ from time to time, it is a disadvantage to the Whites in general, because housing facilities must be provided for them on land around the cities, which has a very high market value and is therefore expensive to purchase. An uncontrolled influx of workers is, however, even more disadvantageous to the Bantu as unemployment, lower wages, poor housing and vandalism may arise, with the attendant dangers of crime, poverty and social evils of all descriptions. To combat all these evils effectively, influx control is consistently and strictly applied and no more Natives are allowed in a particular area than for whom work can be provided.

In close contact with influx control, the labour bureau system has been in operation on an urban basis since 31st October, 1952. It is the task of the Native Labour Bureaux to channelize Bantu labour and to prevent a surplus of labourers in one particular area while there is a labour shortage in other areas.⁵⁰ At the same time steps are taken to decrease the numbers of illegal Bantu emigrants to the Republic as these hamper the work possibilities of the local population.

Administrative machinery was also overhauled with regard to the control of identity and movement. The old system which demanded that Natives should carry a great number of passes and documents of all descriptions, was replaced as from the 1st February, 1958 with a reference book system through which a Native could prove his identity without any difficulty. Details, especially with regard to freedom of movement, is now greater than previously, and the right to be at a place other than his home area, are noted therein. For the Natives, therefore, a source of annoyance has been eliminated.

The preceding measures support the principle that the Bantu will be recognized only as employees in the White area and for this reason will not be able to have citizenship rights there. Because Whites and Bantu are mutually regarded as temporary inhabitants in one another's areas, the Bantu community is not

50. Bantu, December, 1954, p. 5.

able to develop to a noticeable extent in the White's territory. The present Government is not prepared to give ownership rights in the White areas to the Bantu, and immediately put a stop to the practice started by its predecessor. The measures referred to in the preceding paragraphs are, therefore, only intended to assure the Bantu, who comes to the White area to carry out necessary services for his own benefit, the advantage of an orderly and decent existence.

With regard to the Bantu areas, it is a completely different matter. The idea of separate development provides for the two racial groups eventually to live, as far as possible, in their own areas. To have this policy succeed, it must not only be made attractive for the Bantu to live in his own homeland but also made possible for him to accept it as a permanent dwelling place. He must feel happy there, regard it as his fatherland and prefer it above any other area. If this does not happen he will always seek his advantage in the White area.

The attendant problem here is that without radical changes and drastic development — which the Bantu is not capable of on his own — the Bantu areas will not be able to house the entire Bantu community. The knowledge of the Whites, their experience and especially their funds, are necessary for this purpose. The third phase of Dr. Verwoerd's Bantu policy was characterized by his willingness to utilize the knowledge, initiative and money of the Whites to bring about this development. In this respect he displayed new insight and vision by evolving three main stages. To carry out the idea that the Bantu should not only live in his own area, but also rule there eventually, he must be prepared to undertake the function of management on an effective basis. He has to be prepared for self-government. To succeed in this respect the whole community has to be developed and not merely a small group of leaders trained and instructed. It is for this reason that education plays such an important part in the programme of development. In the long-run political autonomy will be of no value at all without a viable economy and for this reason the economic development of the area must be given serious attention.

The first steps in preparing the Bantu to take care of his own functions in connection with self-government were taken in 1951 with the acceptance of the Bantu Authorities Act.⁵¹ The most favourable attribute of this Act is that it links the elementary principles of tribal government in a simple and easily comprehen-

51. Act No. 68 of 1951.

sive manner, and can therefore be followed and understood by all Bantu. In addition, it is based on the sound educational principle of building up from the simple and known to the unknown and complicated. The Bantu Authorities Act has three distinct stages of development and begins with the establishment of Tribal Authorities which are connected to the Bantu tribal or chief's councils whose functions are retained to the extent to which they can be reconciled with civilized standards. After a measure of experience has been gained in this small circle, the next step follows. This entails the establishment of Regional Authorities by joining together two or more existing Tribal Authorities which are already functioning efficiently. In this more advanced circle further schooling takes place before the third step is taken, namely the establishment of Territorial Authorities, which takes place just like the second stage, by joining together in this case two or more Regional Authorities into one government.⁵² In 1956 the Transkei became the first Bantu homeland in which a Territorial Authority was established. Three years later, in 1959, further progress was made and the Transkeian Regional Authority became an exclusively Bantu-controlled body; a White official vacated the chairmanship in favour of a chosen Bantu.

After the Bantu Authorities Act had been in operation for a number of years, the next step followed in 1957 with the acceptance of the Act for the promotion of Bantu self-government. In the Act, provision is made for the gradual development of self-governing Bantu national units, meaning that the Whites will gradually be withdrawn from the administration of the Bantu areas. Furthermore, provision is made in the Act for direct consultation between the Government and the national units on matters of interest to them. Therefore the Act makes provision for the appointment of Commissioners-general whose task it is to provide these units with information, to give them advice and to promote their development in general.⁵³

Self-government must, of course, naturally follow this thorough preliminary development, a trend dramatically pin-pointed by the Prime Minister in the House of Assembly on the 23rd January, 1962 when he announced that the Transkeian Territorial Authority had achieved such a measure of development, according to its own opinion and conviction, that it had asked for the establishment of some or other form of self-government. The Government reacted

52. Eiselen, W. W. M.: *Harmonious multi-community development*, p.5.

53. Bantu, May, 1959, p. 2.

favourably to this request and declared itself prepared to grant the Transkei self-government. This announcement caught the organized Opposition unawares and left it speechless for a time. However, as it came to, it reacted in an unfriendly manner and in characteristic way began to bring the matter under suspicion, with the result that a few lost Rip van Winkles were influenced to give doubtful support to these objections. The problem seems to be that in certain circles self-government is wrongly confused with sovereign independence. It is true that self-government puts the Transkei on the road to independence, but nobody can predict how long it will take to get there. This will depend on the ability of the Transkei itself. The position of the area at present may be compared with that of the Cape Colony in 1872, when this region was granted Responsible Government. For the developed Whites of the Cape, it took almost 50 years — even within the union — to attain full independence. If an under-developed Bantu community can achieve sovereign independence in a shorter space of time, it will be an exceptional achievement.

When Dr. Verwoerd made the announcement, he explained very pertinently that full responsibility would follow gradually. Although certain powers and management functions would be handed to the Transkeian government immediately, there were others which would be allotted in the course of time according to the measure in which the first ones were mastered. The powers and duties which would be placed under their control immediately included, *inter alia*, agriculture, education, health and welfare, local government and roads. The Republic remains guardian over the more complicated functions such as defence, external affairs and certain aspects of the legal system.⁵⁴

Naturally the question arises of the future relationship between the White and the Bantu states, should the eventual expectation — complete independence — be attained by the latter. Dr. Verwoerd also expressed himself very clearly on this a long time ago. In 1959 he declared in the House of Assembly that it was the policy of the National Party that even if the preceding development should lead to Bantu independence, it would be political wisdom to take care that this development would be brought about in such a manner and in such a spirit that it would be possible to retain friendship.⁵⁵ An ideal relationship should be sought, such as that

54. Debates, House of Assembly, 23rd January, 1962.

55. Debates, House of Assembly, 20th May, 1959.

of neighbouring nations who do not make demands on one another or try to dominate one another, but serve their own interests apart and together help to serve their mutual interests.

At a Press conference in London, just after Dr. Verwoerd withdrew South Africa's request for membership of the Commonwealth, he outlined future development very clearly when he said: "I can see a development of a Commonwealth of South Africa . . . a commonwealth where Blacks and Whites can co-operate as separate and independent states. In short, a policy of good neighbourliness based on two principles — political independence and economic interdependence, which is precisely what they are striving for in Europe at present."⁵⁶ On another occasion he added⁵⁷ that for the sake of peaceful co-existence a basis should be established for regular mutual discussions on matters of common interest. Such discussions might serve as a step on the way to a form of consultation which could be compared with that which Britain strives for in its Commonwealth by way of Prime Ministers' conferences.

However, to lead the Bantu to genuine national independence, it is not sufficient to concentrate on the small group of leaders and with guidance, counsel and advice, train them for competency in government. In some way or another the Bantu masses should be reached; this can in fact only be done by means of education. It is for that reason that education features so prominently in the programme to elevate the Bantu. Not that nothing was done in this regard during the past years, but what was done, was done by churches and missionary societies, and serious objections were often attached to the work done by them. Church societies could not always be persuaded to properly define their own interests with the result that these often overlapped. Ethnical and language considerations were totally ignored, and consequently a variety of language groups were thrown together in the same school. As a rule, the syllabus followed the European pattern, and the Bantu could therefore not be trained for service to his own community. The unhealthy creation of "white-collar ideals" resulted in widespread frustration amongst the so-called "learned" Bantu. Missionary schools, which were often alien, if not hostile to the Government policy, could therefore never become community schools. In any case, the provincial administrations, with whom control over these schools rested, were not capable of effectively

56. *Sunday Dispatch*, 19th March, 1961.

57. Debates, House of Assembly, 23rd January, 1961.

exercising it as no regular contact with the Bantu population, and education could therefore not be co-ordinated with the other services.⁵⁸

To combat these disadvantages, all aspects of Bantu education were placed under the control of the Department of Native Affairs in terms of the Bantu Education Act, which simultaneously marked the acceptance of a new policy. Community education — an education service of more benefit to the community than to the individual — was stressed, with the result that the provision of basic, elementary education to the whole community was preferential to advanced education to a limited group, although higher education was by no means neglected under this new deal. A very real attempt was made by this new legislation not only to interest parents in the education of their children, but to incorporate them. For this purpose Bantu schoolboards and school committees were introduced so that, by the end of 1961, 4,000 parents served on 496 schoolboards, and more than 34,000 parents on nearly 5,000 school committees.⁵⁹ Apart from being able to serve the cause of education, a great number of parents also became familiar with the first principles of committee work.

It will not suffice, however, to take the Bantu to his homelands and there prepare him for self-determination if the means to be self-sufficient is lacking. Without a strong economic background any political system will collapse sooner or later. Traditionally the inhabitants of the Bantu homelands are tillers of the soil and breeders of cattle, but because even under the best circumstances only about one quarter of the population is able to make a living in this way, it has become imperative that attention should be paid to the economic development of the region and that other possibilities to provide a means of livelihood should be discovered and developed. In this connection the following possibilities are particularly being considered: That section of the population which in future will depend on agriculture and animal husbandry, should be properly instructed in the application of the most effective agricultural methods. They must be assisted not only to assert themselves in that field but to maintain a standard of living which will benefit the whole community. For the Bantu who cannot make a living on farms, large Bantu towns are being planned where they will be trained for trades and professions

58. From an address by Dr. W. W. M. Eiselen on 27th April, 1954 — see 'Bantu', May, 1954, page 16.

59. The progress of the Bantu people towards nationhood, page 33.

characteristic of urban communities, and will be encouraged to practise them. The effective administration of such areas will inevitably provide a refuge to a great many Bantu, while it is being anticipated that the new agricultural policy will result in the production of great quantities of raw material which will lead to the founding of industries and factories under Bantu supervision and control. Since it takes time for these processes to grow to maturity, no immediate and spectacular results should be expected.

Lack of capital is a serious impediment to the rise of an independent Bantu economy. The Bantu Investment Corporation of South Africa⁶⁰ with the South African Native Trust as the sole shareholder was created to assist in meeting the demand. The Corporation, whose task it is to guide and encourage the economic development of the Bantu, aims at "the provision of capital or means, technical and other assistance and guidance, the furnishing of expert and specialized advice, information and enlightenment . . . the encouragement, extension and establishment of existing or new industrial and financial undertaking in Bantu areas . . . the encouragement of thrift and the planning and promotion of capital accumulation by Bantu . . . and the promotion of Bantu self-help in the economic sphere."⁶¹ According to the testimony of a former Minister of Bantu Administration and Development⁶² the reaction of the Bantu to the opportunities which the Investment Corporation was creating for them, had been particularly encouraging and their interest was manifested not only in respect of the creation of wholesale and retail businesses but also in "utility services and recreational and industrial enterprises which all point to a balanced development."

What is further being done for the Bantu in the economic sphere, links up with Dr. Verwoerd's remarks in London that future relations between the Whites and the Bantu would be based on "political independence and economic interdependence". Even after the accomplishment of the ideal of separate development, the two groups will still remain in touch economically so that economic planning for the one must necessarily result in benefits for the other. It is therefore perhaps an opportune moment to point briefly to Dr. Verwoerd's economic policy in general and to

60. Act No. 34 of 1959.

61. Eiselen, W. W. M.: *Harmonious multi-community development*, page 10. See address delivered by Dr. Verwoerd to Parliament, 23rd Jan., 1962.

62. Min. M. D. C. de Wet Nel to the Federated Chamber of Industries, 5th November, 1959.

emphasize in particular the interaction of the interests of the two groups.

It can today be justifiably stated that Dr. Verwoerd's serious interest in the development of an economic policy which is now the accepted policy of the Government, can be traced to the years when he was Minister of Native Affairs — which is convincing evidence of how closely connected he regarded the interests of the two groups in the economic sphere.

Industrialization is generally recognized as the greatest potential employer and consequently that sector which holds the greatest promise of employment. Taking into consideration the basic approach of the social policy of separate development, the social results of a programme of industrialization should be taken into account. Almost 81 per cent of the gross production of private industry in 1956-1957 took place in the territories of the Western Cape, Port Elizabeth, Durban — Pinetown, and the Southern Transvaal, including Pretoria which comprises only 3 per cent of the total area of the country. The result of this was a heavy concentration of the population in a few cities. This is made obvious by the fact that the European population in the five most important cities increased by 296 per cent between 1910 and 1959 and the Bantu population by 682 per cent as against an increase of only 145 per cent of the total population. Should industrialization continue on the old pattern, more and more Bantu will be drawn from the homelands to the traditional White areas. It has in fact already been estimated that according to this pattern, the close of the century will see approximately 15 million Bantu as against 6 million Whites permanently resident in the White area.

Great disadvantages, both to the individual and the state, are connected with the concentration of factories and the population, in a few cities. The central, provincial and local authorities will have to reckon with the increase in cost of the provision of civil and social services, the maintenance of law and order, and the organization of traffic and market services. For the individual this is disadvantageous, as the cost of land is rising immensely, and the great distance between the residential area and the place of employment pushes up the cost of transport. Furthermore, the incalculable social cost which is a result of the disintegration of family life, the rise in crime etc., must be taken into consideration, for as in the case of any other country, in South Africa the tremendous exodus of the population from rural areas to the cities goes hand in hand with great social and even moral disruption. The social costs are high especially for the Bantu population, where

the worker usually has to break away from his community ties and his traditional home.⁶³ Bearing this in mind, the commission for the Socio-Economic Development of Bantu homelands recommended in its majority report that the decentralization of industries should be proceeded with. In the execution of this, it suggested that the development of industries under the control and supervision of the Bantu should be encouraged; that industries in the Bantu reserves should also be developed under White initiative and with White capital. The Government accepted the first proposal but not the second as this would create a form of partnership and bring Whites to the Bantu homelands, which is inconsistent with the conception of separate development. In the interest of the general economy of the country a scheme therefore would have to be drafted to stimulate industry (which is the greatest employer of the Bantu) and which at the same time conforms with the policy of separate development. While the Bantu as a result of financial limitations and lack of knowledge and experience, is as yet unable to establish in the Bantu areas sufficient industries to provide the Bantu with employment, a solution has been seen in the development known as "border areas", of which Dr. Verwoerd can rightly be regarded as the father.

The Government expressed itself very strongly on this matter and stated its point of view that the development of European-owned concerns in areas where there is great demand for Bantu employment would be of the utmost importance for the sound socio-economic development of the Bantu areas. These would be in White areas suitably near to the Bantu homelands. To this was added that eventually the necessary steps would be taken to create necessary industrial attractions in such areas. The standpoint of the Government is of importance for two reasons in particular. Firstly, because the stress falls on undertakings which require considerable Bantu labour, and the establishment of industries is encouraged with due consideration to labour structure. With this in mind, industries which will require the employment of large numbers of Bantu labourers are planned for the border areas, while industries which are greatly dependent on White labour will be reserved for White areas. Secondly, it is of importance to note that measures will be taken to attract certain industries to the border areas, and that compulsory measures will not be employed. The industrial laws of the country are being respected and the decision with regard to the site of an establishment remains

63. Statement by the Prime Minister, 2nd June, 1960.

the prerogative of the entrepreneur. Obviously he will settle where he expects the largest profit, and if the bait is attractive enough, he will settle where it is offered.

The concept "border areas" implies areas or places near Bantu reserves where industrial development under White guidance and with White capital can take place, but which are at the same time so situated with regard to the Bantu areas that the families of the Bantu industrial workers can be housed in the Bantu areas in such a way that they can lead a full family life. So the ideal border areas will therefore be those where the Bantu labourer is able to live in his own area and be transported to his sphere of work daily. But since labour is, however, not the only factor to be considered in the establishment of industries and the availability of other conveniences also plays a part, it will be necessary to include certain areas in the concept "border areas" where additional provision for temporary housing on a work basis will have to be made. Consequently areas within 30 miles from the Bantu homelands can be regarded as border areas.⁶⁴

This policy which had its origin in socio-political considerations, at the outset evoked severe opposition which one can quite understand. But, as a result of the well-known determination of the creator of this policy it gradually became more acceptable. After Dr. Verwoerd became Prime Minister, the implementation of the border area development was transferred from the Department of Bantu Administration and Development to the Department of Commerce and Industry where, indeed, it belongs. This transpired in June, 1960 and since then it has become the accepted policy of the country, the application of which is gaining in tempo. Its implementation takes place under the co-ordinating action of the Permanent Committee for Industrial Settlement, which is directly answerable to the Minister of Economic Affairs.

Apart from the social advantages which the border areas hold for the Bantu, it will also offer considerable economic advantages to the Bantu homelands. Border industries will enable the Bantu worker to spend his earnings in Bantu areas and in this way the basis will be laid for future large-scale development. The housing programme for industrial workers will develop towns in the Bantu areas, where the Bantu will practise all the tertiary professions which necessarily must follow. In this way a need will develop for all the service industries which the Bantu, helped by the Bantu Investment Corporation, may already own and control. The centres

64. Statement made by the Prime Minister, 2nd June, 1960.

of development which in this way come into existence in the Bantu areas, can also stimulate the surrounding agriculture by supplying nearby markets.⁶⁵ Furthermore, the provision of employment for the Bantu in the border areas offers him the opportunity of being trained for work which will gradually qualify him for business management in his homeland.

The more complicated the economic life of a community becomes, the more the State is expected to shoulder certain responsibilities with which the individual in his private capacity cannot cope; and need arises not only for economic-scientific advice but particularly for a forum for discussions and more or less informal consultations and co-ordination between the State on the one hand and private business interests on the other.⁶⁶ As the Social and Economic Planning Board which was dissolved in 1952, could not fulfil this need, Dr. Verwoerd proceeded to establish the Economic Advisory Board in June, 1960. This Board, to which Dr. Verwoerd rallied experts from different sectors of the economy of the country, and with divergent political approaches, is a further milestone in the contribution of Dr. Verwoerd to the economic life of our country.

Dr. Verwoerd's greatest contribution to the economic prosperity of recent years, was not of inherent economic nature, but was linked with certain traits of his personality. The most important of these was his far-sightedness, his determination and single-mindedness when a policy had to be formulated. The anchor, and at the same time the basis of economic development, and especially industrial development, was based on trust. Steadfastness and consistency inspire trust, and it is in this sphere that Dr. Verwoerd as leader of the Government inspired confidence with a consistent social policy.⁶⁷ His economic policy was after all one of the important factors towards the creation of harmony in the country and between all the ingredients of his population.

In conclusion, before we leave the subject of Dr. Verwoerd's policy with respect to the non-White sections of the population, attention must be drawn to the future prospects regarding the interests of the Coloured people and the Indians. Because these two groups are minority groups which, unlike the Bantu, do not have homelands, their future is being planned more or less along the same lines, but on a totally different basis to that of the Bantu.

65. Statement by the Prime Minister, 21st May, 1960.

66. Statement by the Prime Minister, 22nd March, 1960.

67. Cf. Dr. Verwoerd's speech to the Afrikaans Trade Institute, 15th September, 1961.

Strictly speaking, the South African Coloured community, though a very old ethnical group, enjoyed no official recognition before 1937. An interest was taken in their welfare only after the appointment in 1937 of a commission to investigate the interests of the Coloured community. In spite of this investigation there was as yet no official body which could represent the interests of this growing community in or out of Parliament. In 1943 a Coloured People's Advisory Board was brought into being which, however, was dissolved again in 1951. To bridge this gap, a Division for Coloured Affairs was established in the Department of the Interior, headed by Dr. I. D. du Plessis as Commissioner for Coloured Affairs. Since then constant expansion took place until in 1958 the Division became a full-fledged Department with its own Minister.

In the formulation of a policy with regard to the Coloured people it was accepted that, although the community is fairly widespread over the Republic, the densest concentration and the greatest increase in the population occurred in the Western Cape. So great is the increase that the population of the Western Cape is expected to multiply to probably 3,500,000 within the next fifty years. In the future industrial planning of this area the fact must be considered that a great potential source of labour is available — a source of labour which must be protected from intruding Bantu labour before it is too late. Therefore the presence of the Bantu in the Western Cape must be regarded as more temporary than in any other part of White South Africa.

As the Coloured People have, with the exception of about 2,000,000 morgen of land, no national home, the principle of separate development will in their case have to be applied in a different way to that of the Bantu. Thus the prospects are that the Coloured People, in terms of the Group Areas Act, will be placed apart but within the same boundaries as the Whites, in their own residential areas where they will be prepared for eventual total self-dependence.⁶⁸ As is the case with the Bantu, the aim is to lead the Coloured People by means of education, economic independence and increasing political experience to total independence.

Presumably it is known what is being done for the Coloureds in the fields of general formative, lower and secondary education. In addition, there are the Technical High Schools, the trade schools and agricultural colleges which prepare the Coloureds for spe-

68. Debates of Parliament, 4th May, 1959 and 10th April, 1961.

cialized professions, while the Coloured University College of the Western Cape is the crowning glory of the education of Coloured People. To accelerate Coloured development, all aspects of Coloured education were placed under the Department for Coloured Affairs, with the further prospect and gradual implementation of Coloured school committees and school boards, a Coloured Board of Education and Inspectorate, and with Coloured officials to execute the policy where possible.

In executing what was envisaged by Dr. Verwoerd in the field of economic development in a statement on 7th December, 1962 a Coloured Development Corporation was created on the 1st May, 1962. The object in view was to promote and to encourage the progress of the Coloured in regard to industrial, commercial and financial matters in his own areas.

The development of the managerial experience of the Coloured links up with the managing of municipal duties in his own towns and cities and is gradually expanding. The Union Council for Coloureds which was initially only an advisory body has since its establishment been a useful link for consultations with the Coloured People. Therefore the object in view is to expand the status and authority of this Council to that of a Controlling Council, which will take care of all the interests of the Coloured People in the country. Eventually the Council will have its own Executive Committee, which will function as a kind of Cabinet. That there is not going to be any unnecessary delay in executing this development is evident in the assurance given by the Prime Minister in December, 1961 to the Council for Coloured People that the framework of their future social capabilities will be elaborated within five years and that within ten years their own Parliament and Cabinet will be put in full control of all matters regarding the Coloured community.

Exactly what is being offered to the Coloured is being visualized for the Indians. Here, too, a start will be made with a nucleus in the Department of the Interior which can gradually grow to a full-fledged Department for Indian Affairs. Each step taken to help the Coloured Community will also be applicable to the Indian Community, if and when there are clear indications on their part that they will be willing to co-operate on the basis of separate development.

The Foreign Aspect

Since South Africa does not lead an isolated existence but almost daily comes into contact with the rest of the world in various ways, the Government policy of Dr. Verwoerd was also characterized by a search for harmony with those parts of the outside world with which South Africa naturally comes into contact. These are especially the British Commonwealth, the Western countries and the emergent African states which deserve our attention in this connection. The outcome of the referendum, which was held in October, 1960 implicated the South African and Commonwealth relationship. Before 1949 it was taken for granted that, if a member should become a republic, then withdrawal from the Commonwealth would be imperative. When later the structure of the Commonwealth was altered to the effect that republics could remain members, the National Party adopted the point of view that the establishment of a republic and membership of the Commonwealth were two separate matters, each of which should be judged on its own merits, and that in the consideration thereof, the interests of South Africa should be the decisive factor. In agreement with this, it was decided at the time of the referendum that for the sake of national unity, the ties with the Commonwealth should be retained. With a genuine desire of confirming South Africa's continued membership, Dr. Verwoerd left for the Conference of Prime Ministers but made it very clear that should South Africa in exchange have to allow interference in its internal policy, this would be too high a price to pay.⁶⁹

On his arrival in London on March 4th, 1961 it was obvious that considerable rancour was awaiting the Prime Minister. A hostile tone was apparent in the Press in general in addition to which was cleverly added cartoons in which South Africa and also Dr. Verwoerd were ridiculed. At first at the airport and later at the Dorchester Hotel where Dr. Verwoerd and the South African delegation were staying, unfriendly demonstrations were held and banners stating "No to South Africa", "No to Colour Bar!" and "Go home Verwoerd!" were displayed. That same day a protest march through the streets of London was organized. With Fenner Brockway, the Labour Party member for Eton and Slough in the lead, a crowd of 600 people massed in front of the headquarters of the Trade Union Council in Great Russel Street and from there moved down Oxford Street to Speakers' Corner in Hyde Park. On the 8th March, the opening day of the Prime

69. New Year Message, 31st December, 1960.

Ministers' Conference, the Black Sash with Mrs. Barbara Castle in its ranks, took up position in front of Lancaster House, where the conference took place, to give vent in its own special way to its feeling of dislike for South Africa and its "Apartheid" legislation. Even from the pulpit the Bishop of Southwark, Dr. Mervyn Stockwood, snarled at Dr. Verwoerd: "In the name of God, go, clear out of the British Commonwealth." And in this way many examples of obvious and outspoken hostility can be quoted.⁷⁰

But there was also a counter campaign, though to a far more limited degree. On his arrival in London the British "National Party" tried to make Dr. Verwoerd feel at home with banners of "Welcome Verwoerd!" On the way to Hyde Park Fenner Brockway's procession clashed with supporters of this line of thought who shouted "Keep Britain White!"

Stand against the Attitude of the West and the Afro-Asians

At the conference too, it was soon obvious that several Prime Ministers lacked goodwill. Especially Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria and Dr. N'Krumah of Ghana did not hide their dislike of South Africa under tables and chairs, and confused the atmosphere to such an extent that Dr. Verwoerd felt obliged to withdraw South Africa's application for continued membership. Dr. Verwoerd blamed the failure of the conference on the immaturity of some of the members who, in spite of discrimination in their own countries, persisted in making demands on South Africa in insulting language which amounted to meddling in the internal affairs of South Africa. "They are too young, too new, too small," he summed up these states on his return to South Africa.⁷¹

Dr. Verwoerd felt obliged to withdraw South Africa's application, obviously because it was under prevailing circumstances in the interest of South Africa, but that was not the only reason. Dr. Verwoerd saw an opportunity to maintain harmony with Great Britain and the older members of the Commonwealth. It was generally felt "that the friendship and co-operation between the United Kingdom and South Africa will no longer be thwarted by the continuation of such embarrassing deliberations but that it can be strengthened bilaterally in many ways".⁷² Despite the foregoing provocation and insults Dr. Verwoerd wanted to avoid a breach between South Africa and Great Britain. Through the

70. *The Rand Daily Mail*, 13th March, 1961.

71. Speech at Jan Smuts Airport, 20th March, 1961.

72. See Dr. Verwoerd's message from London, 16th March, 1961.

tact and wisdom with which he handled the difficult situation, and the calm dignity of his bearing he not only established himself as a great statesman, but won friends for South Africa. Contrary to what could so easily have happened, South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth not only did not sever existing relations but, as far as South Africa's feelings towards Great Britain were concerned, it led to better understanding and greater harmony.

What happened at the Prime Ministers' conference, is actually insignificant compared to what South Africa has to endure at the United Nations each year. This organization which was called into existence after World War II and whose members were experienced and responsible countries, soon deteriorated into a battle scene between the Western democracies and Communist Russia. In order to assert itself in this world body, the latter engineered the membership of a large number of young and altogether immature states from Africa and Asia. Since then South Africa, as the last stronghold of the Western ideology in Africa, has constantly been the target at which these small states aim their arrows, often to conceal their inability to govern their own countries responsibly. As a rule the Western powers identified themselves with the denunciation of South Africa in the vain hope of gaining in this way the support of the statelets in the struggle of the West against the Communist bloc.

However deplorable this attitude is, Dr. Verwoerd remained hopeful that the West would conquer its blind prejudice and become convinced of South Africa's sincere endeavour to organize the co-operation of the races on a healthy basis. In the same way he believed that the Western world would sooner or later realize that South Africa and South West Africa were but pawns in a game which would eventually turn out to be aimed against them. But the uneven fight which South Africa has to wage did not break Dr. Verwoerd's spirit. On the contrary, he accepted it as a challenge which stressed the enormous task awaiting South Africa.

"Whichever obstacles the world and all the states of Africa should lay in our way, over generations it has been the triumph of the human spirit to overcome obstacles, and not be overawed by them. Therefore let us not be upset by the world and what it has to say about us; let us only be disturbed should we not have enough spirit to fight, to work and think, to overcome that which had been laid in our way." This was his calm reaction when at the opening of two tunnels in the Northern Transvaal, he evaluated South Africa's position as seen in the light of hostile world opinion.

Though South Africa has little reason to be grateful to the West, Dr. Verwoerd bore these states no grudge, but proceeded in his imperturbable manner to strive for harmony as widely as possible. "As far as the outside world is concerned," he remarked on occasion, "the Government of the Union harbours the most peaceful intentions and the greatest of goodwill".⁷³ "We seek friends among all other nations of the world," he said on another occasion⁷⁴ and he afterwards proved that this was not idle talk. It is only natural that South Africa, in spite of what is being said about her in Western countries, should continue to build up bonds of friendship with those countries. After all, the countries from which our nation descends are also part of the Western world. But with the African states it is a different case. Except for sharing the same large continent there are few other binding ties. In reality much happened to bring about estrangement and alienation. The core of opposition to South Africa resides in Africa, from where hatred and rancour against South Africa are being instigated and where schemes originate which aim at nothing less than the total annihilation of the White man in South Africa. In spite of all these taunts, Dr. Verwoerd remained calm and in his handling of the situation regarding the African states, his greatest qualities as a statesman were revealed.

One of Dr. Verwoerd's most remarkable speeches was the address delivered on the occasion of the opening of the two tunnels through Wyllie's pass, which were named after him. In the unimpeded connection of the area north of the Soutpansberg mountains with the rest of South Africa, he saw an opportunity to draw a wider symbolic parallel. "The hearts of the people of South Africa are open with regard to the north, and are also open for a gesture from the north," he said, and added, "but an obstacle has been placed there, an obstacle caused by hatred and jealousy, by enmity, ignorance and under-development . . . from our side the tunnels are open but the obstacle still exists in the spirit of these people who need us, but who do not realize it."⁷⁵ Just as we were confronted with a physical challenge — the mountains of granite through which a tunnel had to be cut — in the same way there is a spiritual challenge to break down the barrier, even though the hardness of the human heart is sometimes more

73. See Dr. Verwoerd's radio message to the nation, 3rd Sept., 1958.

74. See Dr. Verwoerd's speech at Jan Smuts Airport, 20th March, 1961.

75. See speech on the occasion of the opening of the Hendrik Verwoerd Tunnels, 18th November, 1961.

difficult to penetrate than the hardest granite." However difficult the task may have seemed, he had no doubt that this obstacle too, would eventually be conquered. On the occasion of the Convention for the Promotion of Exports in Johannesburg he said, among other things, the following: "I am quite convinced in my own mind that as time goes by and present feelings subside, the services which South Africa can render through its specialized knowledge of African conditions, and its proximity to African States, will prove more attractive than all the bad feelings which exist at present. For that reason I am firmly convinced that we should retain proper self-control . . . In the course of time, change must come. The change will come but not through any words of ours . . . It will be through the deeds of progress here, the ever-remaining willingness to aid others . . . our preparedness to share our know-how of the particular conditions of Africa with African states — such factors, deeds, will ultimately change the attitudes with which we are faced to-day".⁷⁶ He added that this, in a nutshell was his Africa policy. He did not only seek the friendship of African states, but was also prepared to co-operate and to make available to them all our specialized knowledge which they do not yet have at their disposal. In spite of everything that has happened and despite their hostility towards us, we still endeavour to find harmony with them. For this reason Dr. Verwoerd condemned the tendency to flaunt South Africa as the leader of our continent, because that suggests that the other states which, just like us, wish to stand on their own feet and do not want to be subordinate to any other power in the world, are in fact dependent on us.⁷⁷

Verwoerd, the Man.

In a sense it is arrogant to try to allot a place in history to a person who has so recently died. Though nobody can foretell what the completed structure would have been like had he lived to complete it, it is possible to judge the foundation on which it is built. This is as much as we are capable of attempting at this stage in our endeavour to evaluate the work of Dr. Verwoerd.

From what has been said in the foregoing pages about Dr. Verwoerd's policy the conclusion may be drawn that as a statesman he honoured the tradition of his people, that he identified himself with it and that he proceeded to build on it. In considering, how-

76. See speech on the occasion of the Convention for Promotion of Exports, 16th May, 1962.

77. Unveiling of Bust, Univ. of Pretoria, 15th Sept., 1961.

ever, the great moments in his life during the past five years — the establishment of a republic, South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth, the evolution of the idea of separate development with the Transkei Bill as the climax of what has been attained up to the present time, one must conclude that he did not merely round off and terminate a process of history. The essence of his leadership is locked up in the fact that he built on tradition but at the same time elevated it to a higher level; that he introduced an ingredient that previously was not a part of the process. In this sense he was more than merely a good organizer; he was a creative leader. Thus, he had already attained lasting greatness, and the generations to come should be prepared to give him a niche among the few very great ones which our history has so far produced.

If we stop to think for a moment on what Dr. Verwoerd had achieved in the comparatively short time of eight years, of achievements which stand as living monuments everywhere in our national life, of a full life which is sacrificed unselfishly day by day year in and year out in service of the fatherland and its people, then the question arises, perhaps presumptuously: what was the secret of his gift, of his ability to do everything so seemingly effortlessly? One seeks a political philosophy — no, even stronger — for an all-embracing philosophy of life, which makes all this possible; a philosophy which is there, but which perhaps cannot at this early stage be clearly discerned and expressed in words.

In reading through Dr. Verwoerd's speeches — and one must at once concede that these will cause differing reactions — one irresistably comes under the impression that a formidable intellect was at work, an intellect which probes each situation logically, analyzes it in detail and on the strength of what it finds passes a judgment which cannot be doubted. The spirit and thought that emerges is so overwhelming that the man Verwoerd, in humbleness and simplicity, fades to the background and is hardly noticeable. This is in keeping with Dr. Verwoerd's own belief that Man in himself is small and not capable of much. The urge for self-preservation, however, is essential to life. Knowing his weakness, Man thus seeks support — anchors, like those to which Dr. Verwoerd referred on more than one occasion. Man's strength in life and that which he is equal to, will depend on the anchor which he has chosen for himself.

What were the anchors of Dr. Verwoerd? Fortunately it will not be necessary to speculate about this for he once answered this question himself very definitely. On a certain church occasion

he stated clearly that he regarded as anchors the fact "that we must stay closely knit together as a nation, and not become international" but above all, "that we must cling to the anchor of faith". To this he added that there were certain immortal values to which we must cling, and he named three: love, justice and truth! When we were anchored in our nation, "but in particular anchored to our church on a truly religious basis, and filled with love towards each other, filled with love to God, pursuing justice and truth and living for this" there was no danger which we need fear.⁷⁸

Of all these anchors the most fundamental was his intense piety and unreserved acceptance of the leadership of a Higher Hand. In his radio address to the nation after his election as Prime Minister, he stated frankly: "As believing leaders of a religious country, we have to stress that we will seek our strength in the future, as we did in the past, with Him who rules the destiny of nations". The same day he said in a different context, "Each day I will find my strength in His Word, and not in myself".⁷⁹

Dr. Verwoerd thanked these anchors, which gave strength to his life, for all his other outstanding qualities. They strengthened him, gave him self-confidence, tranquillity and calm, banished all doubt, lent certainty to his existence, and created happiness, joy of living and lust for life. His unimpeachable honesty and his absolute passion for justice, his basis of faith in democracy and his reverence and respect for the opinion of differently-minded political minority groups, can also be traced to this. His belief in our destiny in this southern extremity of South Africa which he accepted as another anchor in his life, made him fearless, undaunted and prepared to fight "in any way" for our inheritance.⁸⁰ From there he also drew the strength to urge his people in times of stress and strain to calmness and tranquility, to make them prepared to sacrifice, and to inspire them to steadfastness. The anchors of his life, indeed, also gave security and meaning to the life of his people.

78. Speech, Centenary of the Reformed Church, 28th March, 1959.

79. *Die Transvaler*, 4th September, 1958.

80. Christmas message to Nat. afternoon papers, 1962.

The Policy of Apartheid, September 3, 1948

Dr. Verwoerd's accession to politics took place on high level. Almost immediately after becoming a member of the Senate, he participated in the debate on the Opposition's motion of no confidence, in which the delay of the Government to put the implications and meaning of "apartheid" clearly and unambiguously before the nation, was lamented. Quoting official publications of the National Party, he gave such a clear explanation of the Government's "apartheid" policy that it was a revelation even to Senators of the Opposition. In this speech a keen observer can clearly perceive the unfolding of Dr. Verwoerd's order of thought, of which only the part dealing with "apartheid" is published.

The apartheid policy has been described as what one can do in the direction of what one regards as ideal. Nobody will deny that for the Native as well as for the European, complete separation would have been the ideal if it had developed that way historically. If we had had a white South Africa in the sense in which we have a white England and a white Holland and a white France, and if there had been a Native state somewhere for the Natives, and if this white state could have developed to a self-supporting condition as those European states have developed by themselves, then we should certainly not have had the friction and the difficulties which we have to-day. Surely it would have been an ideal state of affairs. If the Native had not had anything to do with the Whites, if he were capable of managing his own affairs, it would also have been an ideal state of affairs for him.

And if that is the case, then surely it cannot do any harm to see it and to state it; it can do only good. If you appreciate that you are saddled with a complicated situation, a highly complicated situation, you must have the direction in which you wish to move to solve your problems clearly in mind. In every field of life one has to fix one's eyes on the stars, to see how close one can come to achieving the very best, to achieving perfection. For that reason, I say this: keep in view what promises to be best for your country and try to approach it within the realm of what is practical.

I want then in this connection to give a few proofs that that is our intention. I want to connect my first proof with an attack that was made by the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition in this House on the present Minister of Lands. He said the present Minister of Lands provided evidence that our political attitude was a fraudulent one, because we are supposed to have announced to the public a policy of apartheid which he himself believed was impracticable. The proof of his lack of faith in that attitude was supposed to be contained in a letter which Mr. J. L. Brill published. The letter is from the present Minister of Lands to Mr. Brill. The letter was written on the 22nd of December, 1942. I have it here in its printed form, the form in which, indeed, it was published. This is what the present Minister of Lands wrote, among other things; I am going to quote it. I wrote it down. It is a letter which was circulated by Mr. Brill. He published it as a pamphlet. This is what the Minister of Lands, the leader of the National Party in the Transvaal, wrote, among other things:

“As far as territorial segregation is concerned, ‘total segregation,’ as you call it in your letter of 31/10/’42 addressed to the secretary of our party on the Rand, would have been the ideal solution, but in practice it is incapable of being carried out, because quite apart from all the other difficulties, our own people, our farmers and thousands and tens of thousands of others, who use the services of the Natives and coloured people as labour, would never agree to it. For that reason, as far as ‘territorial segregation’ is concerned, we have adopted as a policy mainly the following:

- (1) That Natives should not be allowed to own land among white people, but that so far as the ownership of land is concerned they should be confined to the various Native reserves;
- (2) that Natives and coloured people in our towns and villages should not live in European residential areas, but that there should be separate residential areas for them, that is to say, separate Native and coloured villages; and
- (3) that in our factories, etc., Europeans and non-Europeans should not be allowed to work among one another, but separately, and that certain sorts of work should be reserved for the Europeans.”

In connection with what I myself have stated up to now, I want to draw attention to the fact that he says in it precisely what has been said before: total segregation may be the ideal but that it is not practicable, and that what can be put into effect are these

forms of territorial segregation, among other things. (Naturally, political segregation as well.) That is what Mr. Strijdom wrote in 1942. He went on to refer to a hospital and medical services for Natives, and then he wrote *inter alia* of:

“ . . . the fact that we use the Natives as labourers in our businesses, in our industries and in many cases in our homes . . . ”

The fact that he used that sentence serves to prove further that having the Native everywhere was within the scheme which he envisaged. Then he went on and remarked:

“Now so far as trading activities and so on in the Native areas and also in the Native residential areas of our cities are concerned. It is clear to me that if segregation is to mean anything, we Europeans except for necessary officials, should stay out of the Native areas. Shops and so on should in my opinion be in the hands of Natives in those areas. For the same reasons we Europeans will have to keep out of the Native residential areas in our cities, just as we want to keep the Natives out of the European residential areas, except for those who have to come in there daily to work.”

We are therefore applying the same principle on both sides, and it is indicated here how the Natives will be everywhere and how they will be separated from the whites. Now I ask in the light of such a clear statement, which must have been known to the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition in this House, because he referred to this self-same letter, how can one in the light of such a clear and unequivocal statement say: “You do not know what apartheid is” and in the second place “those people want total apartheid?” I understand further that his contention is that during this last election we pleaded for apartheid as if it meant total segregation, and that the fact that the Minister of Lands had said earlier that such a thing was impracticable should be taken as proof that we had tried to defraud the public. Has he tried yet to analyse the logic of that argument? What does it really mean? It means in the first place that a person who is, surely, a responsible and thinking person, addressed his whole party openly in 1942 and took up the attitude that while total segregation might well be an ideal, it could not be carried out in practice and furthermore that it was a thing that would be rejected by tens of thousands of people, farmers and who knows who else. Then, a few years after that, in the course of an important election, he is supposed to have gone to the country to plead for what he had said would be both

impracticable and unpopular! Then, when he had in spite of that, won the election he would then suddenly turn round and refuse to carry out the policy for which he had gained unexpected support. Surely it is foolish in the highest degree for any person to make such an accusation. One simply cannot believe that anybody could think so illogically.

The second point is that this correspondence was addressed to a person who opposed the idea that apartheid should not be the same thing as total segregation. The Minister should have seen that he was going to lose supporters if he pleaded for territorial and other forms of segregation as being practicable and capable of being applied instead of for total segregation. And the leader, with a full sense of his responsibility, made that clear to that person who then also left the party and formed his own party at that stage.

"I cannot agree with you that apartheid can in practice simply boil down to total segregation."

These are all the various reasons that I have mentioned for that. He was prepared rather to see his party weakened than to give up the point of view on which he had taken his stand. Yet this attitude is being raised here to-day as evidence that we have committed a political fraud, whereas it is in fact a proof of the highest degree of political honesty; in which one suffers harm for one's faith. Mr. President, I also have here in my possession a number of documents which are general knowledge. They have been spread far and wide. In them is set out the colour policy of this side of the House in unequivocal terms. In the first place the basis on which it is founded is to be found in the programme of principles of the party. Here it is as it appeared in the Transvaal as the programme of principles of the party. In each of the provinces the relevant clause is exactly the same:

"The party accepts the Christian trusteeship of the European race as the basic principle of its policy in regard to the non-European races. In accordance with this it desires to afford the non-European races the opportunity of developing themselves in their own fields, according to their natural ability and capacity, and it desires to assure them of fair and just treatment in the administration of the country, but it is emphatically opposed to any mixture of blood between the European and the non-European races.

It further declares itself in favour of the territorial and political segregation of the Natives, as well as in favour of the separation between Europeans and non-Europeans in general in the residential and, in so far as it may be practicable, also in the industrial field.

Further, it desires to protect all sections of the population against Asiatic immigration and competition, among other things by prohibiting further intrusions into their fields of activity, as well as by an effective scheme of Asiatic segregation."

What we laid down in that way in our basic principles has been worked out further in various documents. One such document sets out the economic policy of the party. It has also been published in English under the title: "The Road to a New South Africa." The form which apartheid in the economic field will take is set out both in the English and the Afrikaans languages. It was distributed in tens of thousands far and wide over the country. Surely a party is to be judged, and a Government is to be judged, according to the point of view that they put before the public.

First I want to point out to you that in connection with this economic policy the Natives are referred to only in so far as their position is related to a series of economic matters. And if it were true that under the apartheid policy which we propagated in this country, we were engaged in advocating that every single Native should be sent back to the reserves, by which the industries of the country would be deprived of labour and whereby we should chase away from the farmers every worker they have; if that had all been the truth, then surely we must have said it in those publications. What we did say, however, and what our policy was, was just the opposite. Here I shall read a paragraph from "The H.N.P.'s Economic Plan for South Africa" in connection with the general basis of our policy. It says:

"The non-European population is an important and valuable economic factor. As such its place in the development of society and the achievement of the greatest possible welfare must be properly recognized. In its own interest and with a view to the most harmonious co-operation with the European race, however, this must be done with the full recognition of essential social lines of division."

There you have the general principle, the recognition of the necessity for the welfare of South Africa of the non-European labour factor. Is that not in direct contradiction to the allegation made from the other side of the House about what our apartheid was supposed to be? I can grasp the fact that people might often not be able to understand something, but then why is a positive meaning which is wrong always attached to it? I read on further here, about labour affairs:

"The imposition of State control in matters of labour in such a way that the necessary farm labour will be sufficiently assured."

I want to indicate by this that we realize that there should not merely be farm labour, but that there should be enough farm labour, more labour than was available under the previous Government. Yet it is stated that we want to remove farm labourers. I come now to industrial development. It is stated here among other things:

"... the assurance to the two established European races of their rightful share in our industries, and the application of a fair quota system and segregation policy in the provision of employment for Europeans and non-Europeans."

Again we have here a clear indication that in the work of the community there will be both Europeans and non-Europeans. That is very clear. Further about the issuing of trading licences we read:

"Non-European dealers will be restricted to the areas where the consuming public consists mainly of non-Europeans, in which areas specially favourable consideration will have to be given to suitable non-European applicants."

There again you have a recognition of the apartheid principle in respect of trading and also in so far as licences are concerned. Again you have proof there that for the number of Natives who will have to buy, there will be Native traders who will sell. That is exactly on the lines of the letter written by the Minister of Lands to Mr. Brill.

Then we come to labour in the towns. There will be a Labour Board. Its task will, among other things, include the practicable application of the quota system for European and non-European labour. To every available labourer, irrespective of colour or race, a proper living must be assured. There must be minimum wages in trade and industry, with the exception of agriculture; they must be fixed for Europeans, coloured persons and Natives. In addition there must be borne in mind the responsible and leading position of the European race and the different living standards between various groups of the non-Europeans. And further:

"With due consideration for the necessity of assuring every worker, including those in the country districts, of a proper and humanly reasonable standard of living, the labour problems of

agriculture and their solution must be placed in a separate category of their own and treated in that way. In the provision of employment in industries the principle of separation of Europeans and non-Europeans must as far as is possible be taken into account, and in order to avoid the exploitation of one racial group to the profit of another, a well-judged and sensible quota system must be applied, with the proviso that if it is regarded as desirable and possible, certain specific industries or activities should be reserved for certain specified groups."

Two things again emerge very clearly everywhere, that the non-European worker will be there to assist in the economic progress of the country; and that there will be protection for one group as well as for the other. It has also been stated, and we are propagating it, that there must be a worthwhile wage for European labour. It has also been stated that there must be enough non-European labour for the country districts. That has been propagated openly.

When we come to "Social Welfare and Public Health," you find that it is stated here:

"There must be separate residential areas for Europeans and non-Europeans, and as far as possible this principle of apartheid must also be applied to the various non-European racial groups in their relationships towards one another, such as coloured people, Indians and Natives."

They must also as far as possible be separated from one another; the Indian, the coloured people and the Natives. The Natives must be separate, the Indians and the coloured people each separate too. Now that almost tens of thousands of these documents have been spread throughout the country it is still said that our apartheid policy has never been defined and is not clear. That is an unimaginable idea. There is another pamphlet which was distributed in tens of thousands throughout the country. All in all close on 100,000 must have been circulated throughout the country. In regard to the first, one might say: There is the economic scheme, and to read no further, but here he cannot say that he has not read anything more, that he therefore has an excuse for not knowing. Here you have clearly "The Colour Policy of the Nationalist Party," "Maintenance of European Civilization as the Prime Task." In it the various aspects of the matter are worked out extensively. The United Party must know of them. I am only going to quote briefly. Under the heading "General Basis" you find:

"The party believes that a determined policy of separation between the European race and the non-European racial groups, and the application of the principle of separation between the non-Europeans racial groups as well, is the only basis on which the character and the future of each race can be protected and made secure and enabled to develop in accordance with its own national character, abilities and destiny.

In their own areas the non-European racial groups will be afforded a full opportunity of development and they will be able to develop their own institutions and social services, and in that way the abilities of the more progressive non-Europeans will be enlisted in the advancement of their own people."

Under "Policy towards the Natives" we find the following:

"The policy will aim at concentrating in so far as it is possible the main ethnical groups and sub-groups of the Bantu in their own separate territories, where each group will be able to develop into a self-sufficient unit."

That is not an effort to exploit differences between the races, this is not an effort to stir them up to hostility towards one another — an effort to divide and rule! As the nations of the world each in its own territory accomplishes its own national development, so also the opportunity will be given here to the various Native groups each to accomplish its own development each in its own territory. To each of them, from the tribal chief to the ordinary Native, the chance is being given to accomplish a fair and reasonable development within his own national group. That has come from those who are stigmatized by the other side as oppressors of the Natives.

Under "Native Land" we find here:

"The principle of territorial segregation between Europeans and Natives is generally accepted. Further, land will only be allocated under the 1936 Act in a sensible way and after a careful investigation, while a determined policy for the rehabilitation of the land and a campaign against overcropping, in which the assistance of the Natives themselves will be enlisted, will be carried out." A body of experts to bring about the proper use of land in the Native territories will be brought into being.

Then further, and, indeed, under the heading "Native Reserves," it is stated:

"The Native reserves must become the true fatherland of the

Natives. It is there that his educational institutions should be, and it is there that these improved services for the Natives should be made available, in contrast to the present policy which is to make them available in urban locations. Prestige and respect must be accorded to the Natives in all fields in the reserves, so that they may set a standard and act as the mouthpiece of the Bantu."

Is that oppression?

"A greater variety of economic activities will gradually be brought into being so as to bring about greater productivity and stability for the Native reserves, and for this purpose planning committees will be instituted."

Is that oppression?

Then under the heading "Natives in Towns":

"The Party appreciates the danger of the influx of Natives into the towns and undertakes to preserve the European character of our towns, and to take energetic and effective measures for the safety of persons as well as of property and for the peaceful life of urban residents.

All Natives must be placed in separate residential areas, and their concentration in our urban areas must be counteracted. The Native in our urban areas must be regarded as a 'visitor', who will never have the right to claim any political rights or equal social rights with the Europeans in the European areas."

Let me just interpolate something here and make a statement to Hon. Senators as to what, for example, happens in other countries where a great trek of workers from one country to another takes place. It is known that as far as France is concerned about three million labourers come in there from Italy every year; they are seasonal workers. Those three million seasonal workers who come from Italy do not obtain any civil rights in France; they are regarded as visitors. And the same thing will apply to the Native in the European areas, though, at the same time we are now going to give him civil rights in his own territories such as he enjoys nowhere at present. That will be the place in which to achieve his ideals. The Native who becomes a lawyer, or the Native girl who becomes a nurse or teacher or whatever the case might be, will in the first place be able to provide his services there in his own community. However, as soon as the Native comes into an area of a European community, then he will have no such political rights there, there in the white man's country. But the reverse is also true. If there are Europeans who have to go into the Native territories — and they will only go there because they have to in order to help the

Natives — they will not enjoy any political rights there. Then I read on further:

“The number of detribalized Natives must be frozen. After that the coming of the Natives into the towns and their regular departure will be taken under control by the State on a country-wide basis, in co-operation with the urban authorities. The Native territories must be placed under an effective efflux policy and the towns under an influx policy. All surplus Natives in the towns will have to be sent back to the country districts or to the Native reserves or to wherever they came from.”

The Hon. Leader of the Opposition became worried yesterday about the use of the word “frozen,” as if one were dealing with people who became bodily frozen so tight in the South Pole that they could not get away again, for he asked whether it meant that the Natives would be placed in concentration camps.

We hope that some of those Natives who become able to serve their own people actually will migrate to the reserves. They should be dealt with in such a manner that they will go there. What will happen is that in that sense the numbers in the cities will be frozen to such an extent that no more Natives will be allowed to come in from outside other than the Natives who have the full residential right to stay there; let only those who are there retain that right. That is not unreasonable. Freezing therefore means that we are not going to permit any new influx as happened under the previous Government, and, indeed, to such an extent that Johannesburg and the Witwatersrand and the whole of that neighbourhood has become one vast breeding place of injustice and crime, of unemployment and all sorts of misery, of poverty and of mutual oppression. Within and outside that city the position has become impossible. It is also stated here that all surplus Natives in the towns should be sent back to the country districts or to the reserves from which they came. They must be away from the misery of those hovels, away from those sacking villages, away from starvation, of little boys who run about and perish and degenerate, and go back to places where some care can be taken of them again. So “freezing” in this case has not the meaning as in the interpolation of the Hon. Senator. I am reading further:

“Natives from the country districts and the reserves will in future be allowed to enter the white towns and villages only as temporary workers, and on the termination of their service contracts they will regularly have to go back to their homes.”

That must also be well understood. The Natives who remain behind in the towns are one group. But a further influx into the towns will be allowed only in the form of such temporary labour. That is very fair, and it is very important that it should be carried out if we want to ensure them, too, the happiness to which they are just as much entitled as we are, namely to be linked to their own community and their liberties. The pamphlet also says:

"The principle of apartheid will be carried out so far as it is possible in practice in factories, industries and workshops. The Native must be induced to build up his own social, health and welfare services in his own reserves. His own capabilities must be enlisted for that purpose."

Social and welfare services take place within the perspective and policy of this side of the House and best by providing for the Native through the Native himself. The hand that gives must be drawn from the people to whom the services are given. That is the first principle of all welfare services. The same applies to self-management. As to its own management I read the following:

"The party is in favour of an individual system of local government, more or less on the basis of the Bunga system, in which the Native chiefs will be completely incorporated and which will at the same time present the educated Native with an opportunity of enlisting himself in the service of his own people. Such a council will be brought into being for every reserve, and they will be able to develop into separate central councils for the various ethnic groups and sub-groups.

The Native Representative Council will be abolished. In the urban locations councils will be instituted which will, however, never be able to develop into independent bodies.

Those two points must be clearly understood. Even the Natives who are going to get their residential areas within or rather near the towns and who will be able to achieve a great deal of local government within those residential areas, those Natives will not be able to go any further within the European area than the obtaining of local government. If they have ambitions in the direction of full citizenship, then they have to go back to the areas that are theirs; but if for their own selfish interests and their own economic gain they want to stay in the Native residential areas within the European areas, then the greatest share in government which they can achieve will be local government. That is giving them more than what those Italians are able to achieve in France.

And then in so far as the abolition of the Native Representative Council in its present form is concerned, that speaks for itself. There was a body created which has to function within the integration policy of some of the members on the other side of the House. There we have a body by which all dividing lines between various groups of Natives are broken down. That body should be able to develop into a sort of parliament. And according to the latest statements of the former Prime Minister something even in the nature of a Native public service, or the elements of one could be added to it which may develop into something far greater. Gradually we should have spread over a single country what would be virtually two parliaments and two public services. Do you not see, Mr. President, the dangers inherent in that, of agitation and of clashes and strife, and of creating many points of friction of the very greatest extent and of the very greatest danger to both groups? For that reason it must be abolished.

Now can anybody really say with an honest mind that when he hears or reads all that, he has no understanding, no idea, of what apartheid means, but merely knows the word? Can anybody on earth really in all seriousness accept it that any person who says that has faced up to the problem in all seriousness? If he says he has heard all that, but still does not know what apartheid means, then he is wilful.

I now come for a moment to the Stellenbosch professors. It is contended that there is a difference between the views of the Stellenbosch professors and the policy of apartheid as it has been set out here; and I contend that that is not the truth. I just want to remind members in passing that the Minister of Native Affairs rightly said that if it was true, then in any event the party on this side of the House is only under a duty to accept responsibility towards its own standpoint and not towards the standpoint of any individual. I however here want to contend that the interpretation that is placed upon the attitude of the Stellenbosch professors is just as unfair and just as mistaken as that which has been flung in our faces up to now. I have here an article by some person which appeared in the *Insan* for August, 1948. It was written on the Fagan Report by a member of the group that is known as the Stellenbosch professors.

It is very clear from the point that that person makes that they are convinced that there are only two courses of policy, and that you must distinguish very clearly between them and must not allow yourself to become confused in your own mind. In regard to this question there are only two courses. They say the

one course undoubtedly leads, whether you like it or not, to equality. (I put it even more strongly, and say that it leads unavoidably to non-European domination in South Africa.) And the other course leads in the direction of total segregation. They do not say that it will come to that; they do not say that they want a thing like that applied immediately. They say "for the sake of getting your ideas clear you must appreciate the fact, the one leads here, and the other there." Then they also say that people have an ideal whereby you can measure your progress along the road and that you must act with due regard for all your practical problems. You can never wholly achieve your ideal. Who manages to do so in this life? But you can move in the direction of your ideal; you can make your position better and better as you approach closer to it. They say that the Fagan report recognizes these two courses. The two courses of policy are: one that leads to equality, and the other which leads to total segregation. Then they say that we realize the practical problems in the application of apartheid. We appreciate the years and years that it will necessarily take to approach the full ideal. And perhaps we shall even never achieve it altogether. But, they say, the Fagan Report, which is against that direction and which also declares itself against equality and alleges that there is a third course: a middle course.

The so-called third course which the Fagan Report suggests that there is, the so-called course of integration is, they say, only equality though they do not want to promote it. It is based on the promise that there will be differences anyway, and that distinctions in administration of Europeans and non-Europeans would have to be made in the spirit of guardianship. And when the Report comes and says what the distinctions are, then in the end the Fagan Report does not dare to say you may draw those distinctions on racial and biological bases. It virtually boils down to this, that the distinctions are of a social and educational nature and then necessarily administration and trusteeship must some day fall away. Thus, though you dare not draw the distinctions on racial and biological lines, yet you will eventually find yourself on the course which leads to equality.

Let me mention a sentence to show that I am not telling a lot of tall stories here. In this case the matter was written by Mr. N. J. J. Olivier:

"It is therefore quite understandable that the criticism which has been directed against the Fagan Report, among others by

the Stellenbosch academicians, did not deal with the specific recommendations that were made by the Commission in regard to the points mentioned in its terms of reference, but with its judgment on general and broad questions of racial policy. It is of particular importance that this fact should be borne in mind, because it was contended after that that the critics of the Report had rejected not the recommendations of the Report, but the facts contained in it — and because those facts are supposed to be incontrovertible (such as, for example, our economic dependence on Native labour) it has been suggested that the critics were following the proverbial ostrich policy and, by hiding their heads in the sand, had refused to accept as true the existence of those incontrovertible facts. Such an allegation is therefore untrue and unfair, because surely no thinking person would be so stupid as to deny our present dependence upon Native labour, or the presence of Natives in our urban areas.”

Here in unequivocal words the exact opposite is being contended of what has been ascribed to them in this debate up to now. Those people also say very clearly: “We see two courses, we choose the ideal of working in the direction of eventual total segregation, but we see the impracticability of an immediate application of it.”

Do you remember what the Minister of Lands wrote in his letter to Mr. Brill? All say that we should, while taking into account all the circumstances of life, keep our eyes on that ideal and work in that direction rather than on any other course which leads us on the road to equality.

Now, Mr. President, I am anxious, if I can, just to indicate a picture of what the two policies are which are opposed to one another. I must accept it that the policy of the party on the other side of the House is, in the first place, the situation as it is. The situation as it exists is the result of their policy, and then I must take account of the promises that have come from that side of the House, because the situation as it would be if they govern is reflected in their promises.

What is the situation as it exists? Europeans and non-Europeans scattered and mingled about the whole of South Africa; Europeans and non-Europeans travelling mixed in the trams and in the trains; Europeans and non-Europeans mixing are already in hotels and places where meals are served; engaged more and more in taking possession of the theatres and the streets; engaged in devastating the reserves; engaged in seeking learning which they do not use in the service of their own people, but which they use in order

to try to cross the border line of European life, to become traitors to their own people and to desert their own people. That is the picture that one sees; that is the situation that one finds to-day; nobody can deny that. The public of South Africa are seeing it with their own eyes. The situation that we find is as clear as daylight. And then in addition we have the promises, and those promises bring with them a frightening picture. Take the promises made by Mr. Hofmeyr, a leader of the party on the other side, perhaps the future chief leader of the party on the other side. What was he saying as long ago as in 1936?

"A citizenship which bears all the marks of inferiority in section after section of this Bill, and then apart from that it bears the additional blot that no matter what the progress of the Native may be, in so far as civilization is concerned . . . he is being limited for ever to three members in a House of 153 . . . But I also object to that because I consider, as I always have considered, the principle of communal representation as an unsound principle."

Here then we have promises, and we are aware of the fact that the speaker, on a recent occasion, submitted to the sentiment of the time and that he has now against his own will become a convert to the idea of communal representation. But I have the greatest doubt whether, if he had the power in his hands, he would not again undergo a reversion. There is thus the possibility of seeking greater representation for the Natives in another way, viz. not along lines of apartheid. On the 14th of January, 1947 that same leader, Mr. Hofmeyr, the leader who is responsible for the defeat of the party on the other side of the House, said:

"Natives must eventually be represented by Natives, and Indians by Indians in the House of Assembly. The extension of the municipal franchise to Indians in Natal and the Transvaal is unavoidable."

The political colour bar must go. In March, 1946 the then Minister of Lands asked Mr. Hofmeyr:

"Are you prepared to undertake here to subscribe to our proposition that the white man should remain the master in South Africa?"

The answer was: "On that basis there can be no permanent relationship between the races (*Hansard*, 28th March, 1946)."

I want to state here unequivocally now the attitude of this side of the House, that South Africa is a white man's country and that he must remain the master here. In the reserves we are prepared to allow the Natives to be the masters; we are not masters there. But within the European areas, we, the white people in South Africa, are and shall remain the masters. The Hon. the Leader of the Opposition said just now that that was the policy of the Broederbond. I wonder what he will say, whether he is also opposed to the idea that the Europeans should remain the masters in South Africa?

I want to carry on now and put it still further, again quoting from the *Forum*, Mr. Hofmeyr's journal. In it it was written as follows:

"Adopt the policy of allowing the Natives to come to the towns; abolish the scandal of the pass laws; revise the colour bar in industry and restore the Native vote to the general voters' roll according to the old Cape form . . ."

Even if that promise is only incipient in the minds of members of the other side of the House, that must help to give one an idea of what would happen to South Africa in the future. It is very clear what will follow upon a growing political equality and the abolition of the other lines of separation. In connection with what they said in regard to the non-Europeans also sitting in the Senate and the House of Assembly at some stage, I only want to say the following: if once these political rights are given to them, then if once they are given the vote, whether it will be given on the same rolls, or even if it is given to them on an increased communal basis, then opportunity is given to them to get the balance of power into their hands in this country. This must necessarily follow from any system of joint political representation.

Surely it is not to be denied that Mr. Hofmeyr has said that the political colour bar should be removed. If you were to do that it would mean that those people who are now already making demands outside for equal political rights would come along more and more with those demands. The more the non-Europeans are scattered among the Europeans, and the more they enjoy that franchise and education, the more its influence would make itself felt, and the influence would be felt mainly in one direction, and that is in the direction of complete equality. Could one blame certain Natives if one day when they acquired those rights themselves they continued to build on them? There is only one course

of action open to us, and that is to let them work out their ambitions in their own areas. But in among us like this, it is an incontrovertible fact that the numbers of voters are getting greater and greater with the passage of years, and that out of those 8,000,000 it will be found — first a few hundred thousand and then a few millions — that they will start to dominate the Whites, first in the political field and later in other fields.

And now a picture on the other side. Firstly, we want to have in the reserves the national home of the various tribal groups; only there can the brains and intelligence that are developing among them find their expression; to the reserves there should go those who are seeking education, for whom the opportunities will exist there. And as far as those who remain in the towns of the Europeans are concerned, they will have their local rights there. In the field of transport there will be separation, so that the mixing on the European stations is restricted to a minimum. The main object is the removal of friction. As far as the towns are concerned, the reserves play quite a big part apart from the development there; one would try gradually to induce more and more of those who are seeking opportunities to move there, out of the towns.

Mr. President, in this connection I am now also addressing myself more particularly to Senator Brookes, who put the question whether it would ever be possible to get enough agricultural land in South Africa for the support of these people. To that I want to say that such an idea rests on a completely mistaken conception of the advancement of the Native and the changes of action which the apartheid policy must bring with it. If you had to think in terms of a country like England, and you were to imagine that in Britain a population should have to live basically on agriculture, then it would not be possible for more people to live there now than in the 18th century, when there were seven million people in Britain. The population of Britain grew as industrial development took place. But again it would be a misconception if one were to think that that meant that every one of those people who have been added is still employed in industry. Together with industrial development there is associated a more complicated national organization and the development of the new organization needs people. In other words, you get your public service expanding; you find your commerce expanding; in almost every field of life you find enormous expansion. That is the position which one has to imagine for oneself in connection with the reserves; not that you should have to be in a position to supply an acre

of dry land to every Native who happens to be in the reserves or who has to find work there. You must have full and worthy development of the reserves taking place, by means of which they become productive for many more people. Certain sorts of irrigation schemes can be instituted in some parts of the territory, and certain types of industries can be set up in, as well as near, the territories, but on the basis of the linking up of the development of agriculture, which will no longer be agriculture on a domestic basis, but which is becoming economic agriculture based on the needs of the Natives, and the development of the industries which I have mentioned and of which I know the Fagan Report is sceptical. On that basis there will develop the further organization of those territories, the chances of existence will increase enormously, and that also will take account of and require the services of numbers of Natives. That is one point which one must bear in mind. When one speaks about the development of the reserves then one should not think merely in terms of land, or speak purely in terms of industries, but of the whole reorganization. You must see that the building up of a nation takes place within its area in such a way that it provides employment and opportunities in every sphere of life.

I am sorry, Mr. President, that the Hon. Senator is absent, for I still want strongly to stress a point which has reference more particularly to his idea. It may, however, at the same time refer to the ideas of hon. members on the other side of the House, and it is this: the whole angle from which the matter was presented in his original motion was whether justice or injustice was being done towards the Natives. But the angle from which I want to approach it is this, whether justice or injustice is being done to the Europeans. It is very easy to argue the whole matter in such a way that it can be viewed only from the point of view of the Native, but to-day you must also survey it from the point of view of the Europeans. Indeed, it is not the Native whose future is being threatened, it is that of the Europeans; the European is really the person who should say: "My rights must be protected". For that reason I say that the whole angle from which Senator Brookes viewed the matter whether it was just or unjust towards the Native, was wrong, and he did not consider the question how justice might be done to the Europeans.

I am closing here, Mr. President. South Africa has to do here with one of her greatest problems, and one of the most serious problems which any country in the world could be called upon to deal with. The question of war and peace is no more serious to

other countries than the problem of finding a solution for a possible clash between white and black is for South Africa. In other countries of the world, where there is also a move towards apartheid, sometimes merely towards apartheid between Whites and Whites, where the present Opposition's former ally, Russia, is discontented at the presence of millions of people of what is merely another European race within its borders, then it seeks to apply apartheid by driving them away with the sword. Then the way to apartheid has to be paved with bloodshed and misery. An example is Palestine, where the Jew and the Arab are up against one another, and stand for apartheid, but mainly in this sense that each of the two parties wants the whole country for itself alone. Where we are prepared to accord to non-Europeans the right to their own opportunities of development, where we bring it about not by means of the sword, but through the benevolent hand of the Europeans who are in the country, then do not arouse suspicions, do not arouse the suspicion of the world outside, where there are so many difficulties, do not arouse the suspicion of the world that there is oppression, but show them that there is a policy which seeks right and justice towards all.

The South African Government's Policy of Apartheid, December 5, 1950

Shortly after Dr. Verwoerd became Minister of Native Affairs, he was placed in the critical position of having to address the Native Representative Council, which had already clashed with the United Party Government and its Native Affairs Minister, Mr. Hofmeyr, in spite of his well-known liberal views and had not met since. Dr. Verwoerd made a final attempt to let this body function by having a straight talk with it. When it, nevertheless, still did not perform its duties according to law, Parliament dissolved it a few months later, on the motion of Dr. Verwoerd. This speech is remarkable not only because it was straightforward and candid, and yet given a very good hearing in contrast with Mr. Hofmeyr's speech at a former meeting, but also because it already contained all the elements of the policy and views of the National Party's Native policy in the following years.

The members of the Natives' Representative Council have again been called together under the provisions of the Act. I am aware that the meetings have been interrupted, but I do not intend to discuss that fact or what gave rise to it. Rather would I, for my part, set the example of discussing policy with regard to the Native people on its merits, and trust that this example will be followed by Council members.

The Natives' Representative Council has a clearly defined purpose and function. Its purpose is to advise the Government on what is *really* of importance to the Bantu. *To be effective*, advice about national affairs must obviously rest on calm consideration, based on clearly formulated facts. The advice diminishes in value, credibility and usefulness when a departure is made from this road of sound judgment.

The sphere in which the Representative Council had to function was also clearly defined in the Act. Everybody here, of course, knows exactly what the Act provides. I have requested that the agenda be drafted carefully in accordance with these provisions, so that the Council may have the opportunity of con-

sidering and reporting on proposed or desired legislation, matters of real importance to the Bantu, and financial matters affecting the South African Native Trust or the Bantu community in general. This meeting will bear fruit only if the discussions are conducted in a businesslike manner and the various subjects appearing on the agenda are disposed of systematically. I recommend this procedure and wish the Council success in its discussions.

Before coming to the main subject of my address, I wish to refer to the unfortunate happenings at Witziesshoek.

It is extremely tragic that the tension and eventual bloodshed should have followed from action which was intended to benefit the Bantu people. The soil and the carrying capacity of Witziesshoek, as of so many other Native territories, have deteriorated, as a result, among other things, of neglect and overstocking. The same is happening on many European farms all over the world. Salvation must in both cases be sought in the application of scientific soil conservation methods and the replacement of excessive numbers of stock by smaller numbers producing better supplies of meat and milk.

The previous Government started introducing such methods at Witziesshoek in the interests of the Native inhabitants themselves. The latter did not, however, all appreciate this and some of them resisted those measures, although their lawful chief was wise and wished to co-operate. Unfortunately, the malcontents were encouraged by agitators, partly from outside the reserves, who no doubt had selfish ulterior aims. The authority of the lawful chief was undermined and play was made on the understandable traditional attachment of the Bantu to their cattle. This resulted in the Department being unable to show them in practice that what was being done was in their own interests.

I am prepared to accept that mistakes were made. For that very reason the present Government appointed an impartial commission of inquiry to discover all the facts, to combat ignorance and to put right any wrong development which had arisen. Influences which had previously misled a section of the inhabitants of the territory were, however, unwilling at first to give this well-intentioned inquiry a chance. Resistance was again stirred up, until the police had to take action to maintain law and order.

I should like to emphasize that police reinforcements did not have to be called in to protect the Commission, which, in spite of defiance, acted with great patience and tact and was, therefore, more or less safe. Extra police were necessary to protect the law-abiding Natives and their lawful authorities in carrying out

their duties under the Act against fellow-Natives who in due course became armed rebels and even threatened them with murder and slaughter. European police lost their lives as a result of the State's endeavour to improve the livelihood of the Natives of Witziesshoek and to protect lives, possessions and the continuance of the work of law-abiding Natives against attacks.

In the interests of the peaceful Bantu, the State must continue to take firm action against breaches of the law and uprisings, and particularly against those who took the lead, or were instigators, and misled many unfortunate people, for whom one should have pity rather than be angry with them.

I do not wish to say more about this. I am awaiting the Commission's report for full details. Thereafter, attempts will be made to remove all misunderstanding and mistakes of action — whoever may have been responsible for them — and I trust that in this I shall have the co-operation of sensible Native leaders.

Just one thing must be clearly understood, however. In the interests of the Natives themselves the application of soil reclamation and soil conservation measures in Native territories, with which is necessarily associated the reduction and improvement of stock, cannot cease for a single moment. If a concession in this regard is made in Witziesshoek, or anywhere else, the Natives will at once be faced with death from starvation and economic deterioration, which must eventually become the lot of the whole of South Africa as well. For that reason too, firm action must continually be taken against those who not only do not help in the interests of their own salvation, but actively resist such steps as are taken to promote it.

My concern is not that we are tackling too much of such constructive work, but that the lack of means in manpower and money makes us take action against too few places. I appeal to all educated Natives and Native leaders to assist in enlightening the Bantu masses on how their own interests are being sought by such activities. Many Natives think that the Europeans have a selfish intent with such a service. This is an erroneous suspicion. It is useless for Bantu leaders to allow things to develop and only then, once crises have developed, to act as mediators, or should the State call in their help. On their own initiative they should follow the much less conspicuous, but much more effectual, path of service to their own people by helping in good time to educate the latter towards acceptance of that which has their economic salvation as its objective. This may prevent dispute and, perhaps, bloodshed in the initial stages.

In the name of service to their own people I also appeal to members of the Council to do likewise. The leader of peace and prosperity is a greater man and deserves more lasting thanks for the happiness which he spreads than does the leader of war and strife, even though the latter momentarily draws more attention or excited tribute. Help me, so that we may bring peace and prosperity to the Bantu, even though we may have to work without hollow acclaim. In our hearts we shall know that we have made people's daily lives better and happier. Let this modest reward suffice for both of us.

Next, I wish to accede to the wish which, I understand, has long been felt by members of this council, namely that a member of the Government should explain the main features of what is implied by the policy of Apartheid.

Within the compass of an address I have, naturally, to confine myself to the fundamentals of the Apartheid policy and to the main steps following logically from the policy. Further details and a fuller description of the reasons and value of what is being planned will have to remain in abeyance today. Properly understood, however, these main features will elucidate what will be done and how this will be as much in the interests of the Bantu as in those of the European.

As a premise, the question may be put: Must Bantu and European in future develop as intermixed communities, or as communities separated from one another in so far as this is practically possible? If the reply is "intermingled communities", then the following must be understood. There will be competition and conflict everywhere. So long as the points of contact are still comparatively few, as is the case now, friction and conflict will be few and less evident. The more this intermixing develops, however, the stronger the conflict will become. In such conflict, the Europeans will, at least for a long time, hold the stronger position, and the Bantu be the defeated party in every phase of the struggle. This must cause to rise in him an increasing sense of resentment and revenge. Neither for the European, nor for the Bantu, can this, namely increasing tension and conflict, be an ideal future, because the intermixed development involves disadvantage to both.

Perhaps, in such an eventuality, it is best frankly to face the situation which must arise in the political sphere. In the event of an intermixed development, the Bantu will undoubtedly desire a share in the government of the intermixed country. He will, in due course, not be satisfied with a limited share in the form of communal representation, but will desire full participation in the

country's government on the basis of an equal franchise. For the sake of simplicity, I shall not enlarge here on the fact that, simultaneously with the development of this demand, he will desire the same in the social, economic and other spheres of life, involving in due course, intermixed residence, intermixed labour, intermixed living, and, eventually, a miscegenated population — in spite of the well-known pride of both the Bantu and the European in their respective purity of descent. It follows logically, therefore, that, in an intermixed country, the Bantu must, in the political sphere, have as their object equal franchise with the European.

Now examine the same question from the European's point of view. A section of the Europeans, consisting of both Afrikaans- and English-speaking peoples, says equally clearly that, in regard to the above standpoint, the European must continue to dominate what will be the European part of South Africa. It should be noted that, notwithstanding false representations, these Europeans do not demand domination over the whole of South Africa, that is to say, over the Native territories according as the Bantu outgrow the need for their trusteeship. Because that section of the European population states its case very clearly, it must not be accepted, however, that the other section of the European population will support the above possible future demand of the Bantu. That section of the European population (English as well as Afrikaans) which is prepared to grant representation to the Bantu in the country's government does not wish to grant anything beyond communal representation, and that on a strictly limited basis. They do not yet realize that a balance of power may thereby be given to the non-European with which an attempt may later be made to secure full and equal franchise on the same voters' roll. The moment they realize that, or the moment when the attempt is made, this latter section of the European population will also throw in its weight with the first section in the interests of European supremacy in the European portion of the country. This appears clearly from its proposition that, in its belief on the basis of an inherent superiority, or greater knowledge, or whatever it may be, the European must remain master and leader. The section is, therefore, also a protagonist of separate residential areas, and of what it calls separation.

My point is this that, if mixed development is to be the policy of the future in South Africa, it will lead to the most terrific clash of interests imaginable. The endeavours and desires of the Bantu and the endeavours and objectives of *all* Europeans will be antagonistic. Such a clash can only bring unhappiness and

misery to both. Both Bantu and European must, therefore, consider in good time how this misery can be averted from themselves and from their descendants. They must find a plan to provide the two population groups with opportunities for the full development of their respective powers and ambitions without coming into conflict.

The only possible way out is the second alternative, namely, that both adopt a development divorced from each other. That is all that the word apartheid means. Any word can be poisoned by attaching a false meaning to it. That has happened to this word. The Bantu have been made to believe that it means oppression, or even that the Native territories are to be taken away from them. In reality, however, exactly the opposite is intended with the policy of apartheid. To avoid the above-mentioned unpleasant and dangerous future for both sections of the population, the present Government adopts the attitude that it concedes and wishes to give to others precisely what it demands for itself. It believes in the supremacy (baasskap) of the European in his sphere but, then, it also believes equally in the supremacy (baasskap) of the Bantu in his own sphere. For the European child it wishes to create all the possible opportunities for its own development, prosperity and national service in its own sphere; but for the Bantu it also wishes to create all the opportunities for the realization of ambitions and the rendering of service to *their* own people. There is thus no policy of oppression here, but one of creating a situation which has never existed for the Bantu; namely, that, taking into consideration their languages, traditions, history and different national communities, they may pass through a development of their own. That opportunity arises for them as soon as such a division is brought into being between them and the Europeans that they need not be the imitators and henchmen of the latter.

The next question, then, is how the division is to be brought about so as to allow the European and the Bantu to pass through a development of their own, in accordance with their own traditions, under their own leaders in every sphere of life.

It is perfectly clear that it would have been the easiest — an ideal condition for each of the two groups — if the course of history had been different. Suppose there had arisen in Southern Africa a state in which only Bantu lived and worked, and another in which only Europeans lived and worked. Each could then have worked out its own destiny in its own way. This is not the situation today, however, and planning must in practice take present day

actualities of life in the Union into account. We cannot escape from that which history has brought in its train. However, this easiest situation for peaceful association, self-government and development, each according to its own nature and completely apart from one another, may, in fact, be taken as a yardstick whereby to test plans for getting out of the present confusion and difficulties. One may, so far as is practicable, try to approach this objective in the future.

The realities of today are that a little over one-third of the Bantu resides, or still has its roots, in what are unambiguously termed Native territories. A little over a third lives in the countryside and on the farms of Europeans. A little less than a third lives and works in the cities, of whom a section have been detribalized and urbanized. The apartheid policy takes this reality into account.

Obviously, in order to grant equal opportunities to the Bantu, both in their interests as well as those of the Europeans, its starting-point is the Native territories. For the present, these territories cannot provide the desired opportunities for living and development to their inhabitants and their children, let alone to more people. Due to neglect of their soil and over-population by man and cattle, large numbers are even now being continuously forced to go and seek a living under the protection of the European and his industries. In these circumstances it cannot be expected that the Bantu community will so provide for itself and so progress as to allow ambitious and developed young people to be taken up by their own people in their own national service out of their own funds. According as a flourishing community arises in such territories, however, the need will develop for teachers, dealers, clerks, artisans, agricultural experts, leaders of local and general governing bodies of their own. In other words, the whole super-structure of administrative and professional people arising in every prosperous community will then become necessary. Our first aim as a Government is, therefore, to lay the foundation of a prosperous producing community through soil reclamation and conservation methods and through the systematic establishment in the Native territories of Bantu farming on an economic basis.

The limited territories are, however, as little able to carry the whole of the Bantu population of the reserves of the present and the future — if all were to be farmers — as the European area would be able to carry all the Europeans if they were all to be farmers, or as England would be able to carry its whole population if all of them had to be landowners, farmers and cattle breeders. Consequently, the systematic building up of the Native

territories aims at a development precisely as in all prosperous countries. Side by side with agricultural development must also come an urban development founded on industrial growth. The future Bantu towns and cities in the reserves may arise partly in conjunction with Bantu industries of their own in those reserves. In their establishment Europeans must be prepared to help with money and knowledge, in the consciousness that such industries must, as soon as is possible, wholly pass over into the hands of the Bantu.

On account of the backlog, it is conceivable, however, that such industries may not develop sufficiently rapidly to meet adequately the needs of the Bantu requiring work. The European industrialist will, therefore, have to be encouraged to establish industries within the European areas near such towns and cities. Bantu working in those industries will then be able to live within their own territories, where they have their own schools, their own traders, and where they govern themselves. Indeed, the kernel of the apartheid policy is that, as the Bantu no longer need the European, the latter must wholly withdraw from the Native territories.

What length of time it will take the Bantu in the reserves to advance to that stage of self-sufficiency and self-government will depend on his own industry and preparedness to grasp this opportunity offered by the apartheid policy for self-development and service to his own nation.

This development of the reserves will not, however, mean that all Natives from the cities or European countryside will be able, or wish, to trek to them. In the countryside there has, up to the present, not been a clash of social interests. The endeavour, at any rate for the time being, must be to grant the Bantu in town locations as much self-government as is practicable under the guardianship of the town councils, and to let tribal control of farm Natives function effectively. There the residential and working conditions will also have to enjoy special attention so that the Bantu community finding a livelihood as farm labourers may also be prosperous and happy. Here the problem is rather how to create better relationships, greater stability, correct training and good working conditions. Apart from the removal of black spots (like the removal of white spots in the Native areas), the policy of apartheid is for the time being, not so much an issue at this juncture, except if mechanization of farming should later cause a decrease in non-European labourers.

Finally, there are the implications of the apartheid policy in

respect of European cities. The primary requirement of this policy is well known, namely, that not only must there be separation between European and non-European residential areas, but also that the different non-European groups, such as the Bantu, the Coloured, and the Indian, shall live in their own residential areas. Although considerable numbers of Bantu who are still rooted in the reserves may conceivably return thither, particularly according as urban and industrial development take place, or even many urbanized Bantu may proceed thence because of the opportunities to exercise their talents as artisans, traders, clerks or professionals, or to realize their political ambitions — large numbers will undoubtedly still remain behind in the big cities. For a long time to come, this will probably continue to be the case.

For these Bantu also the Apartheid policy and separate residential areas have great significance. The objective is, namely, to give them the greatest possible measure of self-government in such areas according to the degree in which local authorities, who construct these towns, can fall into line. In due course, too, depending on the ability of the Bantu community, all the work there will have to be done by their own people, as was described in connection with the reserves. Even within a European area, therefore, the Bantu communities would not be separated for the former to oppress them, but to form their own communities within which they may pursue a full life of work and service.

In view of all this, it will be appreciated why the Apartheid policy also takes an interest in suitable education for the Bantu. This, in fact, brings in its train the need for sufficiently competent Bantu in many spheres. The only and obvious reservation is that the Bantu will have to place his development and his knowledge exclusively at the service of his own people.

Co-operation in implementing the apartheid policy as described here is one of the greatest services the present leader of the Bantu population can render his people. Instead of striving after vague chimeras and trying to equal the European in an intermingled community with confused ideals and inevitable conflict, he can be a national figure helping to lead his own people along the road of peace and prosperity. He can help to give the children and educated men and women of his people an opportunity to find employment or fully to realize their ambitions within their own sphere or, where this is not possible, as within the Europeans' sphere, employment and service within segregated areas of their own.

I trust that every Bantu will forget the misunderstandings of

the past and choose not the road leading to conflict, but that which leads to peace and happiness for both the separate communities. Are the present leaders of the Bantu, under the influence of Communist agitators, going to seek a form of equality which they will not get? For in the long run they will come up against the whole of the European community, as well as the large section of their own compatriots who prefer the many advantages of self-government within a community of their own. I cannot believe that they will. Nobody can reject a form of independence, obtainable with everybody's co-operation, in favour of a futile striving after that which promises to be not freedom but downfall.

With this my task for today has been fulfilled. There remains for me to explain the status I have with this body and what procedure I have to follow, since much misunderstanding has been caused on this matter by thoughtless persons outside the Council. The Minister of Native Affairs is not a member of this Council. He does not, therefore, attend the sessions. In opening the proceedings he fulfils a function similar to that of the Governor-General in opening Parliament and thereafter, as in the case mentioned, withdraws from the proceedings of the body. This conduct, which follows logically from the legal position, has been followed by my predecessors in previous governments and I must maintain the tradition, irrespective of personal inclinations.

Good reasons exist for this practice. The composition of the Representative Council, namely, the chairmanship of a chief official and the membership of other important officials of the Department of Native Affairs, shows clearly that at these meetings political policy or political differences may not be discussed, but only matters of administrative or legislative interest to the Bantu community. In the past a departure from this has already had far-reaching results which I do not wish to see repeated. The Minister is a political personality with a declared policy. His presence must necessarily cause the discussions to deviate from the task of the Council to what actually is not its function. The true interests of the Bantu masses would thereby be neglected. I may not be a party to such an occurrence. I should, therefore, like to request that after my departure you occupy yourselves with the agenda in the required spirit.

Now, it may rightly be said that in my opening speech I occupied myself actually with a matter of political policy, namely, that of Apartheid, but that the Council as such may not discuss it. Let me point out immediately, however, that I have spoken as an outsider and not as a member of the Council, and particularly

that I would not have chosen such a subject of my own free will. I would have preferred to confine myself to the actual functions of the Council. It has, however, long been clear that Bantu councillors eagerly desired that the opening speech should deal with this matter for their enlightenment. They made the direct request to me. Therefore, to meet them, I departed from what must be the normal practice.

Although matters of political policy, particularly party-political policy, and of political differences cannot be discussed by the Council as composed — the official members and the chairman cannot and may not take part in such discussions or reply — I can well understand, however, that Bantu members of the Council will be desirous of discussing such questions with me, particularly with reference to my speech. I therefore wish to create a special opportunity for them, as persons, to meet me on these matters immediately after the conclusion of the official sessions of the Natives' Representative Council. I invite them to a special and comprehensive interview with me on these matters. They will, thereby, be able first to fulfil their duties as councillors with carefree minds without those proceedings being hampered by what is not appropriate. Immediately afterwards they will be given the opportunity, in rightful circumstances, to submit all problems and proposals of a more political nature to me personally from their own point of view, and to obtain a reply from me from the standpoint of the Government. Thereby the law as well as all desires may be fulfilled.

I now declare the session open.

Policy of the Minister of Native Affairs, May 30, 1952

This speech was delivered by Dr. Verwoerd after he had been Minister of Native Affairs for less than two years. The principles of a policy about which South Africa was still fairly ignorant are again here set out very clearly. After Dr. Verwoerd had finished, Senator Tucker said the following: "I would like to say immediately to the hon. the Minister and I am sure all the Senators will agree with me, that we appreciate the objective way in which he made his policy statement and the very full review he has given of various lines of policy which have either been adopted or which are under construction."

Last year I more particularly gave a review of the activities, administrative and otherwise, which had been undertaken for the advantage of the Bantu. This year I want briefly to try to give a survey of my policy and, as I believe, the policy of the majority of the people, in connection with native affairs. That must indicate the course which is systematically and purposefully being embarked upon and will among other things also indicate how the various Acts, Bills, and also public statements which I have made all fit into a pattern and form a single constructive plan.

The main criticism which has justly been brought against the native policy of the Union during the past 40 years is that it was not built up into an organically related system. The aim of the present Government, however, is to plan and to act according to definite principles, so that matters and problems may not simply arise uncontrolled, and perhaps be controlled, in a wrong direction. Shortcomings in the legislation must therefore be made good and dead wood has to be pruned away everywhere; just as I am doing now in regard to the passes. Although the various subdivisions of native policy are now all related I shall for the sake of convenience and for the purpose of dealing with them in a survey discuss them separately. I want to start, then, with matters of policy in so far as the Bantu in the native territories are concerned. I want to start by saying a few words about the former policy, the historical background.

As long ago as the founding of Union it was felt that there should be a definite native policy. As a starting-point it was then generally accepted that the Bantu should be given the opportunity of having a national life of his own inside fixed native areas. That was the view as long ago as 1910. For that reason the first step was to isolate the areas which were then still clearly tribal homes — remember that we are now talking about 1910. In 1913 they were statutorily divided off as such. Those then are the present scheduled areas. Because the three large native areas, Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland, were not included in the Union, these areas appeared to be insufficient, although they consisted mostly of fertile soil situated in good rainfall areas. I do not want to go farther into the position of the Protectorates and their size in relation to the parts that are native areas in South Africa. That is a problem in itself. Considerable expansion of these scheduled areas was held out in prospect, because the idea was that the native areas should be the home of the vast majority of the 4,000,000 natives of those days. They would live there and develop there in the Bantu manner, and from there they would then come as migrant labourers, mainly for the mines, to the white areas.

It will be remembered how the execution of this intention was for various reasons deferred, even after the preparatory investigation had been completed. The matter was first attacked with determination by the first Hertzog Government. In between there had among other things been the first world war. The latter's approach to it was twofold: in the first place provision had to be made for the orderly development of the Bantu and secondly there had to be a considerable native area there within which that development might carry on its course without hindrance. The former part of the scheme was set in motion with the foundation in 1925 of the Native Development Fund to finance the orderly development of the Bantu, mainly out of their own taxation revenue.

The second part of the scheme was placed before the House of Assembly in 1926 but was not adopted, because it was linked with the policy of separating the political development of the Bantu from that of the whites, and because in those days it was a policy for which the two-thirds majority required at that time could not be achieved. As is known this policy was only accepted in 1936, after lengthy Parliamentary discussion. At the same time, in the first place 7,250,000 morgen of additional land for expansion of the native areas was allocated, and in the second place the task of Bantu development, together with the control over

the Native Development Fund, was transferred to the Native Trust. This fundamentally sound legislation for various reasons did not bring about the expected good results. During the long delay the Development Fund had been used mainly for educational purposes of such a nature, and in such a way, that it did not form any part of a purposeful development scheme. In the second place the native areas had already by then gradually become more overpopulated without their productivity being increased.

That was already the case in 1936. Consequently the Native Trust in 1936 had to face up to a disconcerting backlog. Immediately after that its difficulties were still further aggravated. In the short period of three years before the second world war set aside all other considerations, quite a large amount of land was actually bought up, but on the development front action remained at the preparatory stage. The scheme to link up native education as part of a comprehensive scheme under the Department of Native Affairs was a casualty, and education, treated as being in itself an exclusive undertaking, had before the end of the war as a result of expansion and increasing costs, swallowed up virtually the whole of the Development Fund.

At the end of the war, therefore, new resources for the financing of Bantu development had to be found. That was done by having considerable sums of money voted by the House of Assembly each year for the purchase of land, the development of the native areas and native education. Each of them separately. At the same time, however, the financial supervision which the Native Affairs Commission exercised over the provincial-controlled native education was taken away from it. In that way the already weak link which Native Affairs had with this very important development service was broken. Since 1945 the Trust has energetically devoted itself to the agricultural rehabilitation of the native areas. But apart from the shortage of national equipment and trained technicians, the Trust found itself faced with two other enormous difficulties.

The first difficulty lies in this, that it is practically impossible systematically to rehabilitate densely populated and over-grazed areas with the human and the cattle populations in situ, on the spot. The betterment proclamations under which that is done demand of the native population considerable immediate sacrifices for the sake of long-term benefits which appear to it to be very doubtful. Hence the resistance of the natives who, incited by irresponsible elements from outside, in certain cases have gone over from passive resistance to active sabotage and rebellion. The

remedy which is suggested by the natives and some of their advisers, namely to make more land available, over and above the released areas and the determined quota, does not present a solution at all. So long as the natives in general show such poor results as producers of food and can be incited to oppose assistance in improving their methods, it would be disastrous to the feeding of the people to entrust large new areas to them. Not only do they use the existing areas wrongly, but still more soil would deteriorate, if they go looking for more land, just because they do not seek prosperity in the first place in better farming methods. The native areas actually are being enlarged in terms of existing legislation, even now, continually, and in accordance with the undertakings that were given, but that must be coupled with soil conservation and sound stock breeding methods.

Even in the most favourable conditions for the enlargement of the native reserves, however, that would bring only a brief relief, even if we expanded them to the maximum size which South Africa could bear. Since 1913, when the scheduled areas, 10,500,000 morgen in size, were regarded as insufficient, the native population has doubled, and the existing native areas, including the released areas, are already still less sufficient than they were then. The adding of more land, therefore, apart from the economic danger which it would involve, would in any event not provide a complete answer. Within a few years we should again find ourselves in the same old *cul de sac*. The solution is not to be found in an increase in the amount of land, but in a decrease, or at least a stabilization, of the number of native agriculturists. That does not necessarily mean a decrease in the population of the native areas, but a regrouping of them according to occupation. We must get away from that idea of the past that the salvation of the native in his own areas should be done only by way of agriculture. Other sources of income and other occupations must be created for him as well. To contribute effectively to the building up of a Bantu community the separation between the rural native on the one hand and the townsman or city man on the other must take place actually within those areas. Those who seek agricultural work in their own native areas, must devote themselves entirely to that, and on an economic basis, whereas those who earn their living in other ways should not for part of the time be a burden to the agriculturists, for example by being entitled to share in the latter's use of the land and to undermine their whole existence, or by being allowed to leave their families

to live there in a half-hearted way off veld and soil which might provide someone else with a full means of subsistence; whereas they just go on living there and supplement the income which the breadwinner is really earning elsewhere. The separation will demand a great deal of adjustment and will take a long time, but it forms a first essential aim of policy if prosperity for the Bantu and good racial relations are to be achieved.

The second difficulty which faces the Trust is of a still more fundamental nature. Progressive farming is impossible unless you make the farmer progressive. And about the forming of the human material the Department of Native Affairs had little say before 1946 and since then has had no say at all. The rehabilitation schemes could not therefore be co-ordinated with the educational schemes for the provincial authorities. I cannot even elaborate on this, since even investigations of this matter, and the implementing of any recommendations which might arise from them, still fall under the Minister of Education. Under the difficult circumstances which I have mentioned the Trust is carrying on its work. Farms within the released areas are being bought up, wherever they can be obtained at reasonable prices, to bring some relief in that way to the over-populated areas. In many instances however the farms concerned are already densely occupied by squatters, so that few additional families can be placed on them. Outside the released areas, but adjoining them, land is being bought for quota purposes, especially with a view to the removal of spots. The aim still remains to obtain the help of the surrounding farmers and the agricultural unions in the selection of suitable ground with the right situation. Many are of assistance, and then progress is made in the removal of black spots, more particularly because in many instances the natives themselves at present prefer land nearer their tribal associates. Where co-operation on the part of the white community is, however, withheld, progress cannot be made in regard to the black spots. Nor can any progress be made with the co-ordination of natives alongside one another. The same thing applies to white spots.

It is often said that every bit of land which is given to the natives is lost soil agriculturally. That, however, is not true either. All the land which is bought by the Trust automatically becomes a soil conservation area and falls under proper expert guidance. Naturally that means that the Trust cannot buy up land in large blocks but must do so gradually if it wants to guarantee proper control. Its purchases must fit in with the possibilities of its conservation machinery and the staff which it can trust. It is land

which is owned or bought up by natives themselves that is in greater danger. It is therefore the aim of the Trust to get the soil conservation idea spread in the tribal areas as well. Active co-operation by the tribes however — unfortunately to their own disadvantage — has up to now only been obtained in exceptional cases. In order to combat undesirable and uneconomic sub-division of native-owned farms, and in order to be in a position in such cases to draw those farms into soil conservation schemes, I have drafted legislation. It will unfortunately not now be able to come up during this session. But I intend to have it adopted as soon as possible to protect the natives from themselves in that respect as well. That brings me, then, to a few words which I want to say about the new course on which I am embarking, to which I have already partly referred.

The attempt to enlarge the native areas and to save them agriculturally is naturally merely a continuation of the policy which was adopted years ago, and which has been tried by all governments. Tied with the restrictions that naturally occur during war time few developments could be made. The results however, for reasons mentioned above, have not been very encouraging, and a complete solution cannot be achieved in that way. I cannot stress that enough, because that is the basis of the attitude which I am taking and which gives me a settled course to-day, for that reason it is my intention, as I have already indicated, to reorientate thoroughly the outlook and the activities.

The general course is in principle clear now. The soil itself must be cultivated by full-time stock farmers or agriculturists, with economic agricultural units at their disposal, which will differ from area to area according to the nature of the farming there. A truly economic system of farming which will no longer provide merely a single family with food, but which will produce for resale to the coming large non-farming native communities in the native areas, and will therefore bring in cash for them as well, must be the aim. Where irrigation farming can provide a good income for a number of families on small holdings, such schemes must be further developed. Although white farmers sometimes oppose this because they feel that it is leading to unfair competition in the open markets, that is because it is State-aided; that opposition will fall away as and when the native markets within the native areas tend to absorb everything which the natives can produce. In that respect we are therefore living merely in a transition period. Among most tribes urban development will take place, and to these towns those who earn their living else-

where or by other methods than from the soil will have to move. It will naturally be well understood that the rural towns, although they will have to comply with the requirements of hygiene, will not have to take the character of smart urban locations. The development must start with what has already grown up on the site among the natives themselves, their own type of urban development, and the opportunities for their own horticulture and milk and egg supplies must be retained: it must therefore be principally the rural type of urban development.

A large proportion of the present part-time or unproductive farmers who in any event have other sources of income, and especially the additional inhabitants due to the natural increase, will have to be concentrated in those rural towns. In them or from them they will have to carry out the other types of work instead of from their own rural areas. They will comprise the families of the present migrant labourers, among others those of the mineworkers; instead of their living in rural areas they will live in rural villages, in addition to the trading and professional and administrative classes which must in a Bantu town consist of Bantu, but it is in addition clear that other sources of earning incomes will have to be created for the large numbers who will live there. It is self-evident, as in all countries which have developed in that way, that one must look to secondary industries.

To work out a scheme in detail, namely how such industries can be established there without the natives trekking away to the European areas, I have appointed a Socio-Economic Commission which has already for a considerable time been engaged in its investigation. To the smaller inter-departmental committee I have given instructions to go into the special question of how white industrial undertakings in white areas can be brought to, or close to, such concentrations of population, so that the invasion by a steadily growing stream of natives of our cities, which are not in the least organized to receive them, may be prevented in an effective and positive way. The extent to which industries under native ownership may be assisted in native areas — for only native industries in native ownership may be assisted in native areas, European industries will not be allowed there — is also being investigated. This course of policy is of a fundamental nature. I think the salvation of our future is tied up with it, and from its success it will follow that the future of the major part of the growing native population will still be able to remain in its own areas in spite of what opponents say. Two other *ad hoc* committees are engaged respectively in investigating how the

decrease of cattle in the native areas may be tackled in the most effective way and how in the same areas deposits of valuable minerals may be exploited in a way that will be most favourable to the natives. That committee has not as yet reported back, so that I shall not be able to report on it until next year, but that is also an extremely important matter about which there has been nothing but confusion in the past. So much then in so far as the actual development and the relationship of the native to land in the native areas is concerned. But in respect of the natives, governmental reforms are also necessary in so far as the native areas are concerned as well as elsewhere, and I next want to deal with that.

That real progress as well as the maintenance of order must always be based on an organized communal life, is no new idea. The formation of local and village councils in the Cape Province was an attempt to bring about this basis. Because the councils grew out of a system of direct control by white officials, in few of them has any account been taken of the traditional community organization of the Bantu, and these bodies, formed by way of western methods, derive their authority from the Government, and they have become controlling bodies for, but not of, the Bantu community. The co-existence along with them, but not connected with them, of tribal units proves that and also explains the inherent weaknesses of the councils.

In 1920 the councils system was extended to other parts of the country, by our Native Affairs Act of 1920, but nowhere did it strike deep roots because the tribal system had an even greater hold in the northern provinces. This factual situation was taken into account when, also under a National Party Government, full recognition of tribal control was given in the Native Administration Act of 1927. With this, therefore, another step in the direction of self-government was taken; so that there then existed side by side two divergent systems of government, and neither of them was being consistently applied; on the one hand the tribal system and on the other hand the Western system, the councils system. In 1936 still another council, the Native Representative Council, was formed. That was an omnibus body of a country-wide nature. Certain members were nominated by the Transkei Bunga, some members were appointed by the Government as representatives of the tribal natives, and the remaining members were elected by electoral colleges, drawn mainly from the urban populations. It follows from this that the members of this body could not have many common interests.

In the beginning, apart from the advisory and critical functions which were given them in respect of native legislation, more special responsibilities were entrusted to them in regard to the Trust budgets and educational budgets. As a result of its composition the Council considered the first-mentioned task, namely to take an active and a positive interest in the development of the native reserves, purely as a side-line, and did not take any great interest in it. Native education on the other hand was felt to be a common task and was discussed by the council with great zeal, in the initial stages. It was therefore a reverse to the Council that all the say in regard to that was taken away from it when the Smuts Government transferred the financial control of native education from the Department of Native Affairs to the Union Education Department in 1945. That body then turned more and more to the political field and that led to impossible demands on the part of the Council and to its being reprimanded by the previous government, which was answered by the Council by it dropping its functions. And hon. Senators will remember that the Council was also met by this Government, that it experienced the same difficulties and that it was finally abolished by this Government when it persisted in that attitude after efforts had been made to persuade it to give more effective services. With this a body disappeared from the scene which by the very nature of its composition and its lack of a positive task devoted itself exclusively to the fighting of the traditional native organization of South Africa.

I am aware of the fact that Gen. Smuts was considering plans for transforming the Council into a body with extensive powers of control over the native areas. These tentative proposals were, however, not received with enthusiasm by anybody. Because on the one hand they ignored the demand for equality some of the agitating natives were against it, and because on the other hand they sought to confer power over the natives to a Council in which the representatives of those areas could play only a minor role. It is unnecessary for me to enlarge further on the unfairness of this.

A new start had to be made in training the Bantu for possible forms of self-government, based on their own traditions. The Government with its Bantu Authorities Act created the framework for the logical and natural development of the Bantu community in the administrative field. Nobody will deny that it is educationally sound to give rights of self-government to a backward people not suddenly, but gradually. That is why the Autho-

rities Act makes provision for the creation in native areas in succession to tribal authorities, regional authorities and territorial authorities, and it makes provision further for the expansion of their powers and authority as they earn the moral right to that through their initiative and sense of responsibility. Sound evolution depends on starting with small responsibilities within a limited sphere and to go on to greater responsibilities in a wider sphere. The creation of an umbrella authority without proper props to underpin was bound to be and was a futile and harmful undertaking.

Up to now the native policy of the Union in the sphere of government operated on the basis of two concepts of policy: the one depending on the recognition of the tribal system, as a static system, which would sooner or later disappear together with the Bantu national character of which it is the vehicle, and the other resting on the acceptance of the proposition that socio-economic progress of the Bantu people is only possible in its being linked up with Western-orientated forms of control. From that we should have had the result of more and more demands for complete political equality with the whites. That in turn would have brought with it eventual non-European domination. All governments have up to now declared themselves to be against this. When this matter is approached honestly and realistically, it is clear that the key to the true progress of the Bantu community as a whole and to the avoidance of a struggle for equality in a joint territory or in common political living areas lies in the recognition of the tribal system as the springboard from which the Bantu in a natural way, by enlisting the help of the dynamic elements in it, can increasingly rise to a higher level of culture and self-government on a foundation suitable to his own inherent character. The way to this natural and therefore stable building of a community is opened up for the Bantu by the Authorities Bill. So much for the natives, the Bantu in the native areas.

I then pass on to the Bantu in and around the white cities. It might be said that the great course of policy as I have outlined it takes account only of the needs of the native areas, and that a large part of the native population, about 25 per cent, namely those who are in and around European urban areas, will gain little or no advantage from it. Such an idea does not take account of the fact that many so-called urbanized natives still have their roots in the native areas and have their tribal ties, many more than is usually appreciated. I do, however, want to stress in addition that proper thought is being given to them in regard to their

present circumstances, and that it is just their needs which must at the moment have a great deal of my attention. You will agree with me that we can deal with their just needs, in so far as my department has to deal with them, under the following three heads: 1. adequate living areas; 2. adequate housing; 3. an orderly social life. And you will agree with me further that the provision of each of these three needs is closely bound up with the provision of the others. I accept that those who are present in the cities are only entitled to be there if they are prepared to work and there is work available for them. It is therefore only in times of temporary unemployment that the problem of finding employment for them is added. I deal first then with suitable and adequate residential areas.

In so far as the setting aside of sites for locations in small rural towns is concerned there is no real difficulty. I leave out of the discussion the few villages which have developed with an unsound system of native residential areas as parts of the villages themselves instead of locations. Where the quest for suitable sites for locations affects large towns and cities with considerable commercial and industrial development, it is however becoming an extremely difficult question. Where such towns are in mining areas the difficulties become still greater. Our cities have in no way been prepared and planned for the enormous industrial development of the past 15 years and they are still less suited to deal with the enormous increase in their native populations. Because the large influx came during the war years, little attention was given to the question of where the many additional hands who were required had found their homes, as was to be expected in a time of crisis. The position at the end of the war was that at various places large shanty towns had arisen, and that in all the large towns squatter camps had grown up on public and private land, with and without permission and that houses in the locations and native residential areas and even the backyards of private houses were shockingly overcrowded. Some of the recognized locations were so situated that no further expansion was possible and others had already been encircled by the growth of the white part of the town. Almost everywhere new sites had to be found before additional housing could be provided. It is known how difficult it is to find suitable sites. Everyone wants his servants and his labourers, but nobody wants to have a native location near his own suburb. The neighbouring farmers raise objections. The mines are freezing large tracts of country with a view to possible mining development in the future, and neighbouring towns,

for example on the Rand, are continually finding their interests clashing.

Under these circumstances it has become clear to me that this matter must be tackled in a radical way. As a first principle it must be laid down that in every town and particularly in every industrial area, a potentially comprehensive location site, virtually a native group area for their occupation, must be found. It will have to be large enough to house the whole of the working native population, so that peri-urban squatting, the overcrowding of native residential areas and unlawful lodging in backyards may be stopped. A broad hinterland for future expansion must be made available with a view to the further growth of the native population there, that is to say as long as it appears to be unavoidable because economic requirements as they are seen to-day weigh more heavily than other interests, and until the planning and establishment of industries near native areas has advanced sufficiently. Until such time as we have better planning of our country and while the natives are still in the towns, are still attracted to the towns, while that is the case, we shall have to make these plans. The demand for one adequate site per town or urban area is necessary to avoid a series of smaller locations around every town, which would within a foreseeable time lead to the fusion of white and non-white residential areas, as experience has taught us in the past. The latter development must further be avoided by so arranging the hinterlands for the town and the location that their development will be away from one another. Right from the beginning you should be able to say in which direction one is going to develop and in which direction the other will. You must not merely say that, but make provision for that even by legal provisions. I again want to draw attention to the fact that this is all a new course which is being embarked on and with which I am dealing.

I have very clearly stated the conditions for the approval of location sites in countless interviews with municipalities and in public speeches. They may be summarized as follows: adequate distance from the white township; preferably a connection with the native area of a neighbouring town, so that the number of areas may decrease rather than increase; preferably separated from the European area by an area of industrial sites where industries exist or are being planned; within easy transport distance of the town or city, preferably by rail and not by road transport; the provision of a connecting road of its own with the city which is best designed to run through the industrial area; the provision of

suitable open buffer spaces around the proclaimed location area, the breadth of which should depend on whether the border touches on a densely or a sparsely occupied white area, and a considerable distance from main, and more particularly national roads, the use of which as local transport routes should be discouraged. It is known further that I am making efforts, where these principles are being seriously infringed in existing native residential areas, as they are in Johannesburg and Durban, in co-operation with the municipalities to have these wrongly situated residential areas shifted. Another great principle which has to be laid down, is that in the densely populated tracts where various urban and township areas border on one another, regional planning of racial areas is required. In Pretoria, Johannesburg and Durban it has already been introduced. Some have advanced farther, while there are others to which I still have to give active assistance. Indeed, I feel that in so far as the Southern Transvaal is concerned, the whole area from Vereeniging to the other side of Pretoria, and from Springs to a long way beyond Krugersdorp, should in this respect be planned as a single great area.

Hon. Senators are aware of how difficult it is to have land released in mineralized areas for the laying out of locations, and that through this it has in many cases become impossible, on the Rand as well as in the Free State now, and how difficult it is to get other suitable land. To get over this difficulty negotiations have been entered into with mining interests and I have in various instances had to call in the assistance of the Advisory Council on Land Ownership, as well as that of the Advisory Council on Natural Resources in the case of the Free State. I may mention that in regard to serious problems to which Johannesburg and Roodepoort had to face up, the mining interests concerned have now agreed to co-operate with us, where we were formerly up against a blank wall and compulsory measures had to be considered on account of the urgent necessity of obtaining housing sites for natives on the surface of mineralized land. For my part I have sought the assistance of the Minister of Mines to have the Gold Law so amended that in the future deep mining development and prospecting activities in native locations would be permissible, without the mining rights having to fall back to the State. Through that a completely justified basis for objection which has up to now come from the side of the mining interests has fallen away.

In other words I have not merely approved it or refused it when applications have come along, or laid down just where and how locations should be situated, but I have also seen to it that where

suitable land is found on or over mining land, it will be very much easier to obtain that than it has been in the past. As soon as an area in terms of these demands has, together with its hinterland, been indicated, the site difficulties of the town concerned or the area concerned are solved. Even if there is a considerable increase in the population, which I do not want and for which I am not striving, it will not be necessary to seek a new field. It is extremely important to plan in that way for the future, for circumstances will be very much more difficult then than they are now in so far as the obtaining of land for this purpose is concerned. If our predecessors long ago had been able to see all the present developments and had taken the right precautionary measures, then the task to-day would not have been so difficult and the costs would not have been so high. The question of sites is therefore an extremely difficult and complicated problem which I hope will now be solved.

Then adequate housing. Where the site has been found the problem of housing itself arises. Here too the small towns do not present any great difficulty. Building sites are allocated to *bona fide* urban natives at a very low rental, and the natives themselves build their own houses. I stress once again that where the local authority owns the land and creates and controls native locations, all is going on well, yet in a few cases urban properties have been sold to natives, and such rural towns give us cause for concern. In the large towns the same procedure of the country locations was at first followed, with disastrous results because the large numbers, the resulting over-population of small areas with insufficient health services, have created slum conditions there. It was therefore laid down by legislation in 1923 that the local authorities should provide housing for their employee population, and when this arrangement was only partly met the State began to subsidize housing schemes. The whole of the urban native population would then in terms of that policy have found shelter in sub-economic homes, and the municipalities and the State would then jointly have borne the financial losses connected with that. Various formulae have been tried out in an effort to obtain a reasonable adjustment of these debts. After an initial success which produced various suburban housing schemes, a standstill came about for obvious reasons. Hon. Senators will agree with me that when every house that is erected represents an additional permanent loss for both the local authority and the State, the provision of hundreds of thousands of houses does start to become an impossible task. The hands of the local authority in the first place became paralysed,

in terms of that policy, and they stopped using the money which had been made available for native housing.

Various conferences at which all the interested parties were represented were called by the Government in an effort to find a way out of this difficulty. The only plan which they were able to suggest was that the employers should be invoked to make the losses of the town and city smaller. Many of the employers are, however, responsible for the presence of those homeless workers. The domestic servants, the farm labourer and the mining worker are, on the contrary, ordinarily housed by their employers. This plan, namely that the employers concerned should contribute to a fund which would pay for housing them, was not however accepted by me, because it must be realized that one is not able to get a housing campaign on a national scale started, whoever might be left to pay for it, as long as it is founded on uneconomic building methods, that is to say the unsound position: Every additional house for a non-European means an additional burden to the European community. Whether it is the State, or the city, or the individual employer, does not make any difference. It is a principle which is and remains unsound. The regrettable state in which native housing is arises from the same unfortunate idea to which I have already referred in connection with the problem of administration, namely that only two alternatives are considered: either the native is allowed to build a shanty in his primitive way or he has to be looked after by the European as if he were fully Westernized — in this connection through towns being built for him which are laid out in the European manner and supplied with all modern conveniences, therefore with houses which most of the natives can only occupy at a nominal rental, because he cannot afford to pay interest and redemption on the true cost.

The third and only sound way to follow is, however, obvious. It is no use under urban conditions to live in a temporary and primitive straw hut. On the other hand it is not only economically impracticable, but also bad and futile from an educational point of view if the whole of the urbanized native population is suddenly to be carried on the backs of the taxpayers from the hut to a modern planned residence. On the other hand it is practicable and educationally sound that the native should himself find his way under supervision and with guidance from the hut to a proper dwelling which, as his capacity for production and his income rise he can provide with all the amenities which he can afford.

In practice this proposition, which has been accepted in consultation with the Housing Commission, means that we are going to

concentrate on economic housing. The idea is not to be the provision of fine houses for ten per cent of those in search of housing every year, which means that because of new immigrants a new start has to be made every year not on the remaining 90 per cent who are still in complete want but with an additional ten per cent as well. In other words no progress is made. What is better is to provide suitable sites for the entire 100 per cent in well laid-out townships and gradually to provide them with essential services such as water, sanitation, roads and electric light in this order. On these the local authority builds as many economic houses as it can and for the rest the natural capacity and tradition of the Bantu for building his home is given its chance. Rented premises will also be allocated there to persons to whom the right to remain in the urban area has been granted and on these sites they will be able with the assistance of building loans (especially for the material) be able to build their houses or have them built according to approved plans. Such houses could from a small start (for example one or two rooms) be enlarged from year to year into complete family homes, as the ability of the family to pay for them improves. Instead of illegal squatting on unsuitable sites without services and in uncontrolled and uncontrollable communities, in this way ordered communities could with one sweep be concentrated on a sound basis where amenities and beauty could systematically be added.

The house, in other words, comes later, the site and services first. I want to point out that I am reversing the outlook of the past, which was to provide houses first, and then only a small number of homes could be provided, and the rest were left in misery. I am turning round and saying: Find your site first and provide the services, the house will come in good time. Instead of placing a small number in relative luxury, the available money must be used gradually and at the same time to provide housing for all, and in addition the labour and ability of the Bantu to save must be made use of.

The local authority will naturally be forced to provide essential services immediately up to strategic points in the new location areas. Seeing that the obtaining of funds for that has been one of the greatest handicaps in the past, as members of town councils well know, I had to turn my attention to this as well.

The question of services linking up the water and power supplies of the city and its location, which often have to bridge a considerable distance, is important. It cannot be demanded of the Natives that they should pay for this, that is in their home or site rents

or by way of taxation for the services. Nor do I think that the white taxpayer should have to pay for this. I do feel, however, that it is fair that the employer who does not provide housing for his employees and who for the sake of all sorts of advantages wants to erect his factory or his workshops in the city, should be held responsible for this. For this reason I am going to place another Bill before you which will impose a levy on employers out of which such linking services and a contribution to reasonable transport services between the town and the location can be paid. It must also assist in the building up of funds out of which local authorities could draw loans for the speedy installation of services within the new areas, for the interest and redemption on which the residents might well be held responsible.

I think it will be clear to hon. Senators that by way of these methods we shall in a short time progress considerably in regard to Native housing and the removal of scattered squatters' camps as well as the overcrowding of existing homes by lodgers. It must be possible speedily to bring the essential services to approved places, to lay those places out in sites and then to give the squatters and lodgers land where they may lawfully live. Quite apart from the building schemes of the local authorities themselves, where home ownership schemes start proper supervision over the building will prevent the growing up of slum conditions, for that is naturally the danger of such a system. For many Natives who have become accustomed eternally to paying rent these plans provide the opportunity instead of investing their rent and savings in homes which will become their own property. It is true that they cannot become landowners here, because it is regarded as essential that the white local authorities should remain the only owners of land in locations, but that is in keeping with Native custom where the tribe and not the individual owns the land.

That brings me to the third main point, an orderly communal life among the Natives in the towns. Orderly housing is a prerequisite of proper control, whereby vagrants and parasites, who always flourish in slum conditions, as in Newclare to-day, can be cut out. This scheme to house all workers under control, co-ordinated with the control of the influx, which must be made effective by means of the labour bureaux which are now being started will, in my view, radically improve the conditions of the Native populations of the towns, and also bring great relief for the European community.

Peace and quiet in a community can be enforced from above or it may grow up in the community itself. I think we all prefer the

second alternative which produces better results at less expense. The desire of the Native communities to discipline themselves finds expression in the formation of vigilance committees which have arisen spontaneously but which have sometimes unfortunately developed in a wrong way. They must be used for building up a sound communal order. The advisory councils which operate under the present Urban Areas Act have contributed little towards building up community life. They are foreign to the Natives' own traditional form of government and therefore powerless. Something new is needed from which it will be clear that their absorption into the local authority system of the Europeans is not possible. These councils still imagine that it will develop in that direction. For that reason I am going to place a Bill before you to form Bantu authorities for the urban Natives as well. To those authorities the task will be entrusted of disciplining their own people and assisting them in their daily social requirements. I believe that that can be done in the most effective way when the location populations are as far as possible divided off into their natural ethnic groups. Then certain social sanctions of their own can be applied better for the benefit of all.

Here I should like to stress that it is by no means the intention to affect the authority and control of the white local authorities. It has already been said over and over again that the Bantu authorities in the locations in white areas cannot be given the large amount of self-government which Bantu authorities are to have in Native areas. The Natives who come and seek work in white areas can, however, also systematically be trained to look after their own affairs within limits and in that way to bear part of the burden of governing themselves, which will give them greater independence, more activities and more satisfaction. Here too the evolution of the Bantu authority must take place as an educational process. Greater rights and responsibilities can only be entrusted to them according to the way they show their ability to deal dutifully with smaller matters, and to the extent that they accept the scheme within which these opportunities can be afforded them.

In consultation with my department the Commissioner of Police has already changed over to running the protective services in certain locations with a purely Native force. This course will undoubtedly be followed where it can be done by other departments. The Native Builders Act has already opened up this field of labour for Native artisans among their own people in the locations. Various building schemes are now being carried out with Native builders. It is further the policy of my department to

encourage Bantu initiative in their social life. As soon as there are enough of them Native doctors should have consulting rooms within the locations and the trading rights there should be given exclusively to Natives.

In this connection there is, however, also our duty as guardians to watch the interests of Native clients and consumers. Unfortunately it has proved that quite a number of Bantu traders and professional men have not yet developed that tradition of good service which is its own reward. They exploit their own people in contrast, for example, with white traders, who in general know by experience that good service and honesty pay. We must work against exploitation and for the development of that idea of service to their own people among the Bantu.

Local authorities and white employers can both make a great contribution to the development of an orderly social life and the removal of undesirable elements from our urban locations. There seems to be a tacit tendency to give the preference to work-seekers who stream in from outside over those who have grown up in the cities. It may be that the latter are not so easy to deal with and that the young ones are not as strong as the older immigrants, or look for too many white collar jobs as against manual labour. Because they are thrust aside and cannot get any honest work, a great and steadily increasing social problem is being created.

A committee of which Dr. Viljoen of the Wage Board was the chairman recently reported on this matter in respect of the Witwatersrand. In that connection we are engaged in putting our plans in order.

The most important and at the same time the most obvious measure which must be applied to combat this evil is the closing of the urban labour market until the young urban seekers for work have been absorbed. There are 25,000 of them in Johannesburg alone. The local authorities will have to tackle this job effectively in co-operation with our departmental labour bureaux and the Chambers of Industries. One naturally does not want juvenile offenders and hardened vagrants forced on the urban employers. In the amended Urban Areas Act other provision is made for the rehabilitation of these categories of Bantu youth. It is my intention to place them in work colonies and as labour groups in Native areas for the benefit of the Native communities and to rehabilitate them there.

The peace and happiness of the urban Natives also depends on the extent to which they are protected from the threats of their anti-social fellows. Next to the removal of causes of crime such

as bad housing conditions and bad control, protective and reformative action will also have to be taken against those who persist in their socially hostile acts. I am nearly finished, Mr. President. I just have a few words to say about the Native in the rural areas.

As I have said before, the problems in connection with the scattered Bantu population on the platteland are not difficult. I have already referred to the position in connection with locations in towns and Native property owners in certain towns. Beside that the most important matters I have to deal with in this connection may be summed up as (a) the friction which results from Native farm owners in European areas, where overpopulation, subdivision, damage to the sources of water supply due to opposition to soil conservation, gives rise to trouble and leads to claims for the removal of the black spots. I have already referred to this. (b) Control of labour shortages, and (c) squatting on certain European farms. The distribution of Native manpower through the various parts of the country is uneven and in many areas labour is becoming extremely scarce. The lights and wages of the cities draw large numbers of young Natives. In many cases many more come in than are required, with the result that the superfluous ones go hungry, start despairing and eventually join the gangs to which I have referred. In this way both they and their victims suffer, and in addition, there is an alarming waste of manpower.

That is why the labour bureaux to which I have repeatedly referred have been established on a national scale to canalize manpower in the interests of both employee and employer. Emigration control must be established to prevent manpower leaving the platteland to become or to create loafers in the cities. Where there are too many work-seekers the stream will have to be confined or diverted to fields of labour where there is a shortage. I have no doubt that it will *inter alia* benefit the production of food. The South African farmer and his organizations are prepared to co-operate in this respect by fixing wage scales and conditions of service for the principal agricultural areas. It is heartening and will help a great deal. Without it, it will in fact be difficult for the bureaux to supply the platteland labour market.

Loafing and trouble to neighbours on the platteland normally go together with squatting. I have spoken about this before and I think it is just necessary to repeat that I think it will be effectively combated, although spread out over a period, as soon as Chapter IV of the Native Land and Trust Act of 1936 can be applied. To make it practicable, however, certain amendments are necessary

which the Senate has already adopted and which are awaiting approval by the Assembly. I would not mind if it cannot be passed this session, I am trying my best, but I cannot say whether it will be passed during this session. The Labour Bureaux will try, in collaboration with agricultural unions to find new homes and labour facilities for the superfluous squatters. They will also assist in alleviating the labour shortages there by the better distribution of the available labour supply now on the platteland. This matter was fully discussed in the Senate last year. Foreign Natives who come to seek work to a large extent find it on the platteland. This also gives rise to problems there when we try to take action. The stream will dry up and our own growing Native population will have to look to the platteland as an important source of making a living because the demand for labour in the cities and their capacity of providing housing is not unlimited. Besides economic pressure, the increase of the attraction of farm labour will also, however, have to play its part. That is outside my control.

Then I come to the abolition of the pass system.

A sensible system of canalizing labour — advantageous to both employee and employer — is dependent on an effective system of identification and control. The existing Pass Laws do not satisfy this purpose. It is perhaps well known that passes, particularly exemption passes, are forged on a large scale and that reckless people exploit the Natives in this way whilst the control of work-seekers is made extremely difficult. The complete pass system as it has grown up through the years, has become ineffective and troublesome to the Native, the administration of justice and the employer. I should like to put an end to this position. Since I have introduced a Bill on this subject and the matter is being fully discussed, suffice it to make a few passing remarks.

Since the Registration Act prescribes that everyone must carry a personal identification, I am busy, in consultation with the office of Census and Statistics, expediting the registration of Native males. My object is to provide every Native with a handy holder for his identification card in the form of a little pocket-book in which the most important data concerning him will appear, as for example his employment contract and tax receipts. Persons in possession of this card and booklet will then be exempted from the Pass Laws, which will probably be repealed in the near future, and the Native will also not have to carry further documents since everything that is necessary will be recorded there. I think that in this way we are taking an important step forward. We are providing the Native with a valuable and inalienable identification document

and are effectively protecting him against exploitation. On the other hand the measure of control which is necessary in a multi-racial country becomes effective. I also expect further that as a result of this measure there will be much less friction with the police, and that prosecutions due to inability to prove identity and employment will practically entirely fall away.

I therefore conclude with a few words on the general scope of my policy.

I have given a short review of the scope of the Government's Native policy. I could naturally deal with this matter at great length, but I fear that you are already feeling that you have had to give me your attention too long. The Ministers concerned could give hon. Senators information in regard to education, welfare and health services for Natives. As hon. Senators also know, each department of State handles general interests, in which the Natives also share. I do not therefore want to go into that. I only want to state now that all the departments and my department are jointly trying to achieve greater co-ordination of all the services and to mould them into a form, as far as the Bantu is concerned, which will enable the Bantu community to assist in their own expansion. I should finally, at the conclusion of my exposition, from which in the nature of things I had to omit many details, like to give the scope of the Government's Native policy in a nutshell. It must surely be the case that from the early days of Union all honest-thinking statesmen wanted to give our Bantu people their own development in their own areas and communities, which they were not prepared to give them inside the framework of European society. The South African nation never consciously deviated from this fundamental attitude, but the force of circumstances was such from time to time that they deviated from this fundamental idea in legislation and administration without it being clearly realized at that particular time. Also it has never been stated clearly enough that the Bantu's own true development should be built up on lasting values on his own national way of life and that it should never be displaced by forms of culture which are outwardly pasted on to the Bantu.

The scope of the policy which I have reviewed to-day is to clear up inconsistencies in our guidance of the Bantu and to place our plans of development for him on a sound footing, as I have just said. It is in the best interest of the Bantu that this should happen and it is the wish of white South Africa that we should act accordingly. Thank you.

Address to the Federated Chambers of Industry, Cape Town, May 26, 1954

In this speech Dr. Verwoerd, at that time still the Minister of Native Affairs, laid down a policy which steered the course of industrial development in a direction to fit in with the policy of separate development.

I did not come with a prepared address because I thought that if I did you might think that I tried to formulate my ideas in such a way that they are pleasant to hear, but might not reflect the true policy we are trying to follow. I thought you would prefer a more or less informal chat.

I want to start off by stating certain principles on which I think we all agree.

Firstly, it is quite true, as your President said, that Native policy is of great importance to industry because industry needs the Bantu as a worker and because the presence of that worker, the way in which he is housed and the conditions under which employment is permitted, all must necessarily affect industry and its development.

But there is another side to this as well and that is that today Native policy is directly affected by industry. Industry is the magnet which draws the Bantu into what I prefer, and will continue to call, 'European South Africa'.

If Native policy can affect the development of industry — which is quite true — then it must be realised that the way in which industry develops can affect South Africa as a whole and the Native policy which must be applied. Our points of contact are mutual. You are interested in what we do and we are interested in what you do.

Secondly, the prosperity of South Africa, whatever our general outlook, should be our common cause and at the same time we should seek a way of living which will be satisfactory to all — not only European but Bantu as well. And when we seek either a social or economic policy for this country, we should be interested in creating in our industry conditions under which we can

flourish economically but at the same time under which we can preserve our social structure — and in doing both we must see to it that everybody, white and non-white, can live in South Africa, especially in the larger centres, in such a manner that they are satisfied and happy and can see a future for themselves. On this I think we are agreed, but we are not agreed on how this situation is to be created. There are differences of opinion concerning the method by which we can preserve in South Africa our way of life as well as create satisfaction amongst two wholly different race groups.

The standpoint I am defending today, and from which I want to adduce what the relationship must be between those who initiate Native policy and those who are engaged in industry, is based on the following:—

I do not wish to burden you with theories or statistics, but as a simple background I should state that in the present-day South Africa, with approximately $8\frac{1}{2}$ million Bantu plus other non-Europeans and $2\frac{1}{2}$ million Europeans, we find about 2 million Bantu in the neighbourhood of cities, mainly drawn there by our industrial development. Some others who live elsewhere are also drawn to urban areas to work and thereby problems have been created which we are finding hard to meet.

We have to envisage that within the next 50 years, as far as numbers are concerned, the position is going to change materially. If our industrial development is going to take place more or less at the centres where it is at present, it will mean that in the course of the next 50 years the main portion of the increasing Bantu population will be drawn to these areas. It has been calculated that in 50 years' time the Bantu population will be in the neighbourhood of 19 million. The European population with an immigration equivalent to the largest immigration that we have ever had, plus the natural increase, should be in the neighbourhood of $5\frac{1}{2}$ -6 million. This means that whereas the ratio between white and non-white at the present moment is roughly $2\frac{1}{2}:8\frac{1}{2}$, in 50 years' time it will be $5\frac{1}{2}$ -6:19 — and this refers only to the Bantu population, and not to the non-European population.

Another fact to be taken into consideration is that the Bantu population in and around our urban areas is progressively increasing and is expected to reach figures of approximately 12 to 13 million as compared with the present 2 million. The number of Europeans in these urban areas may perhaps be 4 million.

As a specific example of what could happen in an urban area:

the population of the Witwatersrand complex could become 1-1½ million Europeans surrounded by some 2-4 million Bantu. Land must be found for the housing of these Bantu and the problem is whether such land can be found in one direction or not. Such numbers can only be accommodated on all sides of the Rand. This is the problem to be faced in the future. Then the further social and political implications arise. Following on such development, a decision will have to be arrived at as to what the future of South Africa (and the form of rule in South Africa) is going to be. Is this to be European inspired or dominated or must there be a South Africa in which the overwhelming number of non-Europeans will determine what is to happen? One cannot doubt that together with this influx there will be a progressive development of the Bantu population. If this development must take place, then, whatever one's attitude is at present, it must follow that the certainty of European guidance and domination in South Africa will not be able to persist.

This we are not prepared to accept and we believe that our future can be planned otherwise. We believe that it can be done sensibly: not by wild theories; not by sudden changes; not by unwise actions which bring with them bad social and economic consequences. By looking far ahead and planning wisely, one can achieve the preservation of European civilization and yet develop South Africa in such a way that both Europeans and non-Europeans can live in a manner which is satisfactory to themselves and in which neither the one nor the other racial group becomes a threat to the other. It seems to us that the way in which this can happen, is by allowing the economic development to take place in such a way that there is certainty that that portion of South Africa which we know as European South Africa, remains European-controlled. At the same time it should be made possible for the Bantu to find a homeland in which he, too, can have the fullest possibility of separate development.

But how can this ever be if the magnet which draws population towards it — industrial development — is not guided in a certain direction? This is the reason why I have said more than once that as far as long-term policy is concerned (and I must stress 'long-term' because big changes in any direction cannot take place in a short time) it must be accepted that industry should be developed in close juxtaposition to those Bantu areas which are suitable for this purpose. I am not talking about the development of industries within reserves or Bantu areas because such industries as can develop within Bantu areas must be Bantu-

owned and be Bantu industries. We all realise, however, that the Bantu, due to his financial position and the limits of his knowledge and experience, and to a very important extent, his character, will not make the development of industry on a large scale by himself in Bantu areas possible within a short enough time to absorb all those workseekers who must seek an outlet for their energies. It is clear that the provision of work must rest with the European for a very long time to come. For this reason the development of industry, under European ownership and control, must take place within a European area. But, if the labour needed for that industry can be housed in its own Bantu area, then a whole Bantu superstructure of social life and administration can be built there on such a foundation of Bantu labour as in the adjacent European area.

The all-important question is whether this is feasible? Is it practical?

A main criticism has been that it is not practical to distribute industries all along the fringes of the Bantu areas. This is not a true description of my proposal. It would be most unwise to think that you can just string a number of industries all along the fringes of Bantu areas. The true position is that if there are areas in the proximity of the reserves which comply with the special needs of industry, then they should attract the future development which we may expect and hope for. Such areas must be found and developed so that they are capable of serving industry. Industry must be attracted to those areas and not forced there without regard to economic consequences.

There is another point I would like to stress most emphatically. I think we are all agreed that we do not want to stop the economic development of South Africa — even for a period. What we must attempt to do, however, is to reconcile the economic and social needs of the country so that neither the one nor the other causes consequences detrimental to South Africa as a whole.

When the question of feasibility crops up, there are certain facts I would like to state:—

Firstly: There are already large industrial areas which fit in with this idea or ideal. For example, large Bantu areas lie to the north and south of Durban. East London is another industrial city with Bantu reserves close enough to fall in with proper planning on the lines of my suggestion. In this proper planning we must not conceive the Bantu areas as potential urban Bantu locations. Where an industrial area is to be developed, industrial

development must coincide with urban development within those Bantu areas in such a form that the Bantu himself can become the guide of his own destiny.

But apart from these areas I can mention others. The foregoing two are examples of one type of suitable area, i.e. with existing development. The second type is illustrated by a place like Newcastle, i.e. with future possibilities. There you have a European town and 10 miles away is a Bantu area which is being developed and where villages are being established. The area in between has transport, power, water and coal and is suitable for industrial development. The railway which links up one of our main harbours with the Witwatersrand passes the town, and alongside part of the Bantu area is a railway line so that if the employee has to be brought some distance, it can easily be done. Thus it is possible for a Bantu to work in a European area whilst living in a Bantu area with his family.

Thirdly: several other places where individual industries are developing close to Bantu areas can be mentioned to illustrate this point:—

Zwelitsha and the Good Hope Textile Factory.

Foskor Works in Northern Transvaal (Leydsdorp District).

The sugar mill at Pongola.

The pulp and paper industry near the North Coast of Natal (in Tugela, Zululand).

Lime works in Taungs District.

In various places the beginnings of the fulfilment of this idea are therefore present. In addition, I have appointed a Socio-Economic Commission to undertake, amongst others, an investigation into the existence and the location of such suitable areas. Thus far the investigation has proved most satisfactory, I am told, and the possibilities appear to be enormous — not theoretically but when practical considerations are taken into account.

During these investigations, other important factors are not overlooked, i.e. factors which are important in the competitive structure of industry — transport, tariffs, power, wage determinations, etc. All will be linked together in any future planning so that we can guide our future economic development in such a way that the social consequences of the new development are taken cognisance of without interfering with the economic progress which we all value.

In other countries of the world, for strategic or other reasons, decentralization of industry has not only been planned but carried

out. If we in South Africa had to face similar adverse effects which might follow upon industrialisation as we know it, or were forced by water scarcity, we would most likely be prepared to decentralize in certain directions, even uneconomically, in order to avoid them. Why then can't we, in view of the possible social and political consequences for the future, take our Native problem into consideration and plan accordingly?

Our long-term policy is based on co-operation. If we can see to it that attraction and not force plays the biggest part in the siting of industry then I cannot understand why one cannot develop industry in South Africa on the lines mentioned above which seem to us the only ones on which both prosperity and social solidarity can be built.

So much for the long-term policy. What about the short-term policy? There my standpoint is this: Industry is with us and industry is developing. We cannot hold up that development pending the location of suitable areas and sites according to the long-term policy. But in permitting the laying out of industrial sites cognisance must be taken of the requirements of the long-term policy. The matter cannot be left in the hands of the speculators. If we do, my department will continually be left with the burden of finding places where the Bantu employees can live. The development of industrial areas within the short-term period must, therefore, be such that it can fit in with the possibility of providing suitable location accommodation and must be such that the number of industrial areas is not increased beyond the needs of the short-term period. If we allow speculators to go on laying out industrial areas and sites, whether they are needed or not, vested interests will be created which will oppose the development of industry elsewhere for selfish reasons. This will extend the short-term period beyond reason and postpone unnecessarily the coming into operation of the long-term policy.

For this reason, from the point of view of Native Affairs, we oppose the declaration, irrespective of whether they are needed or not, of an indeterminate number of new industrial areas. We particularly oppose this when the new areas are to be laid out in the vicinity of urban areas where the Bantu housing problem has progressed beyond control. There are certain existing areas where the task of housing the Native employees already there forms a particularly difficult problem.

As opposed to this, industrial areas exist which are still undeveloped but adjacent to location areas with much open space where development can take place, not haphazardly, but in full

co-operation with local authorities. There it is possible to provide Native housing even at short notice. I want to mention a specific instance which will illustrate my point. In Johannesburg we have a huge unsolved Native housing problem which, though not insuperable, is nevertheless very difficult. Why should further development there increase the difficulties when close at hand, within the Witwatersrand complex, there are still many unused industrial areas next door to potential Bantu residential sites which can be made use of in the immediate future? South of Krugersdorp, near Randfontein, south and north of Germiston, near Kempton Park, near Benoni and Springs and at various other places along the Reef and near the Vaal River there are industrial areas of various kinds with many variations in the facilities offered which should be able to serve most of the needs of industry if it must be placed in that particular area during the short-term policy period. Why then allow the development of still more new areas? As far as the interim period is concerned, I am convinced that throughout the country sufficient industrial areas have already been set aside which can accommodate this development without accentuating the Native problem in its wider sense unduly, provided that the gradual switch over to the siting of new industry according to the long-term policy is embarked upon simultaneously.

The third point I want to discuss is the housing of the Bantu at present in urban areas. We accept that for quite a long time to come these Bantu must be accommodated. Huge numbers must, however, somehow be dealt with in as short a time as possible — numbers so large that this country cannot undertake the financial burden if we must house them within a brief period on lines which would fully fulfil all expectations. Everybody realises that to build houses for the Bantu on the basis of a structure costing £600-£800 is an impossible task. When your representatives and those of local authorities met my predecessor, it was very clear that industry objected to the high prices of houses and large losses borne by the authorities on family housing at that stage, and rightly so. Since then both investigation and practice have shown that houses can be built quite satisfactorily for very much less, and therefore be economically rented. This has been proved. But even though the cost of housing has been brought down, it is quite impossible to find either the funds or the materials or the labour to build within a short period and even in this fashion for all those who may legitimately be said to need housing. What must then be done? Must we build for 5 per cent or 10 per cent

and forget about the other 90 per cent? Must we leave them as illegal squatters or illegal lodgers either in Bantu residential areas or European back yards? Must we not try to find a way out, even if the solution does not appeal as being sufficiently high to satisfy the standards one would like to set but which does create a tremendous improvement on the conditions in which these people would otherwise be compelled to continue to live?

We must discover that alternative method by which we can aid the whole 100 per cent to some extent as rapidly as possible with the object of them effecting further improvements gradually. There is only one way in which this can be done. That is by laying out a whole village or the villages needed, and bringing in the squatters and placing each family on one site of roughly 60 by 40 feet. If you don't do this they build or remain in hovels on inadequately sized and mostly illegal plots, where they have no water, light or sanitation. In the alternative the village is well planned and on or near the sites. The services are provided which are needed — water, sanitation, roads, perhaps even light, possibly in rudimentary form. Then the person can build for himself especially under guidance, and primarily perhaps only an ordinary squatter's home. But this is the beginning of the village development. Near Johannesburg and elsewhere one very often finds someone who wishes to live outside the city and who builds what he intends to be his garage on his agricultural plot. There he resides but in the course of the next five years or so, he pays off his plot and gradually, over weekends, builds his home as well.

In the same way a Bantu, placed on a legitimate site can, provided the services are installed, gradually build up his home and village. Housing can also be brought to the dweller of a temporary home in a site-and-service system by other methods, for example through city council building schemes when it can obtain the funds. The foundation is the site-and-service scheme.

The site-and-service scheme has been attacked as the creation of a large number of squatter areas. I look upon it as the only method of facing the problem squarely instead of turning our backs on it. Those in need of homes are given the first essential: a serviced plot, and can then systematically, although gradually, improve their position under supervision and mostly with further assistance.

There was one obstacle to this scheme, viz. the finding of money for the services. On realizing this to be the bottle-neck, the Service Levy was introduced. This was done in opposition to the wishes of industry, but once the step had been taken I received, and

remain grateful for, industry's co-operation. The Service Levy has undoubtedly overcome the obstacle.

I realize that at this stage you may possibly wish to vent the grievance that the funds thus collected are not being spent immediately, and in such a manner that you feel satisfied. I admit this to a certain extent, but not wholly. You know yourselves that before the capital is actually in hand, it is very difficult to find somebody who is prepared to carry out tasks for which that money is required. One cannot expect local authorities to go ahead with the expenditure of money not already received, especially while the scheme was in its infancy, a new, untested experiment. I must, however, also add that we are not obtaining as yet the full co-operation of some local authorities in the development of this site-and-service idea which may reasonably be expected. They want to retain the former procedure of spending nearly all available money on building houses. Some even hope that, by allowing this money to accumulate, they will be able to force my hand into permitting them to spend that money on house-building now. They try to get your co-operation in this. I shall stand by the undertaking I gave industry when the levy was introduced: that it is meant solely as a levy to overcome the bottle-neck created by lack of services. The money must be spent for the provision of services, particularly in new areas, and both with the aid of the Bantu's own initiative and housing money made available by the State, or by any other means that we can devise, the house on the serviced site must come in the course of time. I have repeatedly stated that I certainly will not even go to organized industry and ask for its co-operation in making use of Service Levy money for building houses until the local authorities have fulfilled their primary duty which is raising the standard of living of all by settling them on legal serviced sites. This we felt was a good reason for imposing such a levy in spite of the objections which I know industry had.

I give the assurance that I am doing my best to hasten this process and practically every month receive reports on plans for proper spending of the Services Levy. Just as you, I want to see an improvement in the Bantu employees' living conditions as rapidly as possible now that the money for services is available. There is no excuse for most local authorities to avoid providing that particular degree of improvement.

That brings me to the last problem which I think would be useful to discuss here. In certain areas the availability of Bantu may seem to industrialists to be made more difficult than in other

areas. My department sometimes has to deal with the presence and provision of Bantu labour on different lines. I wish to refer specifically to the Western Province. Here I think it is generally admitted that the Bantu was not present, until relatively recently, as a labour force in industry. The Coloured could regard this region more or less as his preserve. I realise that it is now only relatively true, but the Western Province must still be looked upon as the preserve for the Coloured worker. The Coloured population must be expected to increase in size too. It must either spread all over South Africa, or the Coloured man must see some future for himself here in the area which is looked upon by him as his home country. If we wish to guard against an encroachment upon the Coloured persons' future by Bantu influx into the Western Province, then the Bantu worker must be dealt with here as being even more temporary than elsewhere.

It is admitted immediately, in spite of what other people have said concerning our point of view, that the increase of Bantu labour in the Western Province which has taken place more particularly during perhaps the last 10-20 years, is not something that can be undone immediately. It is even realised that the numbers of workers in industry here might still for some time increase. There is no doubt, however, that the influx in the Western Province may not be regarded as one that should last for a very long time to come, and in so far as the arrival of families is concerned, it is a tendency which must be severely discouraged.

In order therefore to deal with the squatter and illegal lodger problem here in the Western Province, we must immediately commence sorting out those families which have been here long enough so that they must be placed on site-and-service schemes or in built-up locations. Those whose bread-winners can be housed in hostels, while the families remain in or return to the reserves, and those whom we do not know exactly how to sort out, should be brought together temporarily into evacuation camps of some kind. The single Bantu should ultimately be housed in cottage hostels. The flow of Bantu to industry in the Western Province must be very carefully controlled because it creates not only a Bantu and Bantu-housing problem, but at the same time causes social problems of major consequences to another portion of the population in this area, namely the Coloured population.

Perhaps I might just add, as seen from the standpoint of the Bantu himself, what is sometimes the reason why he leaves his home in the reserve accompanied by his family: He has certain privileges and rights in his own areas which he loses when he

leaves these areas together with his family — rights which mean much to him. The only reason why he very often brings his family along in spite of this, is because he cannot find, as a single worker in industry, ordinary residence here. If he knew he could be housed in a cottage hostel in single quarters, it is most likely that he would not bring his family with him. It is peculiar, but true, that the very fact that he is forced into squatting has often created the need for a Bantu to have his family with him so that his wife can look after him. The provision of single quarters is going to help the Bantu to avoid this and will also help him in another way. If he lives in single quarters he can very often save much more for his family and his future. The chances of his family progressing and his children being well trained is much greater in his home area than under those terrible conditions under which such families very often have to live when they move into the neighbourhood of a city. Thus, the Bantu himself as well as the Coloured population, will benefit in some ways from this policy of gradually diminishing the numbers of Bantu in the Western Province and in the meantime not allowing them to take root.

In conclusion I want to add that nothing I have said, nothing in the Native policy which this Government is seeking to implement, need create the fear that the economic development of the country is not being taken into consideration or that there are going to be unreasonably timed changes or that there is an unsympathetic attitude towards the needs of industry.

We are looking far ahead and at the same time take the present problems into consideration. I hope that between those of us who are responsible for social and racial welfare and those of you who are mainly concerned in economic development, there won't be opposition but co-operation, because I believe that between us we can solve our problems in a way which is right, which is good for South Africa, and will serve all sections of the population.

Policy of the Minister of Native Affairs, June 7, 1954

In 1953, the Bantu Education Bill was piloted through Parliament. When Dr. Verwoerd introduced the second reading of the Bill in the Senate on the 30th September, 1953, he discussed two issues in particular. Firstly, why Union control over Bantu education was preferable to Provincial control and secondly why the Department of Native Affairs was the proper department for administering Bantu education under Union control. These issues together with several other points of policy, are discussed in the declaration which is published here. As the reader will gather, Dr. Verwoerd read it in the Senate from a prepared manuscript. It was one of the few occasions when Dr. Verwoerd made use of notes or manuscript. This speech was characterized by Senator Duthie as "one of the most important policy motions . . . placed before the Senate."

Mr. President, on previous occasions I have repeatedly and comprehensively set out Native policy. Under the circumstances I do not think that it is necessary or desirable that I should do it again especially because further additions to general policy have been dealt with in legislation which came or will come before this House during this session. But there is one sphere which has this year come under my control for the first time and I consider that not only have hon. members the right to be given a clear and comprehensive statement regarding it, but I think that it is in the interest of the country in general that its mind should be set at rest as regards uncertainty which has apparently arisen among many people who are concerned with it. I refer more specifically to the question of Native education. Under the circumstances I have decided to use this opportunity to give the hon. Senate a comprehensive statement so that there can be no doubt that I am saying exactly what I mean. I trust hon. Senators will allow me to occupy a fairly large portion of their time to-day for this comprehensive explanation and I want to read it because I think it is also in the best interest of hon. members that my

viewpoint should be placed before them in this manner. This applies to the planning of Bantu education.

I start with a general survey by means of a few introductory words. During the general budget debate I took part in the discussion to explain the new financial policy in connection with Bantu education. I am not going into that matter again. At the time I emphasized that the matter not only concerned the re-orientation of the burden of Bantu education, but more especially was a method of financing which will be part of a comprehensive plan to give the Bantu education which does not concentrate on the interests of the individual, but which aims at progress of the Bantu community. As a result of questions which were then put to me, I undertook to further elucidate this plan at a later stage. I now want to keep this promise.

To put the plan of reformation in its correct perspective, I must necessarily first say something about the existing system. By comparing the present system and the new approach, we will get a clearer understanding of the latter and appreciate more clearly that its most important aim is to provide a more effective constructive service. The shortcomings of the present system of Native education can easily be understood when seen in its historical context.

Firstly, schools started as mission or church schools. That was also the case in older countries, but there it was the case of a national church or at least of a Christian church which served a Christian community. In South Africa we have a large variety of churches among the Natives who are to a great extent a heathen community, while the Christian portion has been split up into numerous denominations and sects. The consequences were unavoidable; firstly, there was no co-ordination of school interests with community interests and secondly, there was no co-ordination between school education and the broad national policy. From the nature of things there could not be a natural development from mission school to community school.

Then a second point: the support for schools and the accompanying control of the curriculum was in the hands of the four colonial governments and was later provisionally inherited by the four provincial administrations. Provision is also made in the constitution for Parliament to make other provision. Because segregation was accepted as the country's policy from the beginning, a Union department of Native Affairs was created to look after the interests of the Natives and Native areas were set aside as well. It would therefore have been logical to have co-ordinated

Bantu education with this Department's activities. A step in this direction was taken by taking over the financial obligations of the provinces as regards Native education, in 1925. When a lawful basis was created for the segregation policy in 1936 it was intended to act consequently and to include Native education in the Department of Native Affairs despite the recommendations to the contrary of the inter-departmental Native Education Committee. Legislation to carry this into effect was prepared but owing to various difficulties, among others provincial objections about loss of prestige, the legislation was not introduced and at the outbreak of war was pushed aside. For this reason the situation continued that provincial authorities who bore no financial responsibility and had no powers as regards the promotion of Native interests and communal development and control had to determine the policy. Education in the four provinces therefore did not take into account either the communal interests of the Bantu or the general policy of the country, or the policies of the other three provinces. In other words there was no definite direction and no uniform planning and no co-ordination of other development. The Union Advisory Board, as appears from its name, could only advise the provincial authorities. In fact, its only function was the fair division among the provinces of money which was voted by Parliament for Native Education.

Thirdly, when the Native Revenue Account was established in 1925 two important principles were taken into consideration: (a) that the division of the population (segregation), instead of the acceptance of one multi-racial community, resulted in the Bantu majority to a great extent finding the means for its own development; and (b) that it is a sound educational policy to engender a feeling of responsibility among the Bantu community by allowing it to carry financial responsibility to the extent that it accepts the development as something of its own and in this way guarantees the continuity thereof. Both principles were disregarded when the Native Education Act of 1945 threw the principle of direct Bantu contributions overboard, made all the money out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund available and as far as education was concerned, abolished the Native Development Account.

Fourthly, because the schools did not form part of the community service, education was not built up on community requirements and in the first place was not directed towards the promotion of community interests. The attempts of the provincial Departments of Education to direct it in that direction were only partly successful. In the main, education is provided which aims at get-

ting pupils through examinations which up to Standard V and up to Junior Certificate and at the Senior Certificate standard is practically identical with European schools. The result is the weak grip of the school and the unsatisfactory achievements of the great majority of pupils. Nearly half the pupils are in the sub-standards, ten per cent reach Standard II, $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent reach Standard VI, only a half per cent reach Junior Certificate and very few Matriculation. In evaluating these figures, it must further be borne in mind that the majority who pass, just pass these examinations.

The shortcomings of Native education under the old system can be summarized as follows: (a) under the system of Mission School education, the schools could (1) not serve the community and not utilize it, and (2) they were strangers to the country's policy. (b) Control by the Provincial Administrations was detrimental because it could not co-ordinate the school with other development services, it could bring no uniformity into the service in accordance with the policy of the country, and the provinces had no direct financial interest in this service. (c) A sound pedagogic attitude was sacrificed when there was a deviation of the principle which was laid down on the establishment of the Native Development Account (1925) under which a direct contribution was demanded from the Natives to earn a subsidy from the State. (d) The curriculum (to a certain extent) and the teaching methods, by ignoring the segregation or apartheid policy, could not offer preparation for service within the Bantu community. By simply blindly producing pupils who were trained in European ideas the idle hope was created that they could occupy positions in the European community in spite of the country's policy. This is what is meant by the unhealthy creation of white-collar ideals and the creation of wide-spread frustration among the so-called educated Natives.

This brings me thirdly to the general aims of the Bantu Education Act. The general aims of the Bantu Education Act are to remove the above-mentioned defects by transforming education for Natives into Bantu education; by transforming a service which only benefits a section of the Bantu population and consequently results in alienation and division in the community, into a general service which will help in the building up of the Bantu community.

The means to give effect to these reforms, I see as follows: firstly, the control of the education system is taken out of the hands of the Provinces and placed in the hands of the Department of Native Affairs so that a uniform education policy in accordance with the broad policy of the country can be introduced so that

education can be co-ordinated with other services and so that the co-operation of the Bantu can be organized.

Secondly, the local control of the schools under the supervision of the State is entrusted to Bantu bodies which must now learn to perform a service for the community as a whole which was performed by the mission churches for a section of the community. The mission school is replaced by the community school.

Thirdly, the control of schools which do not serve local communities but whole areas, that is, institutions for advanced education and especially for the training of teachers, must be controlled by the Department itself.

Fourthly, a financial policy must be followed such as has already been announced in the Budget speech. In this way it will be arranged that the Bantu themselves will carry an increasing amount of the cost of expanding their education services. The principle of a Native Development Account is re-established in practice by the creation of a Bantu Education Account.

This brings me to the administrative steps which have already been taken to realize this aim. Since the promulgation of the Bantu Education Act on January 1, 1954, the following administrative steps have been instituted to bring the Act into operation: (1): the central control has been taken over by the Department of Native Affairs from the provinces. (2): two principal posts have been created in Pretoria with an under-secretary (Bantu Education) at the head of the Bantu Education section. (3): The professional and administrative staff has been taken over from the provinces as provided for in the Act. (4): The Department of Native Affairs, which has often been described as not equipped to control Bantu education, has therefore been equipped like no official body before to provide effective control and leadership.

This brings me to the administrative steps, to the reformation plan which is now ahead. Firstly, I deal with the preliminary steps. The change-over from mission to community schools and the reformation of teaching methods is naturally part of a long-term plan. That is why in a parliamentary reply it has already been said that this must be done gradually and that in the meanwhile the machine will function largely as before until the end of 1954. Certain administrative measures have however already been carried out to arrange for the provision of school books and school furniture on a more economical basis. Instructions have further been issued to regulate the school-going hours of the sub-standards so that larger numbers of beginners can be enrolled in the schools.

The provision of education in Afrikaans in schools where it was not offered before is receiving attention. These are a few steps which can be carried through immediately and which fit in with the general reformation programme which I want to explain in broad outline now.

Secondly, control of schools: As has already been said, the endeavour will be made to give the Bantu a far larger share in the control of their schools. This means that where possible the various types of existing schools must be controlled by, or in co-operation with, Bantu bodies. From the nature of things the change cannot be introduced suddenly, but it must take place in accordance with a practical plan. The present schools can be classified as follows: (a) supported mission or church schools, (b) supported community schools, (c) State schools and (d) private schools. Under the new classification, provision is made for the same four types, except only that the last-mentioned type will be known as Registered Schools. It is not necessary to elaborate on the State schools which are found mainly in Natal. In accordance with the Act, they provisionally remain State schools. In connection with the others, a few words of explanation are necessary, because there is a great deal of misunderstanding about their nature.

The great majority of Native schools belong to the class of supported mission schools, and support includes firstly the full salaries of the approved staff, secondly, an equipment grant based on the enrolment at the school, thirdly, a similar grant towards school books and other school requirements and fourthly, rent in connection with most of the class-rooms built during the last 15 years. These schools in fact only differ from the State schools in that the control and the choice of staff still remain in the hands of the missions. The same applies to the subsidization of community schools, which are found mainly in the Transvaal. In this case control is exercised by local committees and boards under the direct supervision of the Department of Education. The private schools are schools which have been established by a mission church, interested parties, or by a Bantu community with or without the consent of the education authorities, but receive no support whatsoever. In most cases applications for support were made earlier, but owing to a shortage of funds under the old classification, this could not be given. There are, however, a small number of Seventh Day Adventist schools which for reasons of their own, desire no support. Generally speaking, this group comprises small farm or reserve schools which have been created

relatively recently or only recently have reached an enrolment big enough to be taken into consideration.

Thirdly, the change-over to the new classification. As regards the Transvaal community schools, only one important change will be demanded, namely that the controlling committee or board which is to-day an elected parents' body, will in future have to carry out its duties in conjunction with the local Bantu authority (responsible to it and recognized by it). The really important and drastic change is the change-over from mission schools to community schools. To correctly understand the implications of this change it is necessary to differentiate on the one hand between the ordinary primary school as it exists in the reserves, on farms or in urban locations on stands provided by the Department of Native Affairs, the farm owner or the municipality respectively, and on the other hand the educational institution which frequently includes the whole series: primary school, teachers' training school, high school and industrial school, built on mission land. While the former are mostly buildings erected by the local Bantu parent community, under the supervision of the mission society concerned, considerable church funds have been invested in school buildings and school boarding houses of the various mission institutions. In addition, there is still a very important difference. The radius rule which was introduced to restrict inter-denominational competition prohibits a second school from being built within a distance of five miles from an existing school except in urban locations. Consequently, the school population of the ordinary primary school is generally comprised of pupils belonging to various denominations, while the school population of an educational institution is drawn mainly from the congregations of the churches concerned. For reasons already mentioned, it is therefore understandable that the change-over from an ordinary primary school to a community school will take place easily and naturally and that the churches can make no serious objections to this: Nevertheless, the change-over for these schools will require a great deal of preliminary work. This work must be undertaken by the Inspectors of Education in co-operation with the Native Commissioner of the district. They will have to see to the creation of a controlling body which on the one hand will be acceptable to the community and on the other hand have the necessary knowledge and ability to carry out its duties efficiently.

In contrast, the taking over of educational institutions is a much more involved undertaking. Firstly, because land and buildings represent a big capital investment and secondly, because

every mission church must sacrifice the controlling and distribution organ of its mission work insofar as it is complementary to its school system: it must create a new machine to take its place. In the first difficulty, as far as it is possible and reasonable, arrangements can be made to see that through rent or otherwise the churches are protected against financial loss. Here it will be remembered that everything which was done by the churches with steadily increasing State assistance, which now practically covers all running expenses, will also be used in the interest of the Bantu population. The State is taking over from the churches to carry on the same work more effectively. Assets which were created by the churches for the Bantu will be retained for the Bantu. Under the circumstances, it ought not to be difficult to come to a fair agreement with the churches when they are taken over. The religious requirements will be duly considered and will even be served more fully, because all churches, instead of the existing one, will get an opportunity to co-operate to meet the need. Because the circumstances of the various mission institutions are not the same no general financial conditions can be laid down, but each case will require separate treatment.

As regards the second point, it is obvious that the State must get full control over the training of teachers. For many decades the churches have used the training of teachers for the furtherance of their own particular interests. They have outgrown the stage when they were dependent on this assistance and are now strong enough to organize their expansion work in other ways. To be able to organize education effectively in the various types of schools, it speaks for itself that the training of teachers must be undertaken by the education authority itself. This is indispensable for carrying out Bantu development on a broad basis. There will be no interference in the churches' training of people for their own requirements, such as the training of evangelists, or ministers. This speaks for itself.

Then I come to the procedure which will be adopted when the schools are taken over; all interested churches will shortly be informed by circular that it is intended to take over supported schools, that is, schools whose running costs are already borne by the State, in the following ways: (a) primary schools will be entrusted as soon as possible to local Bantu controlling bodies under the supervision of the Department and (b) secondary, higher, industrial and training schools will come directly under departmental control until regional and territorial authorities are prepared to take this task upon themselves under the necessary supervision.

Churches which for reasons which they consider onerous, which want to retain control at first, can make application. It will, however, be clearly put to them that when support is granted, it will be limited to a grant equal to 75 per cent of the salaries of the approved educational staff. They will further be informed that this can only be a provisional arrangement which may be terminated when the department is convinced that the transfer of control to the Bantu community is desirable or must be carried out. Also, training schools for teachers will be excluded from such an arrangement. Where the department may feel it necessary to request a church body to undertake the control of a mission institution or a school temporarily, the body concerned will receive the full support for the transition period which has been paid to it so far.

As far as school boarding-houses are concerned, the churches will be given the choice provisionally to retain control and, where the choice is exercised, any grants to boarding houses will be paid on the same basis as up to the present. Such an arrangement can, however, also be terminated by timeous notice, if it is apparent that full co-ordination of education in the class-room on the one hand and in the hostel on the other hand cannot be reached under this system.

All existing private schools must apply for registration, which will not be refused unless there are substantial reasons why a school cannot be allowed to continue to exist. No new schools may, however, be established without the prior approval of the Department. Applications that registered schools be recognized and supported as community schools, will be considered by the Department and granted in deserving cases, and as far as available funds make this possible. Schools which were established in conjunction with married quarters on mines and enjoy recognition and support, will be treated like community schools as far as grants are concerned, but the mine concerned must appoint a manager and the provision and maintenance of the necessary classrooms will be the company's responsibility. New schools of this type can be established with the Department's approval and be placed on the list of registered schools, but support on the same conditions as for existing mine schools will depend on whether the necessary funds are available. Existing schools on farms, as far as support is concerned, will be treated like community schools, but the farm owner or his representative, who may be a missionary, must act as manager.

And fifthly, school requirements of the existing schools: State schools, community schools and local schools will be provided

with school furniture from the Department's stores. The manufacture of the necessary furniture will be undertaken by Bantu industrial schools and by departmental Bantu workshops. Supported schools will have to meet their own requirements, but will be allowed to place orders with departmental industrial schools. Teaching equipment will similarly be provided by departmental stores to State, community and farm schools, while supported schools will have to make their own arrangements. A sufficient supply of readers in the mother language and in the two official languages will be supplied to all primary schools and these books, which will remain the property of the schools will, it is hoped, do service for more than one year. Pupils in post-primary schools will have to buy all the school books which they need themselves. These schoolchildren, or the Bantu authority or parents' body in both primary and secondary schools, will have to provide all their requirements including stationery and books, and without them they will not be enrolled as pupils.

The maintenance of buildings: In supported schools the controlling church or Bantu community body will make arrangements to the satisfaction of the Department to care for and maintain the class-rooms and school grounds. In all the other schools the Bantu community will be responsible for care and maintenance. As far as possible, all the work in this connection must be carried out by the pupils themselves. The daily cleaning of the school building and grounds, will obviously be the job of the pupils under the supervision of the teaching staff.

The internal transformation of Native education into Bantu education: Requirements which Bantu education must comply with: The present Native schools can generally be described as schools within the Bantu society, but not of the society. As I said at the beginning, it is the Government's intention to transform them into real Bantu community schools.

To be able to carry this out, Bantu education must comply with the following requirements: Firstly, (a) every Bantu taxpayer must have an equal right for his children to the fundamental education facilities which can be provided from the available funds. This is education in Sub-A and Sub-B and probably up to Standard II, therefore in reading, writing and arithmetic through mother tongue education, as well as knowledge of English and Afrikaans and the cardinal principles of the Christian religion. (b) The money which is contributed by the European and the Bantu taxpayer must be used to the greatest possible advantage for the greatest possible number.

Secondly, (a) The Bantu pupil must get knowledge, training and an attitude in school which will be useful and advantageous to him and at the same time benefit his community. (b) The subject matter must be put to him in such a way that he can understand it easily and make it his own so that he can benefit and serve his community in a natural way. (c) The school education must also equip him to meet the demands which the economic life in South Africa will make on him.

Thirdly: The Bantu teacher must be utilized as an active factor in this process of development of the Bantu community to serve his community and build it up and learn not to feel above his community so that he wants to become integrated into the life of the European community, and becomes frustrated and rebellious when this does not happen and tries to make his community dissatisfied because of such misdirected and alien ambitions.

This brings me to the steps through which this can be achieved in practice. Firstly by expanding school facilities for Bantu children: The expenditure for Bantu education for the current fiscal year, including school feeding, amounts to £8,500,000. This is an amount which means a far bigger expenditure per capita for the population than for any other Native community in Africa. Still, only 40 per cent of the children of school-going age are in State and supported schools, mostly in the lowest classes. There is a number of small private schools which can get no support, and among the majority of supported schools there are large numbers of children on waiting lists, through lack of accommodation and the limited number of approved educational institutions. Apart from the fact that it would be extremely difficult to get a large-scale increase in Bantu education funds, either from the Consolidated Revenue Fund, or through considerably increased direct taxation of Natives, a really tangible improvement in fundamental education cannot be obtained by means of finance alone. The class-rooms and the necessary teachers would still be lacking. It is therefore intended to tackle this question in another way. As is known, approximately half of all Bantu children are in the sub-standards. As for pupils in the higher classes, these children are under the supervision of their teachers for a day of four-and-a-half hours. I use the word "supervision" because naturally during all these hours there cannot be talk of real education. That would naturally overtax the faculties of the beginners. In like manner there cannot even be talk of organized recreation, because the schools are not equipped for it. Now it is surely wrong to utilize expensive staff to supervise large classes of bored pupils while

thousands of children are kept out of schools, who are entitled to the same measure of lower education. That is why school-going hours for Sub-standard pupils will everywhere be shortened to three hours a day. In this way, both the teacher and the classroom will be able to take two different groups of pupils every day. The same applies to the furniture, school requirements and class reading books.

It will be quite clear that in this way a large number of additional pupils can be taken into schools in the lower classes and that teaching staff — redundant staff in the Sub-B classes — will be made available to make support of a number of small private schools on the platteland possible.

Apparently the objection will be raised that many children who were under supervision earlier in the day will now be let loose in the streets for a while. The reply to this is simple enough, because the same number of children, who received neither supervision nor education and were in the streets the whole day, will now be receiving education. In any case it is not the function of the school to keep children off the streets, or the veld, by using well-paid teachers; its function is to provide education. The problem of supervision, the importance of which I do not want to deny, ought to be dealt with in another way. This brings me to the classification of the primary curriculum into two complete courses, the lower or fundamental course and the higher course.

Education in the lowest classes is seriously affected by what is described as the Standard VI mentality of the teachers. This means that the education is conducted as if every pupil will finish the whole primary course. In practice just the opposite has happened. As the figures show, approximately $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the pupils finish the primary course. In other words, the hold of the schools on the pupils leaves much to be desired. But it is not only due to early school-leaving that the schools do so badly. A large number of pupils simply stay in sub-standards for years, keep other children out of the available school accommodation and waste public funds without themselves deriving any benefit worth mentioning.

The primary syllabus will therefore be divided into two self-contained parts. Only children who have turned seven will be allowed to enrol in the first, the fundamental course, and no urban children older than 11, and no rural children older than 12. For those who want to start learning late in life, the usual school system is not available and other arrangements are made. The pupils in these lower primary schools, which go to Standard II, will be promoted automatically annually, except under excep-

tional circumstances. At the end of the lower primary course they will, however, be selected strictly for promotion to the higher primary course. Pupils who fail the final test twice will have to leave school to make place for more able children. Without strict attendance this system cannot succeed, and that is why children who without a good reason fail to attend school regularly will be removed from the register.

Thirdly, subject matter and curriculum of the primary Bantu school.

The curricula in the fundamental stage cannot go further than teach them to read, write and do arithmetic through the mother-tongue medium, and give them the beginnings of Afrikaans and English, along with religious education and singing. There was a great deal of difference between theory and practice in the past when this was considered. In fact, the instructions in the curricula which lay down that mother-tongue should be the language used until at least Standard II, and that the community circumstances of the pupils should be the premise of the educational system were never accepted by the Native teachers. The fact that inspectors of schools who in many cases did not know the necessary Bantu languages and for this reason did not insist strictly enough on compliance with the requirements, and the anxious preparation by pupils for the Standard IV examination in the knowledge that the questions would have to be answered in English — which for historical reasons had practically everywhere been introduced as the first and supreme official language — can be put forward as an excuse for the attitude of the teachers. In addition, the desire to boast with the feathers of English civilization and maybe also the inability to differentiate ideas from the related terminology contributed to the irresistible desire of teachers to convey knowledge to pupils in the same words in which they had received them.

Well, the final result was that the Bantu pupil could not, like some of our European children, receive a thorough grasp of reading matter in the natural way through his mother tongue. I have already mentioned some of the disappointing results. As was to be expected, the progress of the pupils was seriously hampered and those who reached the goal, mostly did so on the basis of superficial knowledge supplemented by an enviable ability to remember terms and definitions. They could couple richness of vocabulary with a lack of knowledge and education in the true sense.

It is clear that education provided in this form must stand isolated from the life of the Bantu society. It prepares them not

for life within the community which would gradually be uplifted by it, but for a life outside the community and for situations which in fact do not exist. In other words the community has not benefited from this; it could not absorb its sons and daughters who had won pretty examination certificates.

Many of those who were trained in this way were caught up again in the education machine, which created a cycle of its own, and by the evils of isolation in the Bantu community. In this way Native education served to create a class of educated and semi-educated persons without corresponding national development. This is the class which has learned that it is above its own people and feels that its spiritual, economic and political home is among the civilized community of South Africa, namely the Europeans, and feels frustrated that its wishes have not been complied with.

What we are facing here is clear. Suitable educational matter and an effective curriculum for the schools which keeps track of the psychological factors are required. Experts of the Department have already been instructed to work it out and soon it will be available.

From the nature of things the syllabuses for the lowest classes, which are taught only what was mentioned above, will not differ fundamentally from the provincial syllabuses which are to-day used in theory. The crux of the whole problem is that there will have to be strict supervision to see that the Union requirements are strictly complied with instead of the deviations in practice of the past.

The curriculum, therefore, envisages a system of education which, starting with the circumstances of the community, aims at meeting the requirements of the community and which will be given in the mother tongue of the pupils. Besides the usual acquirements already mentioned, religious instruction, handicraft, singing and rhythm will come into their own. That is self-evident.

The economic structure of our country, of course, results in the Natives in large numbers having to earn their living in the service of Europeans. For that reason it is essential that Bantu students should receive instruction in both official languages from the beginning so that they can even in the lower primary school develop an ability to speak and understand them. In two of the provinces very little attention has been given in the past to the teaching of Afrikaans. Instructions have already been issued to commence immediately the teaching of Afrikaans. Even the former Native Representative Council and the Transkeian General Council have repeatedly complained about this lack in Native education. Under

the new arrangement, steps will be taken to see that the two official languages receive equal recognition as soon as possible.

I have here dealt especially with the basic lower primary school course, which will presently be introduced everywhere. It is this course that, it is expected, will be attended and completed by the great majority of Bantu students. In the meantime, of course, certain urgent changes will be made in the higher grades of education. The nature of the training of teachers especially demands immediate attention. For this reason it has been decided that the department will take over complete control of the training colleges.

Then a fourth group: The establishment of farm schools has in the past been somewhat neglected, with the result that children are sent to town schools, and that the parents for that reason move there. If the basic education can also be obtained on the farms, the trek from the farms will be combated — especially if the training contributes towards more remunerative employment in farm work. To promote the formation of farm schools, the transfer of land for the building of expensive schools will no longer be required, but the Bantu mothers can in accordance with local methods erect walls where farmers allow it, and the department will provide the windows, doors and roofs, and move them when the farmer withdraws his permission. Female teachers will as far as possible be recruited locally to combat the danger of unsuitable teaching there.

That brings me to religious instruction: Firstly, the nature of the religious instruction: The Bantu school should confine itself to general Bible knowledge and to the Christian religion in general. That will have to take an important place in the curriculum of all types of schools. Secondly, where churches are desirous of providing special religious instruction to the children who belong to their particular church, that will be allowed. A monopoly by one or other church will not be allowed. The churches will be allowed to undertake the religious instruction of the children of their denomination at set times. There will be one condition attached to this, however, namely that such instruction must be given in the mother tongue.

Fourthly, the role of the teacher. The success of the educational programme is, as has been repeatedly emphasized, to a large extent dependent on the faithful fulfilment of his duties by the teacher. I believe it is known that the teachers, by means of resolutions taken by their associations, have expressed themselves strongly against the findings and recommendations of the Education Commission and later again against the Bantu Education Act, and

that they have declared themselves in favour of equal education for all, by which they apparently mean identical educational practices. That that is only possible when there is a differentiation of educational principles, is either not realized or is concealed. It still does not follow at all that the majority of the approximately 23,000 serving teachers accept this opinion. I mention it however to show that the reform contemplated will probably be considerably hampered by teachers who do not like the new role to be given to them, a role in which they will be in the service of and be responsible to the Bantu community.

That at once brings me to the matter in which the Native teachers' organizations have always taken the greatest interest, namely the basic principles, in regard to their remuneration. The slogan accepted fairly generally by them, is "equal pay for equal work", by which is meant equal payment with the European and furthermore "payment in accordance with qualifications irrespective of race or colour".

I therefore want to make it very clear that their starting-point, where they make this demand, is completely incorrect. The salaries which European teachers enjoy, are not at all a usable or a permissible criterion for the Bantu teachers. The European teacher is in the service of the European community and his salary is fixed on a basis of comparison with the income of the average parent whose children he teaches. The salaries of teachers in the European community are not at all regarded as very attractive.

In precisely the same way the Bantu teacher is in the service of the Bantu community and his salary must be fixed accordingly. In contrast with what I have said above about the European, teachers' posts are very much sought after amongst the Natives. There is definitely no shortage of people who apply for vacant posts, and it is therefore very clear that the Bantu teacher within his community already occupies a very favourable financial position. Measured by this standard, and I have no doubt that it is the correct standard to apply, it seems to me that the present teachers' salaries are quite sufficient and that there can be no question of increase, because teachers will then be even more favoured in comparison with the parents of the children under their care and it will favour them at the expense of those who must help to bear the burden of the education.

In the new conditions of service for teachers which will be published soon, there will appear new teachers' scales for teachers who are newly appointed, which are possibly less favourable than the existing scales. Those who in future wish to choose the

teaching profession, are therefore being warned timeously so that they should take that into consideration. The salaries that are being received by serving teachers to-day will remain protected at the present scale provided they do not break their service, and further increments will be granted in accordance with the scale and the conditions of service under which they were appointed, provided — as is expected — the funds are available. That is all closely connected with the financial capacity of the Bantu community and the fact that the ideal should be to give yet more children education with the available money rather than to give yet greater relative prosperity to the teachers. The trained people who wish to earn more will, as in the European community, have to seek their opportunities in competition with other professions, which we are trying to open within the Bantu community. Outstanding Bantu teachers will also be able to climb higher in their professions, namely to sub-inspectorships and thereby to higher incomes. The conditions of service to which I have referred will of course set out in detail the rights and duties of teachers. Because so much depends on the teacher carrying out his duties conscientiously, I wish here to express the hope that the teachers will not fail in this, because for teachers who are not faithful in this regard, there is no place in the service of the Bantu Education department.

I wish to close my remarks on teachers by pointing to a serious lack of proportion between the numbers of male and female teachers. As a woman is by nature so much better fitted for handling young children and as the great majority of Bantu students are to be found in the lower classes of the primary school, it follows that there should be far more female teachers than male teachers in the service. The department will therefore, without penalizing the present incumbents of posts, declare the assistant posts in lower, and at least to a large extent higher primary schools, to be female teachers' posts. Each such post which falls vacant will not again be filled by a male person. At the same time a quota will be laid down at the training schools for the numbers of male and female candidates who may be allowed to enter for the courses. As long as the number of primary students is so overwhelmingly great, the department will concentrate mainly on the training of female teachers. To-day about 70 per cent of the teaching force is male, while that should rather be the percentage of female teachers. This measure will in the course of time bring about a considerable saving of funds which can be devoted to the other side, namely more children at school, without corresponding

increases in taxation on the Bantu. Male teachers indeed receive in addition to a higher basic salary, in the case of married persons, also a much higher cost of living allowance than female teachers. To bring about the correct numerical proportions as soon as possible the Department will, where it can be conveniently arranged, approve of the appointment of married women who are trained as teachers.

Native teachers will in future be trained to teach in both Afrikaans and English. Serving teachers who are already bilingual, will obviously derive benefit from that when it comes to promotion. Those who do not know Afrikaans have, however, for the most part not had the opportunity to learn it, although it was theoretically required. For that reason they will not be penalized, but the opportunity will be created for them to overtake the backlog in the course of the next five years.

Fifthly, the European teachers in Bantu education. It will be the policy of the Department to do away entirely with the European teacher in the primary Bantu schools. For the time being, however, there will still be a considerable number required for Bantu education in the higher schools and the training colleges. It will be necessary to use them: (a) because their services are for a number of years at least indispensable, apart from the fact that they cannot all be replaced at once. (It will, however, be the policy of the Department not to allow the European teachers in the Bantu schools to increase in numbers but to make their posts increasingly available to the Bantu themselves); (b) because they deserve protection we must retain them temporarily. (The procedure by which they must be absorbed by European education must be arranged as it becomes necessary from time to time.)

The intention is to take over the European teacher who is serving in Bantu schools on the same basis as teachers who are in the service of Union education. They therefore come into the service of the department. That rests of course on the assumption that they will carry out faithfully the policy of the Department. The conditions of service of these teachers will be just as favourable as those of their colleagues in European schools, because they are regarded as being on loan to Bantu education. They will, however, be expected to become bilingual within a specified time if they are not bilingual already. Teachers who belong to a church order and do not wish to become departmental teachers, will not be able to serve in training colleges. An exchange will perhaps be possible so that they can either be appointed in European private schools or in Native institutions for secondary education which

remain ecclesiastical. In the latter case they will only receive from the department the laid-down part of their present salary.

The school and the community. Firstly, the establishment of new schools: With the establishment of new schools the department will be guided by the requirements of the Bantu community concerned which will be thoroughly investigated by the Bantu commissioners and inspectors of Bantu education. It is self-evident that local bodies, both European and Bantu, will have the fullest opportunity to bring their needs to the notice of the official concerned. The same applies to farm owners. Applications for school facilities will stand a better chance of success if they are accompanied by undertakings to provide the necessary classroom space and to assist the schools in fulfilling their communal task. As regards the provision of buildings, there was until now no very clear policy. It is, however, certain that schools in the urban areas enjoyed preferential treatment, because there the rental was guaranteed to the erectors of new buildings, enough to cover the interest on and the repayment of capital. In these areas a number of schools were also erected by the Education department itself.

In contrast with this the erection of school buildings in the Native territories was supported on the pound for pound basis. Care will now be taken that the Native population in the cities will no longer be the most favoured as regards educational matters but that they will have to make equal sacrifices with their brethren elsewhere.

The present arrangement in Native areas by which the department provides the material and the community provides the necessary labour, is sound and can continue, both there and in regard to farm schools. In urban locations the erection of the necessary school buildings will have to be undertaken in the future *pari passu* with housing or site-and-service schemes and the capital costs will then be recovered from the site rental, which will be collected by the local authority, in other words, just as in Native areas, the Bantu community there will have to meet its obligations. There is no ground for preferential treatment of the Bantu parent in the location over those in the reserves.

Secondly, the control of the school in the Native reserves: The basis of the provision and organization of education in the Bantu community should where possible be the tribal organization. Where there is therefore an organized community, the community school will fit in best. Bantu education can here express itself not only as part of the narrower tribal community but also as part of the broader regional community. The school is not a unit standing

on its own but it is merely one part of a greater unit. Therefore it will also have to be co-ordinated with other services in and on behalf of the community. The control of each school will be in the hands of a committee which exercises supervision in accordance with instructions given to it. The composition of the committee will have to be such that it includes: (a) Representatives of parents who in all probability will include also the Bantu ministers of the community; and (b) representatives of the Bantu authority or other Bantu body. This committee, which must be constituted in consultation with the inspector of schools, should further be recognized by the Bantu authority after consultation with the Native Commissioner and account to it. There will also be an interim system of school boards. The number of schools which will fall under a board, will depend on factors such as ethnic affinity and geographic location.

Thirdly: The control of schools in the urban areas: In the urban areas too the school will have to follow in broad outline the example of the schools in the reserves. Of course, the system will have to be adjusted to the urban community and to the problems which arise there, and these problems will have to be properly taken into consideration. Committees will be established on which representatives of parents and of the location authority appointed on the recommendation of the inspector in consultation with the Native Commissioner and the urban administration, will serve. The grouping together of a number of schools will also be considered and a school board can be constituted on grounds similar to those in the reserves.

Then fourthly: Institutions for Advanced Education: More institutions for advanced education in urban areas are not desired. Deliberate attempts will be made to keep institutions for advanced education away from the urban environment and to establish them as far as possible in the Native reserves.

It is the policy of my department that education should have its roots entirely in the Native areas and in the Native environment and Native community. There Bantu education must be able to give itself complete expression and there it will have to perform its real service. The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within his own community, however, all doors are open. For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community while he cannot and will not be absorbed there. Up till now he has been subjected to

a school system which drew him away from his own community and partially misled him by showing him the green pastures of the European but still did not allow him to graze there. This attitude is not only uneconomic because money is spent on education which has no specific aim, but it is even dishonest to continue with it. The effect on the Bantu community we find in the much-discussed frustration of educated Natives who can find no employment which is acceptable to them. It is abundantly clear that unplanned education creates many problems, disrupts the communal life of the Bantu and endangers the communal life of the European.

For that reason it must be replaced by planned Bantu education. In the Native territories, where the services of educated Bantu are very much needed, Bantu education can complete its full cycle, by which the child is taken out of the community by the school, developed to his fullest extent in accordance with aptitude and ability and thereafter returned to the community to serve and to enrich it.

Co-ordination of services, and with that I conclude. I have already repeatedly pointed out that all the development services for the Bantu should form an organic whole. Seen from the side of the Bantu, that means that they cannot accept one service which appears to them attractive and at the same time refuse another essential service which brings with it temporary inconvenience. A community will for example not be able to claim the uplifting advantage of the school and at the same time ignore or even oppose guidance in regard to soil care. Co-ordination of services will have the result that no longer will only one section be served and that the community will not be progressive in one respect and backward in another, but that it will progress as a whole and with regard to the community as a whole. On the administrative side, it means that there will be teamwork of all the officials concerned. The inspector of schools, the Native Commissioner and the agricultural extension officer will remain in close contact with one another in the establishment and implementation of services so that the one service helps and promotes the other. This co-ordination of Bantu services in the district offices will be further continued and expanded under the guidance of the chief Native Commissioners for their respective areas.

The necessary planning and guidance in order to guarantee to the Bantu a balanced development, based on the circumstances and developed in accordance with the needs of their community, will be the task of the Union head office. In this way the co-ordination of education in this spirit will contribute to the achieve-

ment of what the Bantu as well as the European desires, namely that the maximum benefit through proper use be derived from the "soil" of the Bantu, that a great community finds its livelihood there and that contentment be fostered because everyone has an opportunity fully to express his ambitions.

Policy of the Minister of Native Affairs, June 20, 1955

In 1952 Dr. Verwoerd, in his capacity of Minister of Native Affairs, laid a detailed statement before the Senate concerning the policy followed in his department. In 1953 the Parliament assembled for two short sittings with the result that matters concerning policy were not discussed. During the following year the chief subject of discussion was Bantu Education, but in 1955 the Minister again reviewed the broad policy of his department and elucidated several topics, such as social development, migratory labour, the development of Bantu territories, Bantu authorities and Bantu housing in urban areas.

I would like to remind hon. Senators that in 1952 I made a fairly widely drawn up statement in this House in connection with the Government's Native policy. In that statement I put forward the principles which had been accepted for so many years, and I tried to sketch the somewhat inconsistent application of those principles in the pre-war years as well as the gradual deviation from the policy and even its partial rejection in the years thereafter. In contrast to this, I emphasized the re-establishment of the traditional policy in a more dynamic form which has taken place under national control, more dynamic because here the natural growing power of the Bantu community has been taken into consideration.

In the following year, with its two short Parliamentary sessions, there was but little opportunity and also no necessity to review those same things after such a comparatively short period of time. Last year the question of Bantu Education became to a certain extent the centre of the discussion of Native problems so that I found it desirable to confine myself in my policy motion to the immediate problems flowing from the taking over of the control of education by the Department of Native Affairs, and an indication of the means in which it would be effected. Now, after the passage of three years, I think that we can fruitfully once again review the further development of our Native policy in order to see whether our actions and their results still fit into the

pattern of which I spoke at that time, and whether they promote the growth of an organic and well-knit system which I envisaged.

I pointed out at that time how extremely difficult it would be to plan effectively for the achievement of the goal of the balanced building up of the Bantu community without the active support of the school, which at that time still was controlled by the four provincial education departments. Because Bantu education has in the meantime been entrusted to my care, this task of the building up of the community can be carried on with far greater chance of success. The approach to this task is governed by the idea that the development of a community can be encouraged from outside but can only take place from within, that it is a process of growth which in the main always rests upon inherent growing power. That means that there can be no mention of progress unless the bearers of the progress are found within the community itself. If this condition is not complied with, then what will be brought about through assistance and supervision from outside will amount to nothing as soon as these buttressing pillars are removed.

I would like to explain this by means of a few examples. Progress does not rest in the fact that a number of Bantu students can mention in stereotyped English the advantages of good ventilation, but in this fact: that the whole community learns not to sleep with their blankets over their heads and not to close and block up windows and air-vents. Progress does not lie in the fact that areas are won back in the reserves by the use of heavy trust apparatus, by trust personnel and by trust labourers, but without the continued interest and active participation of the Bantu community. Progress also does not lie in the fact that a small percentage of the Bantu workers who have trekked with their families to a European urban area from their traditional kraals or from squatters' hovels should be accommodated in many-roomed houses with bathrooms, storerooms, and running water and electric light in each house, quite apart from whether they can appreciate or afford such houses or not. And least of all is progress found in the fact that the Bantu who works in the European cities, searches and finds, is allowed and even encouraged to break away from his tribal connections with their sound communal rules, and then to lead an uncontrolled and disorderly life, seeing that the vast majority are not in the least ready for community life on the Western levels, with its generally acknowledged although unwritten laws. True progress rests in the fact that within a community there is a sufficient number of in-

dividuals found to serve as the bearers of that progress, as the bearers of higher social forms of life, and that the community as a whole understands their striving and supports them in their efforts. The moulding of the human material to allow it to comply with these provisions is a primary requisite and therefore education plays such a vitally important role. It is indeed the key factor in the building up of a community.

The influence of the school can and should be two-fold. There is firstly the moulding of the individual child according to aptitude and talent, and secondly there is the moulding of the under-developed community by means of the school. On the one hand is the ploughing back of the good products to fertilize the community — a long-term benefit — and on the other hand there is a benefit which is immediately obtained, or can be obtained by making the parents and the Bantu authorities school-conscious and school-responsible and vice versa, by also making the teacher school-conscious and responsible to the community. It is because education under provincial and missionary control could not comply with the second requirement, that the Department of Native Affairs which, from the nature of the matter, thinks and plans in terms of communities, had to take over this task. Now that the obligation of the building up of a community and the educational means to achieve it are placed in one and the same hands, a new era in the sphere of Native affairs is beginning. The Department is becoming a Department of Bantu development.

On the part of the Bantu themselves it is no longer expected of them that they jump from point to point according to orders from above, but to grow in the natural manner and slowly but surely to outgrow their primitive forms of living. I wonder whether hon. Senators know that it is news to the great majority of the Bantu people that it is not at all the function of good education to wean the students from the ways of their own people and to free them from their community. They really thought that nothing else could be done. They thought that there were only two alternatives, namely, to shake off everything that was Bantu and to assimilate as much as possible of the Western civilization and of the English language as they were able, or to remain Bantu and uncivilized. That you may remain a Bantu, that your Bantu language can become a medium to civilization, and that you and your whole community together with you in this manner can achieve far quicker a higher spiritual, social and economic level of living, is for them a brand new and almost unbelievable thought.

It is a surprise for them to be called up to serve on school

committees and on school boards — and that moreover in co-operation with Bantu authorities — because it was told them that Bantu authorities were established to keep the Native primitive. For the first time they now hear the other side of the story. They hear it by means of the very well distributed departmental periodical *Bantu* and through the departmental Bantu educational paper which is sent out free of charge to Bantu executive bodies and Bantu school principals. It is not, however, only the Bantu, but also a large number of Europeans who are pleased to obtain objective information from this source, and who speak with praise and appreciation of the work of the Native Affairs Department and the information section. I may just mention in passing that many of the Bantu in this way are experiencing the fact for the first time that Afrikaans is really an official language and that the educational system for a South African school which does not include any Afrikaans, is only a semi-educational system. It is moreover necessary to say that this new insight by the Bantu is taking place notwithstanding the bitter campaign of wrong ideas and distortion of which hon. Senators most probably are all aware because of the great publicity which is given to it in the daily press. I do not consider it necessary to go into this unsavoury matter any further. The nature of this campaign is sufficiently characterized by the fact that in the whole flood of criticism not one single mention has been made of the central thought of Bantu education, namely, the building up of a Bantu community.

Unfortunately, this campaign has not been without result. The atmosphere in which the African National Congress saw an opportunity, practically under a religious cloak, for incitement amongst the teachers, parents and school children, has been created thereby. The net result to-day is that a few thousand Rand Native students have forfeited their opportunity for education. I doubt not in the least, however, that it will become a boomerang which will not only strike the African National Congress but also those people who prepared the way for their actions.

I would like, however, to warn immediately against any expectations of spectacular reform and of swifter results. A new feeling of willingness among teachers to serve and a strong feeling of calling is necessary to free him from the rhythm of the old system in which he has become set. It will, however, come because the new approach has a true ideal in view, an ideal of the building of a Bantu community, while the old era's greatest advantage was no more than the promise of the escape of a small percentage from their own community. We do not need to be impatient, because

a continuous process of growth always requires time. If something shoots up too quickly, it disappears usually just as quickly. For education, in the same way as for all the other branches of Bantu development, the requirement must be made of secure, slow development and further it must be borne by the people themselves.

I have in previous speeches announced certain progressive steps: The curtailment of school hours for beginners to open the doors of the school so much wider and to remove total illiteracy all the more swiftly; the training of more female teachers, as they are a far better answer because of their mother-instinct in the beginners' classes; and the more effective use of funds for school needs.

It gives me pleasure to be able to say that these reforms have been carried out with success. I may further mention that Bantu school boards have been established over the length and breadth of the country. Inspectors and departmental organizers are engaged in making local Bantu control effective and trustworthy. The curriculum for the lower elementary school was published some time ago and enjoyed a good reception in all directions. In the meanwhile attention has been given in the same thorough fashion to the educational plans for the higher elementary, the higher and the training schools. These curricula will be published in a draft form for comment and criticism. I dwelt for some time on our teaching activities, on the one hand because it is always the focal point of interest, and on the other hand chiefly because I want very clearly to stress the principal thought of development through internal growth, which I want to see carried out in all the other spheres of life. I need only refer fleetingly to this and show what has been done in other spheres by my Department and how it is trying to maintain everywhere the sound educational principle that the Bantu must do his bit from the beginning and gradually accept more responsibility for the continuance, completion and maintenance and control. This policy, which in the course of time will create more and more responsible posts for talented Bantu and Bantu of strong character within their own community, also benefits the European community by freeing European manpower for its own services. I would first of all like to illustrate this in terms of the Native areas.

It is obvious that we think especially of the Reserves when we discuss the community interests of the Bantu, because they are there free to develop to their fullest extent. Naturally, it does not include the right to destroy what must remain a living asset for

their coming generations. It is often alleged that any development worth mentioning within these Native territories rests on wishful thinking because the territories are simply too small. If by this is meant that there is not enough land for agricultural purposes by which to guarantee to each Bantu man a lazy life on the grounds of his wife's or wives' work on the lands and in the breeding of his cattle on unrestricted grazing, then it is naturally quite correct. Such a thin populating of the country with an abundance of female labour is, however, only conceivable under primitive conditions where the men are thinned out by continual tribal battles and where the mortality of human and animal life is very high. Those days are irretrievably gone and when we call the Reserves the national home of the Bantu, then to-day, we have a completely different picture in our minds.

Let us look at the distribution of the Europeans in the Union or in any other civilized country. More than three-quarters are usually collected in small urban areas, open, small plots, or even in flats without any land to speak of, and almost the whole country is divided into economic agricultural units which are possessed or worked by a small minority. A similar distribution of the Bantu areas must of necessity come in the course of time: a thinly spread farming population and thickly populated townships. To speak about over-population if a specified area does not produce enough food for its own inhabitants, is totally misleading, because then the Witwatersrand would be completely over-populated. Indeed, Bantu Africa was over-populated in the sense, before the European came along with conservation, transport and distribution of food, that often hunger and death — as a result of droughts or mutual wars — were experienced. To-day, large-scale urbanization of the Bantu in the European areas is already taking place, and these great consumers' communities are being fed by the European agriculturalist. The Bantu in the cities make their living by selling their labour. In the same way, the existence of cities in the Bantu areas can be arranged with this difference, that the numerous commercial, trade and administrative posts created by urbanization will be the monopoly of the Bantu and will not be able to be filled by Europeans and especially by Indians.

The migratory labour system in which the Bantu sell their capacity for work, their capacity for labour far away from their homes, has been in force for generations. Everyone knows that as far as mine labour is concerned, it is the best and probably even the only practicable and workable system. My contention is that the strengthening of this system and the expansion of the system

to most of the other spheres of labour would be in the interest of the Bantu because the established business interests in the European towns still ensure that the urban locations will never be able to expand to fully-fledged Bantu townships, and because such a development would also not run in accordance with the Government policy. There is further good reason to believe that the Bantu prefers, because of the social consideration, the migratory labour system to removal to the European areas. A good example of this is seen in the tribe of chief Makapan, about 35 miles north of Pretoria. For two generations practically all the younger and middle-aged men have been working in commercial and hotel businesses in Johannesburg and Pretoria, but from 1910 not ten families have established themselves in the urban locations. It is clear that the Bantu who have not yet become city-acclimatized in general prefer this system, provided commerce and industries grant fair leave arrangements. In this connection I may also point to the practice in South West Africa.

In any case, my Department is setting out a number of potential towns in Bantu areas chiefly on land recently bought by the Trust and which will therefore not mean a decrease of established tribal land.

It is the intention to draw landless and therefore superfluous Natives from the Bantu areas to these towns and also superfluous Natives from the squatters' farms in the European area where no work can be found for them on the farms. The intention is to begin with strategic, well-placed localities from which existing or potential European industrial towns can be served, in the vicinity, and which at the same time will bring about a fuller life for the Bantu areas concerned.

In the meantime the South African Native Trust is continuing with the systematic buying of land in the open areas, and with the removal of black spots to approved compensating land bordering on Bantu areas. Land bought by the Trust is an automatic improvement area and the Native to whom living rights are granted here must fulfil the land conservation requirements. It is a relatively easy problem compared with the reclamation of old-established tribal areas with a dense population *in situ*.

Here the Trust has already applied reclamation and conservation methods to a number of tribal locations, at great cost, sometimes with the consent and sometimes against the will of the tribes concerned, but practically always without their active co-operation. That was a mistake of the past. It is not my intention to continue with this method; on the one hand because it would take more

that 100 years at the present tempo of reclamation to cover the whole Bantu area at immense cost, because there is the continually increasing expense of maintenance, and on the other hand because such reclamation of land, unless accompanied by a pace-keeping training of the Bantu in land conservation, would be practically in vain and in any case is not practicable because of a shortage of European technical personnel. At the moment this old method means that each piece of land reclaimed at the cost of the State must thereafter be maintained by the Trust so that the Trust becomes a continually expanding farmer. I do not want that. I feel that the new direction must be that the Native himself be trained in the conserving of his own land so that each work of improvement is his, not only that we say it is his, but that he believes and he feels that it is his, and that he must maintain it.

The programme is therefore to concentrate on the rehabilitation of the person so that he in his turn will carry out the reclamation of the land because of his own convictions and through his own desires. To this end we have made available a network of schools in all parts of the country. The time must and will come when there will be strong competition from zealous Bantu communities which are going to compete with their own accomplishments for Trust assistance in the conservation and improvement of their land. This stage will not be achieved overnight because once again we are dealing with a process of growth directly opposed to the centuries-old agricultural and animal husbandry practices of the Bantu.

The question can be correctly asked whether valuable mother earth meanwhile must be washed down to the sea. In my opinion the question is wrongly put and we have once again the deviation which only takes into account the extreme possibilities; full improvement with large-scale soil movements, contour walls, planting of grass, blocking of dongas, damming of springs, dividing into grazing camps, removing of villages to compact residential areas, granting of limited plots, complete removal of donkeys and goats and, most difficult of all, the thinning out of the cattle according to the carrying capacity of the veld — a carrying capacity which in dry years, notwithstanding reclamation work, will drop further and will lead to the further decrease of the cattle population, which is interpreted by the Native as a breach of faith and which he does not understand. That is the one alternative seen; the other is complete primitivity, with exploitation and violation of the land which has to be the inheritance of their children. That is envisaged as the only remaining alternative.

With educational process of growth, the appointed course lies naturally between these two extremes and for that reason our agricultural section has developed a programme of action for the country-wide stabilization of Bantu land. That is to say, the application of the minimum measures to prevent the further misuse of the land and to obtain easy co-operation with the Bantu communities; provisionally, no radical changes and great sacrifices will be asked of them. Then, with the available money, we can cover a far greater area of the Native territories. Gradually, then, we are building on this foundation. The Native, through education and through appreciation of the favourable results of this work, becomes more ready for more intensive action. In other words, we do not want to concentrate so intensively on small sections of the Bantu areas that the rest are neglected. We prefer to follow a new method of the stabilization of large areas and then to build gradually on that broad foundation, in the same way as we are doing with education.

It will be clear to hon. Senators that a progressive spirit in chiefs, headmen, and tribal authorities is of the greatest importance for the success of this undertaking. Our method of obtaining it is to establish Bantu authorities, authorities which are built up with an appreciation of Bantu practices in order to exercise an enlightened form of Bantu control, to promote economic and sound agriculture and to work in general for the growth in the reserves of a higher living standard, but starting from what is natural to them.

From this follows, no matter how laughable, the allegation that Bantu authorities are established to return the Natives to their primitive conditions. The fact is that development through growth — Bantu authorities as have been pictured here — requires the organization of the Department. To promote this, annually a large number of chiefs' courses are held in various parts of the country, to make progressive leaders of the serving chiefs and their council members. But it is not required of any of them immediately to become leaders, as though they were westerners with centuries of civilization behind them. Their leadership is a progressive leadership starting with their people and thereafter rising in steps to which the capacity of the Bantu can adapt itself.

In the Ciskei and the Transkei, Native councils fashioned on the last of the western democracies, and which have not grown from Bantu roots, have existed for numbers of years, but it appears that these bodies are of a static nature and that the old system of control through headman and chief has continued and has actually

done the work . . . This anomaly is also felt so strongly by the members of the Transkeian Bunga that at their latest session they unanimously adopted the principle of the changing over to the system of Bantu authorities. A Bunga committee assisted by officials of my Department will this year consider methods to give effect to this with the least possible dislocation. The Bantu authorities will, as I have already indicated, have to undertake many obligations which were unknown in the old Bantu tribal life. One of their most difficult tasks will be created by the establishment of rural towns in their areas; in this there can be no thought of attachment to or reverting to the old primitive tribal conditions. Very great demands will in the course of time be made on them because they are expected to look after educational matters, to assist in the stabilizing of the youth against tsotsi tendencies, to plan the care of the aged on a sound basis and to take part in the establishment of health services, beginning with simple services which will steadily rise to greater scope. Perhaps you will call this a fantastic castle in the air, but let me say with emphasis that the present backwardness of these traditional, important Bantu circles — in what we all acknowledge to be Native areas — is greatly to be blamed on us for neglecting them, for expecting so little from them, for leaving them to their beer pots. As Europeans we colonized those areas by simply taking over control. We did not teach the Bantu to control himself. We did not allow him to develop. We tried to put ourselves in his place in his own area.

Mr. President, what I wanted to emphasize in the portion which I have already dealt with was that we are standing at the beginning of a new era, in which the Bantu can experience his own development, and that he can get it on the foundation of what historically speaking is his own; but that does not mean a reversion to the primitive. It means the only sound and the only psychological manner in which a future can be given to a people. I wished to illustrate this by means of the two examples which I took: education and the work of reclamation in Native areas.

I feel that I owe it to hon. Senators also to say something about the accommodation position in urban locations so that it will be clear that the attention of my Department is not only focused on the dense Native areas. On the accommodation front the progress is very encouraging. I have had under review in the past four years the problems of all the large cities of South Africa and in each one of them there were disproportionately large bad living areas, and it was necessary to accommodate the

Natives who are there now and who will be there during a long intermediate period, in such a way that their presence there would not constitute a threat both to the European and Bantu himself. Now we have progressed so far that we have been able to make arrangements for almost each large city of the country and many of the smaller ones — and a large number of the towns — which provide certainty for the future. It was necessary to ensure in each case for a hinterland to prevent the danger of overlapping through European urban expansion; to try to develop a system whereby we will not have a repetition of the problems which I had to deal with, for example, in Sophiatown and in Martindale in Johannesburg.

I would like to express the hope that the further urbanization of the Bantu will, however, rather take place within the Bantu areas in the already mentioned rural towns than that they should continue to be drawn to the locations in the European cities, especially as regards families. Now that is the first point which is of importance thus far: the development of Bantu areas for almost every city. In this connection I can remind hon. Senators that when I spoke about Pretoria and Johannesburg they doubt whether we as a Government would be prepared to see to the accompanying transport media, but recently it has become clear that what I maintained will become a reality, namely that the railway will be the most important and most useful medium because it will combat crowding of our European roads by Native employees on their way to work. Recently it has been announced that rail transport arrangements have been made in the already well-planned areas of Johannesburg, south-west of Johannesburg and in the vicinity of Pretoria. The same care will be taken with transport when we deal with Cape Town and Durban, to mention but two of the places which are receiving our attention.

Secondly, the site-and-service scheme which was once so abused has met with general goodwill and it can be expected that the days of the squatters' camps around our cities are numbered. Pretoria, Benoni, Springs, Germiston and Vereeniging are already in the forefront of the cities overcoming the accommodation problem, and there are many which will follow them. I can, for example, mention Brakpan, which is progressing well, and Alberton, which is also progressing. I am personally convinced that in regard to Durban we are also finding our solutions and also in Cape Town, although there I still need more co-operation even though the planning is there. The monies which will be levied for communication and elementary internal services from employers play a

very important role in the initial establishment of the new locations. I would also like to remind hon. Senators that when I came along with the Native Service and Levy Act, that I had to fight a rather hard battle to obtain this financial basis for the solution.

Thirdly, the accommodation costs are no longer a growing burden for both the Central Government and the local authorities because the majority of the housing schemes are now being tackled on an economic basis. Hon. Senators will remember that squatting was caused because the burdens became unbearable under the old expensive system of building, and because of the lack of planning. In the years which are past we have succeeded in bringing down the cost of building to such an extent that we can accommodate these people more and more on an economic basis, so that the burdens as a result of which one could simply not obtain money in the past, are gone. We are over that hurdle as well.

Earlier, the erection of school buildings always caused a great deal of trouble. Large sums of money have in the past decade been made available for this purpose from loan funds, but firstly these sums were never adequate for the needs and, secondly, serious anomalies arose thereby. Building contributions on the pound-for-pound basis were required from the Bantu communities in the reserves, while the Natives in the cities obtained everything *gratis*. To put this matter in order it was arranged that all housing schemes, as well as site-and-service schemes, should now make automatic provision for school accommodation and that the money for this should be obtained in the same way as for the houses themselves. It makes a difference of a few pennies per month on their rent for each family to see to it that the schools are there, practically a primary school for every 400 families. But then they are doing what the Natives in the reserves also have to do, namely to have a share in the building of their schools themselves. Then they will not burn them down and they will not boycott them, because this is part of something which is theirs.

It will interest hon. Senators to know that the principle of ethnic grouping in the locations, which has a close connection with the provision of central accommodation for mother tongue schools, is readily being accepted by the local authorities after a few of them had initially rejected this idea as a return to barbarism. I find it, however, a great pity that we have continually to bear the burden of so much premature and uninformed criticism and I would like to put the question whether these bodies and circles which add their voices so freely to this do not consider that it

is extremely irresponsible and also very unfair towards the Bantu themselves. In any case, it has already been proved that they were wrong. We ask that in South Africa there should be more reserve about new plans when we are busy with them, and that opponents should only begin to criticize when they have all the facts at their disposal, or when they can see the practical effects, because up till now I have had to endure abuse year after year over measures which those same attackers have later taken over and have praised. I think that the time has come when we should put an end to this and that the sincerity of our intentions should be accepted, and it should also be realized that the plans with which we are engaged are practical plans which will bring about peace and progress in the country, as well as in relationships between European and non-European.

I would also like to point out that ethnic grouping in the urban locations prepares the way for participation by the Bantu in location control. The formation of school committees for the various mother tongue schools is a first step in this direction. Hon. Senators know that I am not satisfied with the present system of advisory councils in the location and that I prefer the establishment of bodies which have to bear certain responsibilities, although it must not be thought that I believe that those bodies should take the place of the guardian and of the owner of that area, namely the European municipalities. They will obtain limited responsibility and will have to exercise that under the jurisdiction of the European city councils. It is quite possible that by ethnic grouping, with schools for the separate groups and control of these schools by parent committees, we will be coming steadily closer to the materialization of this idea, namely, of increased responsibility for the Bantu in their own matters within their locations.

As is known, legislation was recently passed which gives us the power to carry out residential apartheid more consistently in urban areas. By this the creation of large servants' quarters in European residential areas will be prevented. Existing compounds of this nature can also be made smaller as a part of the process of disappearance. It is my intention to oppose this evil with determination, but at the same time I give the undertaking, as I have previously given it, that I will guard against a dislocating effect resulting from this. I believe in the process of the gradual removal of evils, and not in one of creating dislocation by applying a hurried process. Hon. Senators so often accuse us of not doing something because we are taking the sensible path of gradualness.

The only thing that hon. Senators, however, should grasp well is that you can apply gradualness on a wrong course or gradualness on a correct course, and if you are engaged in working in the direction of increasing apartheid step by step, then gradualness is sensible and is not a danger. That is quite distinct from a gradual swamping of European civilization and the process of integration. Gradualness can take place in both directions, but the one is on the wrong road and the other is in the correct direction. In this connection I may mention that I have reasons for accepting that most of the local authorities will offer their full co-operation in this process of residential apartheid.

Because this is new ground now coming under my control, I would also like to say a few words on South West Africa, but it will be understood that at this stage I do not want to go too far, because my responsibilities date only from April 1. Hon. Senators will remember that the taking over of Native Administration in South West Africa by my Department was contemplated from April 1, 1955. That take-over has now been effected. Senior officials of the various sections of my Department will visit the area in the course of the next month to obtain first-hand experience of local circumstances and problems. I myself intend in the course of the recess to pay a visit to the most important reserves in the area, and I intend further to spend at least a certain period there every year, so that gradually I will be able to visit every single reserve and get acquainted with every problem in urban or platte-land areas where problems arise, and in so doing to tie up the connections.

Let me emphasize that this take-over occurred without any interference with the existing administration methods and that the Administrator of South West Africa, appointed as a member of the Native Affairs Commission, still on my behalf performs most duties in this connection which formerly he performed on the instruction of the Prime Minister; that the personnel in the main has not changed but has been strengthened, with the result that the handling of matters will continue there as was formerly the case. When changes appear necessary, these will take place gradually, and after the required consultation with the Administration of South West Africa and also with the Bantu tribes of this area.

With this I have come to the end of the review which I wanted to give hon. Senators, and on those grounds I can now in conclusion give my reply to the question which I put at the beginning of my speech: Whether our actions during the past three years have been a logical and faithful continuation of the policy

as proposed in 1952? My reply to this is obviously in the affirmative. Everything we have done since then is for the promotion of the separate development of the Bantu community and for good relationships between European and Native. Allow me to explain this allegation briefly once again. To do this I must compare the Native policy and its application as inherited by this Government with our present policy and its application. I characterize the first policy as the policy with the 5 to 10 per cent ideal. That policy, or rather the result of it in practice, was to accommodate a small percentage of the urban Natives very well indeed, and to leave the rest on their own in uncontrolled slum areas and squatters' camps. That was the policy or rather those were the results of the policy in practice, to reclaim 5 to 10 per cent of the Bantu areas and to transform these into wonderfully improved areas, and to leave the rest to the wind and the weather and primitive exploitation.

That policy, or at any rate the result of that policy, in education, was to alienate the Bantu children from their own people and to bring only about 5 per cent of them to a semi-westernized level of civilization and to a deeper desire for absorption in the European community. It was a policy of the establishment of extreme differences between the Bantu mutually and of the division of the Bantu into raw Natives and civilized Natives. It was a policy which the Bantu community ignored to a large extent, and it was only possible to give full attention to the individual who could and wanted to escape from this community.

I characterize in contrast to that the apartheid policy as a policy of growth from its own roots, from its own institutions and from its own power. That is the policy of slow development; by means of mother tongue and by means of environmental education to make literate and useful people of them within their own circle. By stabilizing the land for the best use thereof; by site-and-service schemes for good economic accommodation for all; from traditional tribe through tribal authority to area authority and to territorial authority; by elementary education for all to the creation of a broader basis upon which progress is possible for the foremost and the strong personalities amongst the Bantu, through community service to constructive leadership.

From these two policies the first leads possibly to the fulfilling of personal ambitions for a small minority; more probably, however, to personal disappointment and frustration. Let us imagine that we adopt this policy fully and with all its logical consequences. We would still not be able to absorb more than a small minority of

the Bantu in the community and still maintain ourselves. For us it certainly holds no ideal, and just as little can the Bantu as a whole see in this an ideal development for himself.

The last-mentioned policy, on the other hand, the apartheid policy, complied with this fundamental requirement, without which no policy can succeed. It has an ideal. It acknowledges the Bantu community; it has faith in its growing power and in its capacity to produce responsible leaders who wish to be leaders of their own people and who do not want to be absorbed by the European. I do not doubt, measured by ethnic standards, which one of the two we should make our choice and I also do not doubt that the Bantu, properly informed, will choose the same path, the path which will take them to a full community life. The future belongs to this eventual goal and to this ideal.

Report of the Commission for the Development of Bantu Areas, May 14, 1956

On this date Dr. Verwoerd, as Minister of Native Affairs, proposed in the House of Assembly to discuss the report of the (Tomlinson) Commission for the Socio-economic development of the Bantu territories within the Union of South Africa. The debate, introduced by Dr. Verwoerd himself, was of exceptional importance for two reasons. Firstly, in his address he analysed the report of the Commission very thoroughly — he drew attention to the favourable aspects but very pertinently paid attention to several points of misunderstanding. Secondly, and this is of special importance, he also revealed the distinct difference between the Native policies of the Government and of the Opposition.

I move —

That the House discuss the following matter, viz.: The Report of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa.

This will not be the occasion on which I express my thanks to the Socio-Economic Commission for the work it has done. I will take another opportunity to do so. On this occasion, in introducing this debate, I would like to deal with such matters as appear to me to go to the root of the matter. I take it that I will not be expected to give a summary of what is contained in the report itself, or to repeat what the Government's standpoint is in regard to the report, as it has already been published in the White Paper. I think the task resting upon me is to deal with certain doubts raised in regard to the Government's attitude. I want to do that by putting certain questions and then giving replies.

The first question which without doubt has exercised the minds of hon. members is whether the Government accepts the report or not. In that regard contradictory statements have been made in public, in spite of the positive attitude adopted by the Government in its White Paper. Before replying to this question I want to make certain general preliminary statements. The first is that the report is not something which stands by itself. It is not, as

has been said, the beginning of a new era. It is not the first time plans have been submitted on this matter. This report must be seen in its historical context. It is nothing but the continuation of the continual search by the population of the country for a solution of an old and historic problem, a problem which was not always seen very clearly and one which, as it develops, now becomes clearer to us. That is so, but notwithstanding that it is a problem which continually had to be solved, and a solution for which was continually sought. Therefore this report should be viewed as something within a clear connection.

The second preliminary point I want to make is this, that no report, not even this one, speaks the final word or suggests the only possible methods. There is a certain object, and in order to attain that object all kinds of possible methods can be evolved. When one does not accept the methods suggested by someone, or does not accept them in every detail, one is not necessarily rejecting what is valuable in his trend of thought, particularly not the direction of his thinking. Therefore to determine the value of this report I first want to ask another question, viz.: What is the problem we are dealing with? That can be answered quite simply, because it is a problem with which the country has long been faced, which the Government has faced before and which the Commission now faces. It is what should be done with the tremendous increase in the Bantu population which must be expected in this country in the following decades. What will happen to them? How will they be handled? These people must work; they must be fed, and they must live somewhere. These people will certainly have certain desires and demand certain rights.

Now, the great question facing South Africa is this: Where will all this have to take place, and what will be the results? Shortly after taking over this portfolio, I had to ask myself that question. I tried to explain to myself and to the country outside in terms of certain figures which at that stage were purely estimates. I stated the problem thus, that in the year 2000 we should expect the Bantu population to number 19,000,000. Of that 19,000,000 4,000,000, as at present, may still live in the White rural areas. It may be that a further 3,000,000, as at present, will be in the reserves if nothing further is done in regard to them. But then a substantial number of 12,000,000 still remains. Even though 2,000,000 might be in our White cities as at present, there are still 11,000,000 over, of whom one should ask oneself: Where will they live? I adopted the attitude that if that increase cannot be kept in the Native reserves in some way or other, they will

only be able to gravitate to one other place: the industrial areas, i.e. to the White cities of the country if nothing is done to prohibit them from going there.

Then one has to ask oneself what will happen to South Africa if within 50 years, within the lifetime of the young people of to-day, 11,000,000 or 12,000,000 Natives will be living near our White cities? If they, plus the 4,000,000 in the rural areas, number approximately 15,000,000 as against a possible 6,000,000 Whites in that White area, what will become of South Africa? I then adopted the attitude that this is the problem to which we must find the answer. How can we prevent the swamping of the White community taking place in all spheres of life — politically, economically and socially — which will have to take place if the numbers are distributed in that way. I now find to my surprise and pleasure that the Commission, with its more detailed analysis of the figures, comes to approximately the same conclusions and gives approximately the same answer.

That is therefore the kernel of the report, its reply to that problem; and that reply it gives very clearly. It says that the White man can protect his continued existence only if he sees to it that this increased Bantu population is not accommodated in the White urban areas. It says clearly that if that happens more than economic incorporation will take place, and swamping of the Whites will result. To prevent that, the carrying capacity of the Bantu areas should be increased, and that should be done in various ways.

Firstly, steps should be taken to see that improved use is made of the soil and its riches by the Bantu himself, and not only agriculturally; secondly, there should be a suitable distribution of population in the rural parts of the Bantu areas and in their towns and urban areas. Furthermore, there should be the placing of future White industries in such a way as to assist the Bantu population, at least to the greatest possible extent, having their homes in the Bantu areas. And finally, the separate opportunities for development should be reserved for and extended to the Bantu in every sphere.

This basic reply is accepted by the Government, and it cannot do otherwise but accept it, because that is its policy; it is the traditional policy of South Africa; it was the basis of the thinking of General Hertzog in his segregation policy: that the Bantu areas should be the home of the Bantu. In regard to this acceptance of the basis of the report, its very essence, the Government is not ambiguous at all and its White Paper is very clear. Both the report and the White Paper reaffirm a policy which deserves South

Africa's unanimous support. Here I would like to refer to the spirit of the minority report of one of the members who said that he was sceptical about the possibility of putting into effect this policy, but who made it clear that he realized that if this separate development does not succeed, then the deplorable alternative of integration will clearly be the result. It may, however, be that it succeeds, and therefore it is worth while to try this good thing. On the other hand, if we now consciously go in the direction of integration, we will never be able to turn back; then South Africa will have been set on that road for ever, whatever the results might be. I think we have the right to ask in the name of South Africa that, at least in this spirit of scepticism as to its success, everyone should try to co-operate in following the road of apartheid in order to see whether this great problem cannot be solved in this, the only way.

Now I would like to ask that any conceptions people might have about the details of the report should not distract attention from the essentials in judging the Government's attitude. Therefore, my reply to the first question as to whether we accept the report is that there is certainly not a rejection of the report, but that it is accepted in principle notwithstanding the obvious provisos concerning the methods and measures proposed. It is obvious that there should be freedom to judge the merits of every proposed method and every detail. The acceptance or rejection of the report depends on whether its general trend is accepted and on whether it contains valuable and useful proposals which can be applied. That is in fact the case here.

That brings me to the second principal question which will be asked: Of what use it is to accept the basis of the report if the calculation of expenditure of £104,000,000 over a ten-year period is not also accepted; what is the good of accepting a basis if one is not prepared to implement it by undertaking that expenditure? Now I want to reply in this way: No Government budgets for any of its services for longer than the current year. It indicates whether it regards a service as being essential or not, and when once such service has been started it generally continues. Therefore, the procedure adopted in the White Paper, of indicating that the Government has already undertaken the task in accordance with its policy, and that the country can afford it, is in fact all that is required in this respect.

Apart from that everyone knows that long-term calculations tend to be valueless. Has Great Britain not experienced and proved that in Central Africa? Is not the modern tendency of planning

to plan for one year and then continually to review it? The experience that the purchasing power of money changes in the course of time and that all kinds of new factors enter into the matter is a very good reason why no Government can regard itself as being compelled to accept any figure to prove that it is in earnest in carrying on an important matter. Even more important than the acceptance of figures are the following facts — and now I want to mention a series of facts which I say is more important than merely saying that one accepts or rejects a certain figure. The first is this: The expenditure which is necessary here is not of interest to the non-Whites only, but is of equal interest to the Whites. It will promote the continued existence of the White man, and that being a fact — that the whole future existence of the White race depends on expenditure in regard to propositions which have to be considered from time to time — then that factor of self-preservation is the best guarantee for the implementation of such a policy. A second fact is that the present expenditure on White services and the future plans for White services are so great that the danger does not arise that this expenditure (on the reserves) will be opposed because it will lead to the neglect of the White services. I hope I am putting my point very clearly and definitely. It will be proved by hard facts in the course of this debate later, that the White services will not be neglected, just as little as that took place in the past. Therefore, one need not fear that this will act as a brake on the rehabilitation of the reserves.

A third fact I want to mention is that the country can afford it. Anyone who says that unbearable burdens will be laid on the shoulders of the taxpayer does not bear in mind the facts. I want to mention various reasons for saying that the country can afford it. This country, during the war, for what hon. members called the struggle for existence, spent not £100,000,000 over a period of ten years, but spent £100,000,000 per annum for a period of five years. The Opposition found it possible to ask the country to make the sacrifice of paying at least £100,000,000 per annum to protect its very existence, as the Government of the time thought. Will the struggle to safeguard the White race here not make it possible to pay £10,000,000 per annum, or whatever the amount might be?

I want to give a further reason for saying that the country can afford it. We are busy doing so now, and in the past we have started industries like Iscor, Escom and now Sasol, requiring enormous amounts of money — £40,000,000 in one case — and the

country knows that it was worthwhile incurring that expenditure because it is part of its economic growth. As against this it should not be said that these industries will not ultimately be productive and repay what was spent on them. That is of course true, but the expenditure incurred in rehabilitating the Native reserves and safeguarding South Africa from the danger of being swamped, is doubly productive.

Then I also want to say that £10,000,000 per annum is not a large amount compared with the benefits which will be derived; particularly if it will promote the safety of the people when the country is increasingly in danger of being swamped; the cost is small in comparison with the national income. But there is a final point I want to mention as to why the country can afford it. Those people will be in the country in any case. These increased numbers will be there in any case. We will have to incur expenditure to provide for their housing and transport, and to supply them with work. It is not new expenditure. But if these 11,000,000 in the course of the next 50 years are to be housed in the vicinity of large urban developments, the cost of housing them and providing transport will be immeasurably greater than anything which may be necessary if the development can be directed in such a way that use can be made of the Native areas.

Hon. members know that in regard to the present comparatively small number of Natives round about the cities — 2,500,000 — their proper housing, which was neglected in the past, amounts to tens of millions of pounds. They know that the planning of transport to take these people from their homes near the cities to their places of work in only five or six cities will amount to almost £35,000,000. If those enormous numbers, as compared with the relatively small numbers I am talking about now, then have to be housed near the cities on expensive ground and transported for increasingly longer distances, hon. members should ask themselves whether this is a great expenditure which is demanded of South Africa, whatever the amount might be, if the development is to take place where we have the ground, viz. in or near the Native areas where in general the transport problems will not be so great. Will it not be much cheaper to have this development there than if it takes place here? Of course. Therefore, I say that the country can afford it, and can even save money on it.

But there is a further point I wish to mention which is more important than accepting figures. It is the following. One cannot initially bind oneself to a figure when one knows that certain psychological factors will operate which will influence this expen-

diture seriously, and which cannot be determined beforehand by a commission or by anyone else. The Bantu's adaptability and the tempo of development are the decisive factors, and a Government will have to study its expenditure year after year in terms of the results achieved and the tempo it can maintain. The tempo of development depends on uncertain psychological factors, and therefore the Government would be acting foolishly if it were immediately to accept figures.

But I want to go further, I want to say that the amounts comprising this sum of £104,000,000 have not been so securely estimated that any Government can bind itself to it blindly. Let me quote a few examples. The amount of £12,000,000 is mentioned in the report for urban development in the Native areas. But for three years we have been busy with township development along the same line; we have already made appreciable progress in regard to at least 35 townships. We therefore have the proof, from our experience, that much less than this amount will be necessary, and that apart from that the amounts spent immediately start bringing in returns. This amount is obviously too large in terms of our actual experience.

I want to mention a second amount. There is the amount of £25,000,000 which is intended for White industrial development inside the Native reserves, something I will deal with in a moment and which the Government does not accept: in other words, it cannot accept that amount, and therefore it can be excluded. Let me mention another example which is perhaps even clearer. In this sum of £104,000,000 provision is made for an amount of £34,000,000 in regard to agricultural development over the years. But that amount was based on the system in vogue then, before 1952-3, viz. the old system which this Government inherited of doing everything for the Native; the system of spoon-feeding.

Experience shows that that is not only expensive but that it progressively hinders progress. In the first year — say one has £1,000,000 available — one spends perhaps £200,000 on the maintenance of betterment works and £800,000 on further improvements and reclamation. But when that has been done one again has to maintain the latter in terms of the old method of spoon-feeding where the Native and his community were not included in the erection and maintenance of the betterment works. In the end the position is reached where year after year the State has increased obligations to maintain these improvements, and has less and less money over to spend on new improvements. A basic mistake was made in that the Native was not carried along and

made co-responsible and given the feeling that this is his own, something done for him which no one else maintains for him.

Since 1952, however, I have tried to adopt a different course, and that fits in with the institution of Bantu authorities in terms of which the responsibility was thrown on to the Bantu himself. It fits in with his shouldering of burdens and the result will be that improvements can be brought about on a tremendously larger scale and thereafter they can be left in the hands of the Bantu himself, subject to some supervision. That means colossal savings and great expedition. In this process, also, care was taken that instead of what is called improvements or reclamation work, certain principles of stabilization came into the picture. That means that instead of extensive soil conservation works and the improvement of small areas, less intensive and more extensive work is done in a large area by stabilizing against deterioration. The result of that is that one does work which the Bantu has actually psychologically already been trained to maintain. I have often mentioned the case of the building of a certain dam, which under the old system would have cost the Trust between £6,000 and £8,000, and if anything broke they simply informed the State: "Come and repair your dam". Under the new system, by having the dam built by the Bantu authority with our assistance, it cost between £650 and £750, and the dam is accepted by the tribe as its own. Therefore I say that this £35,000,000 which is based on the old method is not an acceptable figure to me in view of this new direction which is much cheaper and much more efficient.

Then I want to add something more: that one should keep in mind the fact that the spending potential of any Department is dependent on the availability of labour. If in this year £10,000,000 is made available to my Department, we would be able to waste it but we would not be able to spend it efficiently. Technicians will have to be obtained and trained and a tempo gradually increased. Capacity will therefore have to be considered.

It is not wise for any Government at any given moment to bind itself to a figure just because that figure was mentioned in a report. It is the duty of the State to spend wisely and economically, and it will do so as the work is being done.

That brings me to the next general question which will be put: Has there not been too much delay in the meantime? It has become customary to say that only half-hearted attempts are being made with too little money; that the work has already been delayed for five years whilst the Commission was investigating; that

it is necessary to act immediately, and that if one does not act immediately the whole scheme will fail. The Prime Minister and I are supposed to have said that it is now impossible to apply apartheid and consequently nothing will be done. All these things are untrue. But the worst of all is the type of allegation made, and to some extent the report of the Commission itself is appealed to — that the deterioration of the Bantu areas is still in progress and that there is little hope for improvement according to the present plans.

Let me tell hon. members this: The Government and my Department did not have to wait for this report in order to have a policy and objectives. This forward movement has been in progress for a long time. Long ago we adopted positive directions. From the beginning the policy was to bring about all possible separation at every stage along the road, as far as one was able to do so. That is all the report asks for, but we have already been doing that for a long time. I want to ask hon. members to remember how easily these statements as to the terrible deterioration are made. Has that not been said about our White area? Do hon. members not remember that ten years ago certain persons, some of whom were officials, said that the topsoil of South Africa was disappearing and that in ten years there would be hardly any fertile soil left? That type of wild statement is easily made. One has to ask oneself: What are the true facts? Now I want to give hon. members some of these facts. The Native areas really consist of three types. There are the reserves, or locations, as they are sometimes called, which originally were inhabited by the tribes, and scheduled as such. At first it was Crown land and in 1936 that was passed over to the Trust. That is the original scheduled area. Secondly there is the Trust land, the land purchased within the released areas, or Crown land which was transferred to the Trust. And, thirdly, there is the Native private land, i.e. land purchased by Native tribes or individuals or Native community groups. The first, i.e. the old scheduled areas, comprises 9,800,000 morgen. That is the largest portion. Here reclamation measures can be applied only if the areas have been declared to be betterment areas. There one is faced with great problems, such as opposition from the Natives themselves. One has to face the problem to what extent force can be applied. By doing missionary work and sometimes by exercising a little pressure, much has been done in that regard. After I had approved the stabilization programme in 1953, which is not so cumbersome and by which we can obtain the co-operation of the Natives, we planned and

stabilized 25 locations or soil units per annum for each of the five areas. Over and above the normal reclamation programme, at the moment 125 such units are being stabilized every year, and those units vary from 500 morgen to 100,000 morgen in some cases. In other words, although this scheme has not been in operation very long, during the year 1954-5 we planned and stabilized 56 units with a total area of 443,609 morgen, whereas in former years approximately 20 units per annum had been stabilized. In the one year for which I can give the figures stabilization of approximately 500,000 morgen took place, and that in the most difficult areas, viz. the tribal areas. How can one say that we are doing nothing?

In regard to the Trust land, 4,700,000 morgen up to 1953, i.e. 42 per cent, was planned and stabilized, but during the past 2½ years we have concentrated on this land to such an extent that all Trust land, 100 per cent of it, has now been brought under proper control and safeguarded against deterioration. There again, how dare people say that the deterioration is continuing and that we should have taken action, in view of the fact that we have already taken that action?

The most difficult case is perhaps the Native-owned land. This privately owned land comprises 1,800,000 morgen as compared with the 14,500,000 morgen in regard to which I said vigorous action had already been taken. It is in regard to this 1,800,000 morgen that real difficulties are being experienced. It is one of the problems in regard to privately owned land belonging to Natives that one cannot intervene to bring about improvements. But I am now busy with a Bill which is before Parliament to give us better control there. Again it is not a case of ignoring or neglecting one's duty. We are busy obtaining those powers from Parliament — I do not know what hon. members will do in that regard.

But there is a second point of interest in what we have already done. The neglect of this 1,800,000 morgen is to a large extent due to the fact that these people so readily allow squatters to be on their land. Under Chapter IV, which will now be brought into operation, provision is made that we can also take action in regard to limiting the number of squatters on Native-owned land. Therefore, even in this sphere, which is the most difficult and comprises the smallest area, continuous progress is being made. I can give hon. members the figures of what was spent on reclaiming land in the Native areas and as I said before, in latter years the money has been spent much more beneficially than in

former years under the system we inherited and which was not so good. In 1951 we spent £950,816. In 1952 it was £923,904. In 1953 we spent £1,013,881. In 1954 the amount was £1,142,254. In 1955 the estimated amount was £1,287,000. How can hon. members in the light of this expenditure say that nothing is being done and that there was serious delay?

Let me mention a few of the activities undertaken since 1948, since the present Government came into power. I want to add that the tempo in each of these spheres is increased annually. But these are the total works in regard to soil conservation and reclamation:

- (i) Flood walls — 644 miles;
- (ii) Contour walls — 1,714 miles;
- (iii) Grass strips — 20,210 miles;
- (iv) Flood schemes — 4,000 morgen of grazing is being irrigated under flood-water schemes;
- (v) Water meadows — 117 (in 1954 only);
- (vi) Delimitation of river banks — 200 miles.

Something has been done in combating termites, which I do not believe has been done even in White areas. A total of 66,250 morgen have been treated and reclaimed by combating termites. That has contributed to the increased carrying capacity of those areas. In addition, 5,800 miles of fencing has been put up. In this period 24 new irrigation schemes have been completed. The area under irrigation under the new schemes and the development of existing schemes comprises 3,339 morgen. At the moment six schemes are still being built, which will put a further 2,936 morgen under irrigation, and in regard to 21 schemes comprising 5,024 morgen the preliminary work has already been done. At the moment we have in view a possible 42,015 morgen available in those areas for irrigation; 341 drinking dams have been built; 813 bore-holes sunk, and 1,265 bore-holes equipped. In this way I could continue to show what betterment work has been done in these areas already. Dare hon. members complain that delay has taken place and that it has become too late, when all this is in progress?

Let me inform hon. members that in the cultivation of fibre the preliminary work has already progressed far and that in the planning of afforestation, negotiations with the Forestry Department have progressed so far that the speedy tackling of a possible 250,000 morgen of afforestation over a period of 20 years is about to be commenced. In regard to sugar cane, the Depart-

ment completed its plans some time ago. The difficulty there — that is the kind of stumbling-block one finds in practice — is to obtain sufficient milling quotas from the sugar mills.

Let me give an example of the participation of the Bantu in commerce. In 1936 there were 119 Bantu traders in those areas, or 9.1 per cent of all the traders there; in 1952 there were already 1,119 or 45.5 per cent of these people engaged in commerce.

I can also point to the fact that rural township development, which is so essential for proper segregation, was taken in hand a long time ago, and that at the moment at least four have been proclaimed, whilst a large number have reached the end of the preparatory work. Altogether 35 are being dealt with, and in regard to a further ten the preliminary work has been commenced. These are all essential matters in the implementation of the grandiose scheme for increasing the carrying capacity of the reserves. Therefore my reply to this question, whether there has not been too much delay in tackling this work, or the postponement of the publication of the report, or related matters, and whether that is not the cause of it — there my reply is that this was just taken from the air and that these people have not the least conception of what is already happening in the country.

I suppose the next question will be: Does the solution not lie in the provision of employment in secondary industries to a sufficient number of inhabitants of Bantu areas, and how can that be done if White industries are not allowed within the Bantu areas? It is well known that I am not in favour, nor is the Government in favour, of White industrial development within the Bantu areas. Let me draw the attention of hon. members to the fact that there is a difference between the Government and the majority of the Commission with regard to the method and not with regard to the aim. It is essential that that should be realized. It is particularly essential that it should be realized by those who think that they have the support of the Commission for their policy; they have not got it; it is just that they do not realize it. In principle it is the wish of both the Commission as a whole — the majority and the minority — and the Government that eventually the Bantu areas must be there exclusively for the Bantu. The Government adopts the attitude that private White undertakings — important, big undertakings — will make no contribution towards keeping the Native areas truly Bantu. The majority of the Commission hopes that it will be possible temporarily to establish such industries there in order to accelerate the tempo of absorption of workers, but that as soon as possible those industries will go out

of the hands of the Whites and be taken over by the Bantu. In other words, they regard the establishment of White industries within Native areas as purely a transition measure, as simply a method of ensuring that the number of Bantu in the Bantu areas will increase more rapidly and that the Bantu will more rapidly gain an economic foothold there. In other words, that is the method in which they believe, but their aim is that they should remain Bantu areas.

The United Party, or the alternative government, naturally adopts a different attitude in this regard. I deliberately describe them as the alternative government, because it fits in with my argument. They adopt a different attitude; they believe in the permanent establishment of White industries within Bantu areas. Let me say that if this Commission had realized that their method — a method which is not calculated gradually to make the Bantu area a mixed area — if they had realized that there was a possibility that at some future date there might be a government that would destroy and nullify their work and switch over to something totally different, namely the promotion of integration instead of apartheid, then I wonder whether the Commission would have accepted this method with the courage they showed in recommending it. But I know the Opposition better! That is why I realized what the consequences would be of the acceptance of such a method; I realize that such a method would not lead to the object of either the Commission or the Government but that it could only give rise to the eventual destruction of the main purpose and the crux of the report of the Government's policy. In principle, there is a clear difference therefore between the United Party and the Commission on this point and there is a clear difference between the Government and the majority of the Commission with regard to method only. That is perfectly clear, and hon. members on the other side cannot claim that the Commission's attitude towards White industries in Native areas supports their attitude. The Commission does not support their attitude.

Now I should like to give a few reasons why the Government rejects large-scale development of assisted European-owned private industries in the Bantu areas. The first is this: A thing like this would obviously not come about without encouragement, without large-scale monetary encouragement. But in addition to that there would have to be freehold for both the factories and presumably also in respect of the residences of the White employees. Unless the owner of a factory in which £500,000 or £1,500,000 has to be invested in a Bantu area has the security of freehold, he is not

going to establish such a factory. In addition to that he would want certain guarantees on the stability and the duration of his establishment. And then the problem would arise as to what form of control there is going to be over the Whites whose services are needed in that area. What would be the obligations of such a factory towards the Bantu authorities or the Bantu who exercises authority within his own area? Instead of a gradual reduction in the number of Whites and officials in the Bantu areas, there would be an increase, because provision would also have to be made for services for these people. More churches would be needed, More White schools for White children and so on. In other words, this economic influx would be followed by a gradual penetration of Whites into the Bantu areas instead of the present gradual withdrawal. The fact therefore that the Whites would pocket everything economically would wreck separate development for all time, because if you want to be consistent, if in the Bantu areas you are going to give the White industrialist such rights as the ownership of property, the same rights would have to be given to the Bantu in the White areas and that would put an end to the possibility of separation, which is what the Commission wants and what we want. That would mean following the path of integration, an even more dangerous and more serious integration within the Bantu areas than we have within the White areas. That is one reason why the Government rejects it. It is in direct conflict with the attitude which it adopts.

But a second point is this: We can be quite sure that the establishment of factories will not be of a temporary nature. When established rights of this nature are created, it is wishful thinking to believe that after ten or 20 years the industries will pass from the hands of the Whites into the hands of the Bantu. We cannot therefore accept this idea on the part of the Commission as something likely to happen.

I want to mention a further reason and that is that the idea of partnership in the economic sphere would be promoted by such a system. Already we are receiving applications from persons, including people from abroad, who ask where they can get Native partners within Native areas to establish a business there. Those partners may be dummies; that would not matter because in any case they would not have the money. The idea is to use the thin edge of the wedge to get into the possible market of those areas and by means of industries in those areas to compete with White industries in the rest of the country. This idea of partnership would eventually promote the same idea in all spheres, including the poli-

tical sphere. The whole country and not only the Bantu area would in due course become one area of competition and one ownership area. So as not to create an opening for the development of the idea of partnership in a portion of South Africa, the Government is not prepared to accept this.

But let us look at this from the point of view of the Bantu. Is the Bantu to be deprived of his only opportunity of economic self-development? What becomes of the moral attitude of those who lay so much emphasis on "morality"? After all, he cannot compete with the Whites. Even if the development of the Native areas by the Bantu himself proceeds slowly, the position would still be that he retains his opportunity. There the same consideration applies as in connection with land: If there had been no protection of the territory in the Reserves for the Bantu, every single Bantu would have lost his land by now. In the same way it is the duty of the community, not only in the light of the policy of apartheid but also on the basis of morality, to safeguard the possibility of economic development of the Bantu areas for the Bantu himself.

A further point in connection with the possibility of development by the Bantu, is that the Bantu must start on a small scale. Psychologically he is not adapted to industrial life and certainly not to private enterprise, to be able to start on a big scale. Nor would he be in a position in ten or 20 years' time to take over big industries which have been developed there, if his relationship towards industry has been simply that of the recipient and the outsider. The psychological mistakes which have been made in connection with development work in the rural sphere must not be repeated in the industrial sphere. That is why the Government believes in the principle, not only that the Bantu should start on a small scale, that in his own area he should be given the opportunity, but that in the main he must start on the basis of self-help. It is only when he mainly spends his own money, with moderate assistance from the Trust — it is only if he seeks his progress on that basis — that he has an opportunity of adapting himself psychologically to the demands of industrial life; but he will not have that opportunity if the spoon-feeding system, which has been so disastrous in the past in the rural sphere is applied in this sphere. That is why the Government is opposed to the large-scale establishment in the Bantu areas of White industries which will then have to be taken over by the Natives who are not yet capable of doing so.

There is this further fact which must be taken into account:

That a foreign investor without any knowledge of or interest in a sound South African racial policy, would be very anxious to try to get into the Reserve areas — no doubt shielding behind the philanthropic mask, but really for self-gain — and in this way South Africa's racial problem would be complicated instead of simplified. Let me also add that such an industrial development encouraged by State money would not be in the interests of the existing industrial development that we have in this country. When the present industrial development is steered along such lines that White entrepreneurs establish undertakings within the White area in places other than those where most of them are established at the moment, it brings about no dislocation, no disruption, no competition on an unsound basis, nor is it necessary to replace private initiative by State assistance. All this is possible in a perfectly normal way. But such development within Native areas brings into the picture a new and abnormal factor in industrial life.

One could then go on to ask oneself this question: If that is the position, would it be possible to concentrate the Bantu inhabitants in sufficient numbers within the Bantu areas if this type of development is not allowed and if the development of industries is encouraged only *in close proximity* to Native areas. My reply to that is this: Of course it would be possible. I do not know whether hon. members realize how a community is really constituted. Figures in other countries indicate that if 100,000 persons are employed as wage-earners in secondary industry, or in primary industry, it means that provision has to be made for roughly 500,000 persons (at 5 persons per family). But on a basis of that kind the scope of the super-structure, that is to say, the number of people who fulfil all sorts of tertiary duties, is so great that the total number earning a livelihood on this basis is roughly 2,500,000 (husband, wife and child). In other words, for every 100,000 to whom employment can be given in the course of the next 50 years with the growing industries in the vicinity of Native areas, it will be possible on this broad basis, within Native areas, where they perform all their services for themselves, to make provision for 2,500,000 persons. The Government is convinced therefore that on the basis of the sound establishment of industries in the vicinity of Native areas, it is possible to accommodate the necessary number of inhabitants within the Native areas to be on the safe side (in the population ratio). That is as far as I want to go with regard to the idea of industrial development.

The next question is this: Will the Bantu areas be big enough

for the purpose of separation (a) if the protectorates are not included and (b) now that the vague borders according to the consolidation-of-ethnic-areas map has not been accepted by the Government? In the first place I want to say that the addition of the protectorates is not basically necessary for the implementation of the policy of separation. It is true that the protectorates are linked up linguistically with the neighbouring Native areas of the Union of South Africa. It is also true that it would be a tremendous asset to the Natives of the protectorates if they could join their language group within the Union and share in the importance of this whole developmental scheme as it will unfold in the next 50 years. It is also true that it would give the protectorates some protection, in terms of the policy of separate development (the policy of apartheid) against the possibility of White penetration and gradual White conquest of what is really a Native area and ought to remain a Native area. The addition therefore of the protectorates, which is referred to in the passage dealing with the possibility of linking together ethnic language areas, is really of greater importance with a view to the best interests of the Bantu in those territories themselves rather than from our point of view as Whites. Take the case of Basutoland. I suppose hon. members know that since 1910 there has been no growth in the population of Basutoland. Its entire population growth has been absorbed in the Union of South Africa, but this process will not be able to continue in the light of the increasing numbers. In other words, this set-up is unsound and it is in the interests of the Basutoland Native himself to fall under such a scheme of development. That is why it was considered worth mentioning, but not because it is necessary from our point of view. With regard to the consolidation scheme (the consolidation of ethnic areas) in respect of which hon. members over there allege that it would result in the further taking away by the Government of European-owned land from Whites, I want to refer in the first place to the segregation policy during Gen. Hertzog's regime. That was an attempt in which the rural settlement of Natives was viewed as the eventual absorption of the surplus population. But it has long ago become clear to us, and it is clearly emphasized also in this report, that the solution does not lie in increasing the size of the land but in the differentiation of vocational possibilities within the Native areas. That is my first point.

The second is that one must not underestimate the possibilities of the existing Native areas. There are areas — and here I am referring particularly to certain parts of Pondoland — which are

of such a nature that if a European nation which is accustomed to making great use of small and difficult land had lived there — if the Italians or the Danes, the Dutch or the English had lived there — those areas alone could perhaps have carried 19,000,000. Having regard to the outlook of the Native, we are under no illusion that in years to come it will have that carrying capacity, but it goes to show what the potential is of the land in the Bantu areas. It is not only the size of the land, therefore, that counts.

In connection with this argument, however, I want to point out something else, and I hope that hon. members will listen to this because it is of great importance to them. Hon. members on the other side who sometimes allege that this Government, if we were to accept this consolidation map with its vague borders, would prejudice the Whites, must be careful! The Government is not doing it because it would be folly to include towns like Pietersburg, Rustenburg and an area like East Griqualand in a potential Native area. The Government does not accept it. Hon. members must not, however, gloat too much because we have had to reject it because Opposition members who formed part of the Government in 1936, are compromised to a much more serious degree. In 1936 the area of land to be given to the Natives was laid down in Section 10 of the Native Land and Trust Act. A quota was then instituted for every province, but also for the Union of South Africa. Hon. members, who were then in power, passed that Act and accepted that quota. Within that quota, however, only a certain area of released land was indicated. The total White area that they voted away and promised to make available is infinitely more than the released area. A responsibility therefore rests on hon. members sitting over there, after the remaining 800,000 morgen of released area has been purchased, to find and to take away from the Whites a further 1,900,000 morgen! That is a "sacred pledge"; it is part of an Act, an Act by which they say they still stand. I hope that we shall not hear the reproach again that this Commission or this Government is taking away land from Whites, having regard to the fact that as far back as 1936 these hon. members promised to make available to the Natives 1,900,000 morgen of European-owned land outside the released area.

The next question to which I come is what is to be the political future of the Bantu areas and secondly of the 6,000,000 Bantu who will be in the White areas by the year 2000. As far as the first is concerned, our attitude is that in the Bantu Authorities Act provision is made for the development of rights of their own such as the Bantu have never had before or have never been

given by any other Government. Their development to the stage of territorial authorities will presumably still take a considerable time. Thereafter the full development of the powers of territorial authorities, given to them in the Act, will probably take even longer. This further development does not lie in our hands. This further development will be determined by those who will then be governing the country, according to the circumstances prevailing at that time. But this Government has undertaken a development of rights within the Bantu areas, a development which at this stage is a great step forward for the Bantu. That is what is of importance and not speculation as to what will happen at later stages. (Laughter.) If hon. members are amused over this, let me refer them to what happened in connection with a very important governing machine — a State — in the world. I refer to the British Empire. At what stage did the British Parliament or the British Government announce in advance precisely what was going to happen to each part of the British Empire? Did they say 400 years ago when every part would receive certain forms of freedom and did they specify what those parts were? Now suddenly, however, the Union of South Africa is expected to predict in advance and it is sought to bind us to decisions affecting a period beyond the period for which an elected Government is responsible. I say, therefore, that hon. members may laugh but they must not demand more from South Africa than they were prepared to demand from the British Empire.

As far as the second group is concerned, namely the 6,000,000 who will still be in the White areas in the year 2000, various points have to be taken into account. The first is that the assumption is unfounded that the same persons will always be domiciled here permanently. I foresee an interaction between the White area and the Bantu area; that those who obtain knowledge and skill by experience and training within the White area will use it in their own areas where there are further progress and opportunities for using their knowledge and skill. In other words, this interaction between the White area and the Bantu area is of great importance in considering the question as to whether we are dealing here with 6,000,000 permanent inhabitants. Let me just remind hon. members that of the 6,000,000 or thereabouts, 4,000,000 will in all likelihood be on the platteland; in other words, in a place where the problem of apartheid presents no difficulty to us and where apartheid is maintained locally. These problems present themselves in the cities, and this is of great importance.

A further fact, however, is that these people will have their

anchor in their homeland. These 6,000,000 will also have their anchor in what they regard as their homeland. The developments which are being set in motion now, the closer connections which are being established, will take care of that. They will be like the Italians who go to France to take up employment there. They remain Italians and they remain anchored in their homeland; that is where they seek their rights; they do not expect and ask for rights in the other place. Moreover, these people will be in the White area of their own choice; they will be there because it will pay them and because it is useful to them. If that were not the position, if they did not go there because it paid them to be there, they would not be there. They go there for the sake of their own prosperity, and they cannot over and above the prosperity which they seek there, also demand the rights which are enjoyed by those whose territory it is and who afford them that opportunity.

From this it is perfectly clear that in the political sphere, as far as these people are concerned, the position will be as it is at the present time, and there is always the prospect that in future generations these people will gradually gravitate more and more to the area where the others are.

The last question I want to put in this connection is this: Can this standpoint be justified morally? My reply is "yes", because every nation has the right to self-protection and self-preservation, and if it exercises that right in such a way that it uplifts the other people and protects them from disorderliness and disease and destruction, and it educates and takes care of them, then it need not do it in such a way as to constitute a threat to its own survival. Then it is not necessary in addition to everything else it gives, to give its body and soul and to sacrifice its survival as a nation. When it gives them these rights to develop their powers within their own areas — even if those powers themselves are limited — it is quite moral and justifiable, particularly since the question of morality must be viewed from two angles and not only from one angle. The question is not merely whether you are acting morally in respect of the Bantu or the Black man, but whether you are acting morally towards the White man. After all, have the Whites no rights? Is the White man not entitled also to protection — the White man who is the founder of the State, who is the founder of this prosperity, who is the protector of the Bantu and who is responsible for the growing numbers of the Bantu? Is he not entitled also to morality?

That is why my reply is that taking into account both sections,

there is only one solution and that is separation together with the giving of rights to each within his own area. Even if the rights of the Bantu within his own area are limited under the White guardian, I still say that in this transaction of separation he is getting something which he would not have got otherwise, unless hon. members adopt the attitude that they want to do the only thing that is moral, judging by their criticism, and that is to give absolute equality to White and non-White, irrespective of race, colour and numbers. I can understand stones being thrown at us by anyone who tells me that his conception of morality is that everyone should have absolute equality. But anyone who says he does not stand for equality, has no right morally to throw stones at this side which is trying to make provision for what is morally justifiable for both White and non-White.

I started with the series of questions put to the Government, and I want to conclude with a series of questions which I think should be answered by those who differ from us. My first question is this:

(1) Does the United Party accept or reject the cardinal principle of the Socio-Economic Report, namely that this country should consciously aim at giving so many Natives a living in the Bantu areas that by the year 2000 the number in the White area will not be more than approximately 6,000,000?

(2) If they reject that, where do they expect the growth in the population of the Bantu in the next 50 years to be established?

(3) Are you for or against the spending of large sums for the rehabilitation of the reserves and do you accept the figure of £104,000,000 spread over ten years as a good estimate of the amount required?

(4) Where are you going to take away from the White man the 1,900,000 morgen which will be the balance of the quota after having purchased all the released areas which you undertook to do in terms of Section 10 of the Native Land and Trust Act of 1936, by which you say you still stand?

(5) Where would you prefer to see the development of the White industries in the White area: Mainly in the present industrial areas, or at suitable places near to Bantu areas?

(6) Do you believe that the Bantu areas must be preserved and remain protected for the Bantu for all time to come? If so, how will such setting aside be influenced by your policy that large-scale White industries may be established permanently in Bantu areas? Will such industrialists and their White employees be able to obtain freehold rights there?

(7) What moral justification is there for the White man largely to take over the economic possibilities of the Bantu areas?

(8) Under what control are you going to place such Whites in Bantu areas as and when the Bantu develop, that is to say, under Whites as at the present time, or in the Bantu's own areas under the Bantu?

Mr. S. J. M. STEYN: Rather tell us what your policy is.

The MINISTER OF NATIVE AFFAIRS: I am sorry that the hon. member is becoming so perturbed about these questions. I hoped that in this debate we would obtain clarity with regard to our respective standpoints. Let me continue with my questions to them:

(9) What political rights, *inter alia*, in the general government of the country do you visualize, now and eventually, for the Bantu in the Bantu areas?

(10) What political, social and economic rights do you visualize for the Bantu in the White areas in 50 years' time where, according to your policy, they will be in greater numbers apparently than the 6,000,000 which the Report aims at? Would you be satisfied with that?

(11) What do you mean when you say that your policy is one fatherland, one integrated South Africa for all, White and non-White, and what would be the rights in such a common fatherland of White and non-White in the political, social and economic sphere? I refer to the speech made by the hon. the Leader of the Opposition, and I address this question to him specifically.

(12) Are you prepared in the course of the next 50 years, if integration and the civilization of the non-Whites progresses rapidly enough, to leave the government and administration of the Union to the non-White majority of the population?

(13) What moral basis is there for your policy if it does not mean complete equality in all spheres?

**Speech Delivered at the Congress of the Institute of
Administrators of Non-European Affairs, Held at
Bloemfontein, on September 17, 1956**

The Institute of Administrators of non-European Affairs, an organisation of European officials in the services of local authorities concerned with non-European affairs, was founded in 1951. Membership of the Institute was not restricted to the borders of the Republic, but was extended to South West Africa and the Rhodesias. Dr. Verwoerd, then Minister of Native Affairs, opened the fifth annual congress of the Institute, which was held in Bloemfontein in September, 1956. The theme of his speech was "Local Authorities and the State".

Mr. President and esteemed members of the Institute, I wish to address my thoughts directly to the work which you do and to the relations between the state and yourselves in connection with that work. I wish to avoid entirely the political aspects, although I know it will not be possible to achieve this a hundred per cent. Nevertheless, in what I have to say, I wish to limit myself to certain clear guiding lines. I hope this will be of value to you in your deliberations and perhaps also in your general work.

I wish to begin by discussing the relationship of municipal administrators to the state, more specifically to the Department and Minister of Native Affairs, because in many respects the municipal administrator finds himself in an unenviable situation. Actually he has obligations pointing in different directions. These obligations may sometimes involve him in great difficulty. I am very conscious of this and sympathetic towards those involved.

In the first place, the municipal administrator is an official of his town council. Each of them has obligations toward his employer. But the municipal administrator also has certain obligations of his own, certain statutory duties to fulfil. When he fulfils these statutory duties, then he is left to his own discretion in respect of them. There he is not subject to any orders from anyone else. These are functions, duties, imposed upon him under the law for which he must himself accept responsibility and which

he must himself discharge — whether this statutory duty corresponds with what one or other mayor or town councillor desires or not. This is no concern of his. He must perform the function properly. Then he has still a third difficulty and that is the fact that he is licensed by the Minister of Native Affairs. This licensing is not without its purpose. It is required because he must perform functions for which the State accepts responsibility as a whole. He must carry out policy laid down by the state as such. The licensing therefore does not merely mean that he must, as far as possible, be a qualified or a trained person, but it also means that he is a person who has duties to discharge over which the state is entitled to withdraw the licence if a municipal administrator does not perform the functions entrusted to him properly.

This is a very important factor in his life. On the one hand, perhaps, it creates a problem for him. But on the other hand it serves him as a protection, since it signifies that his existence and his work cannot be arbitrarily interfered with. The licence granted to him affords him the protection of the minister and the department if he should become involved in certain conflicts in the rightful discharge of his duties.

At the outset I wish to say that I can speak with the greatest appreciation of the co-operation of the vast majority of administrators of native affairs in the Union of South Africa. On this occasion I wish to testify that, with few exceptions, they really try to interpret the policy of the State correctly and carefully to their town councils in connection with the activities entrusted to them. That is also their primary function, viz. to see that their town councils (which after all consist of fluctuating members) know exactly what the state's policy is and how it is applicable to the activities of their town. Naturally, however, their work must extend beyond interpretation. As executives — indeed the leading executive personalities — they are also obliged to ensure that executive measures are carefully carried out. In regard to this I wish to testify that both with respect to interpretation to the town councils and the attempt to execute policy, I am in general highly appreciative of the work done by the municipal administrators, that is to say, mainly by members of this institute, whose conference I have the honour to open this evening.

When this has been said, the question may be asked, which indeed frequently is asked, why are municipal administrators not Government officials? Why are they municipal officials, if they have such functions assigned to them by licence and are charged with certain instructions by the law of the land? Sometimes the

question is put still more strongly, viz. why does the state — through its Department of Native Affairs — not undertake the management of all native matters, in the various towns as well? Or put more strongly, why does the state not take this sort of activity completely under its control as regards the areas of all local authorities?

Persons who put the questions in this way are really suffering from a certain confusion of thought. They do not realise what the actual position is. The true position is that there is only one source of policy in connection with native affairs in the country, and that is the state itself. All the towns are solely concerned with executive activities. The task of the urban authorities is to carry the policy of the country into effect, not to create basic policy for themselves or for the country. It is a very clear basis, laid down in our legislation from the outset, that it would only create confusion and disorder in the country if native affairs became subject to a diversity of policies. It just cannot be allowed to happen that in one town the native is controlled on a certain basis and that in another town he is dealt with on another basis; or that policy is carried out piecemeal, because a variety of methods of action have arisen. It also cannot be the position that uniformity of policy is sought through voluntary collaboration, in an institute like this, because it will not be attained in this way. The founders of our state realized this very well and that is why ever since those days it has been laid down very clearly, also in the South African constitution, that the source of policy in connection with native affairs in all spheres, is the state, that is to say, the Government of the Union.

That is also the reason why the various provincial administrations — the largest of the local authorities — have not been entrusted with this matter. If it was not possible to envisage a decentralization of native policy relative to the four provinces, how much more imperative was it not to allow the task of finding direction and course and policy to be still further decentralized, viz. to the much larger range of authorities more local than the provincial administrations. It is clear that the founders of our state saw matters in this light. If we examine the legislation on which the activities of most of you rest, viz., our urban areas legislation, then you will observe that since 1923, thus also in the various amendments, and with consolidation later, throughout, this fundamental principle is clearly and unambiguously incorporated, namely, that the state determines policy and that the local authorities are the assistants in its application.

I say this deliberately and with so much emphasis because I very much wish us to avoid all misunderstanding in this connection. It is essential to avoid misunderstanding here because more than once recently one has heard the accusation that the central government is interfering in municipal affairs when it addresses reproaches or admonitions or warnings to municipal authorities which are not prepared to carry out national policy. I find it necessary that to you, who are the interpreters of state policy to your municipal councils, it should again be said very clearly: the state is the body responsible for policy in the sphere of native affairs and the central government does not interfere but merely fulfils its supervisory function where the local authorities do not carry out their obligations in respect of native affairs. I do not discuss their independence as regards other affairs, but am solely concerned with this single and clearly defined matter.

This factual position must be very clear, since it does not exist merely for the sake of uniformity, but also for the sake of peace and order in the country, to avoid confusion and to prevent conflicting attitudes in all cases involving action to be taken in connection with the great number of natives for whom we bear responsibility in the cities and towns. For the sake of all this it is essential that it should be realised that the state lays down policy and that, to put it briefly, the local authorities are the agents of the state with respect to the execution of such policy. I wish to repeat that there are persons toying with the idea that the central government is arrogating rights to itself when it maintains this standpoint, while in reality it is not arrogance, not a new claiming of rights, but simply the proper discharge of its duty. That is the first thought which I wish to bring home to you here.

Because it is so important to you and because the central government has this function vis-a-vis the municipal councils, a form of protection had to be instituted for those head officials who are concerned with a double function, namely, on the one hand, have to take national policy into account and on the other hand must serve their employers faithfully. There ought however, to be no conflict of interests and no difficulty will arise for them, provided the town councils themselves understand their rights and limitations and grasp what their function is. They, like the officials, have a duty to discharge, a duty from which they may not try to escape, namely to carry out the national policy loyally. This then, is the first general point of view which I wished to submit to you.

The second is a reply to the question: What is, in general terms, the policy which is the national policy today? As you will understand, I cannot enter into great detail, but in a few bold strokes I wish to sketch — especially as it affects urban areas — what the policy is that the municipal councils and you yourselves are called upon to support as long as this government is in power.

Firstly, mention should be made of the fundamental principle on which everything is based. This is that the policy of separate development is the policy of the country today. The quintessence of the matter is that while the European enjoys all his rights and privileges in one part of the country, namely in what we call White South Africa, the native has similar rights and privileges but can in turn only exercise them within the Native Areas, i.e. in the Reserves — whether tribal territory or areas subsequently purchased. That is what he must look on as his home — and at least the home of his rights. In these territories the European has no claim to property and certain civil rights. There he is the temporary inhabitant who helps with the development of those areas, but they belong to the natives. The rights of the natives are bound up with this fact. There the European remains without permanent rights of any sort. Just the opposite is the case in the European areas. There is the home of the European's rights and there the native is the temporary resident and the guest, for whatever purpose he may be there.

Now in this connection I wish to clear up one point. This is that the native residential areas, the locations, in the European cities and towns are not native territory. They are parts of the European area. It is just as much European territory as the Native's living-room in the back yard of the householder in the town or as the entire farm of a white farmer is European territory, even though he provides his native workers with dwellings there. Native territory is only those parts where the native has full rights of ownership, either in the form of tribal territory or land possessed by Bantu groups or individuals. The native residential area in the town is only a place where the European in his part of the country provides a temporary dwelling for those who require it of him because they work for him and thus earn their living in his service.

When once a person has grasped this fundamental principle of separate development and rights, then a whole series of secondary principles ensue which require to be taken into account.

The first of these principles is that the native cannot acquire permanent rights in the European territory. He may obtain these

in the native areas where, on the other hand, the European may not.

The second principle that follows from this is that the native cannot acquire any right to own land in the European areas, or in the location or native residential quarter. He may not acquire the right to land-ownership there because this would conflict with the basic principle of separation and separate development. On the contrary, he can acquire certain forms of possession which do not have the same character of permanence such as e.g. house-ownership, even house-ownership based on a guaranteed series of years of tenancy of the land on which the house is built. He may obtain this because here there is nothing to give possession the essential characteristic of permanence such as land-ownership.

Furthermore, a native cannot acquire the right to practise a calling or profession or carry on a commercial enterprise in the European parts of the town. It is true that in the past there was provision whereby he could in exceptional circumstances obtain permission to do so as a concession. This was mainly granted in the times before separate development of residential areas had assumed the extensive shape that it has today. It must therefore be very clearly comprehended that it offends against the fundamental principle of separate development when demands are made on behalf of a Bantu trader or an attorney or an advocate or whoever it may be for residential or office rights within the European urban area.

On the other hand, we do make provision for and even afford protection to the practice of such callings and the acquisition of the necessary facilities for the exercise of those callings within the native residential areas in European territory. There the native trader may not only obtain an opportunity to do business among his own people, but we are prepared to protect him there against white competition. Because it is fundamental to the idea of separate development that everyone should be able to rise to the higher callings and make use of knowledge in every sphere, but must always do this in the service of his own people, that is why we will have to apply this way of doing things in increasing measure, namely providing every possible chance for the native to work among his own people under circumstances in which he can do this without the sort of competition against which he is not yet proof, viz. the competition of the European. This applies to the native residential areas in European towns and still more in the true native territories.

A further principle flowing from the fundamental principle of

separate development is that there should not be an unnecessary influx of natives into your urban areas, more especially not an influx of families. It is self-evident that if we should allow an excessive influx of natives to take place, irrespective of needs and opportunities of employment and purely for sentimental reasons or from failure to exercise proper control, then we are acting unfairly towards the local European community. Unnecessary burdens are being imposed on the last-named, burdens which it is probably unable to bear. Once and for all it should be clearly understood that in the European areas the interests of the Europeans are paramount, just as in the native areas the interests of the native are paramount. Excessive influx — unnecessary influx — particularly the influx of families with the consequent increasing number of children for whom provision has to be made later on, must, it is self-evident, collide not only with the principle of increasing separation, but also with the opportunity for the proper development of each of the two groups on its own and among its own people. In the long run it is perhaps the native who will be the biggest victim of the selfishness of the European if he allows uncontrolled influx, because when excessive numbers of natives are present then the consequences are low wages, inferior housing and vagrancy and from the vagrancy arise crime, poverty, distress, and the disintegration of family life. These are social evils which we must avert, *inter alia*, by seeing that unlimited, uncontrolled influx does not take place.

When I say that no unnecessary influx should be allowed, then I need name only one example of what is happening in some towns to enable you to understand how reasonable this is, notwithstanding the condemnation of such an attitude by opponents of the policy. There are towns where the employers are prepared continually to allow skilled or semi-skilled workers to leave their service because they say that after a time they become impertinent, so that they prefer to take unskilled persons or, as they call them, "raw" workers into their service again. We have had the experience that such employers do not wish to engage children who have been born in the towns, but prefer that they should become loafers. The pretext is that they are still too young or too weak or they are too expensive or well-educated or troublesome, or they are "tsotsis". The urban authority ought rather to allow a further influx of natives from the rural areas or the Bantu areas to fill empty places in industry. What must then become of the displaced skilled or semi-skilled workers or of the children born in the cities? In other words, uncontrolled influx merely results in

creating an unnecessarily large pool of labour, in spite of the damaging effect on the native and the European community and notwithstanding the heavier burden of providing housing and finding land for locations which it brings about, is altogether wrong. Influx control which is sometimes represented as merciless in its operation, is in reality merciful and sensible as regards both European and non-European.

With this is connected the necessity for proper control over industrial development, since developing industry is the natural source of the demand for more labour and if industrial development continues uncontrolled and involves a continually increasing influx of natives, then it means that, irrespective of the advantage to the industrialist, the burdens of the community and the burdens of the local authorities and the burdens of the municipal officials of Non-European affairs increase. It can even happen that the burdens may increase so much that they exceed the carrying capacity of the local community, whether this takes the form of inability to find more land on which the establishment of locations can take place or inability to accept responsibility for the management of a continually increasing number of natives, or inability to guarantee to bear the financial charges (even although the local authority really obtains these funds from the state) to provide for the proper housing and servicing of the natives. Therefore, I say that the principle of proper control of influx is accompanied by proper control over industrial development, in terms of the general and fundamental principles of policy I mentioned just now.

Yet another principle follows from the policy of separate development. This is that proper conditions must be created for those coming under the care of the local authority. The policy of separate development is one which is lenient, which wishes to be just. It is a policy which wishes to show understanding by ensuring that bad conditions which are usually detrimental to Europeans as well as non-Europeans do not arise. It is a policy which tries to ensure *inter alia* that living conditions are created from which no evils will flow. Separate development does not mean oppression, as is so often alleged. Separate development or apartheid, signifies precisely what it says, namely, an opportunity for everyone, but within his own circle. That is the large background of policy with which we are concerned. The following principles are of importance in the proper application of the policy to the specific task of the municipal administrator, the man concerned in the first instance with the urbanized native.

In the first place, care must be taken to see that there is sufficient space for locations in the vicinity of every city or town. Every place with natives must attend to their accommodation in one way or another. In the past these persons were practically left to find their own housing. This was not what the local authorities wanted, but frequently they were powerless and sometimes indiscriminate squatting was a product of the circumstances of the time, as during the first and second world wars. The establishment of an urban location in the right place, however, is of essential importance and it is not always so easy to find the right place. For example, it is not easy to find it when other developments have already reached a reasonably advanced stage. In particular, it is not easy to find a good place when several cities or towns are located in the immediate vicinity of each other. Nor is it easy when cities are extremely extensive and the various residential and industrial parts are far from each other. It is also necessary when a location site is being sought that account should be taken of the entire region within which future developments will occur and not merely of the one particular town. Thus it is of great importance that locations should be established in the right places, properly planned on a regional basis, and wherever possible there should not be more than one in any neighbourhood. In addition, the location should be so situated that the expanding European town does not encircle it in the future, with the consequent difficulties we are experiencing nowadays as a result of a lack of sufficient forethought in the past. The finding of such, placed in a way which will not simultaneously bring about conflicts between European and Non-European communities, is one of the tasks resting on us. It is a task which imposes a vast responsibility on me and my department, but we very much need the co-operation of the municipal authorities in connection with it.

A second subordinate principle is this: There must be separate provision for accommodation for all the natives attracted to an urban community. This provision of accommodation was so badly neglected in the past, that now one is not merely concerned with meeting wants as they develop from day to day, but must also take backlogs — sometimes of enormous extent — into account. Today, therefore, it is no easy task to create the required provision for accommodation. Consequently, we were compelled to lay it down as policy that it does not help merely to think in idealistic terms and to say that every family must be placed in a house within a short period. In some towns this is simply impossible. One can only build houses annually for a certain

limited number of families in accordance with labour capacity, financial capacity, the ability to procure material etc. in the case of the local community concerned. Thereafter there remain, especially as far as the large cities are concerned, numerous families about whose housing needs nothing has been done. For this reason my department and I decided that we must be realistic and emphasize legal provision for accommodation without insisting at the outset on the provision of built houses. That is why the site-and-service scheme was evolved.

The policy of developing site-and-service schemes is nothing more than a policy of laying the foundations for sound township development. We know how frequently in former times our Europeans began a village merely by measuring off a few plots around a church or church square on which perhaps only a few small dwellings were erected at first. We also know how nowadays certain small holdings develop, with the owners able to build perhaps a cart shed or a garage which they occupy to start with. Then, as far as their resources will permit, they add to this holding, and begin to build better dwellings. After a period of perhaps 10 years such a complete small holdings area is often really well-developed — even almost like a township. Similarly, the underlying idea of the site-and-service scheme is merely to create first the essential conditions for orderly habitation, to collect all who are illegally or wrongfully housed in a legally recognised and controlled area, and then gradually to work in ever increasing measure for the improvement of housing conditions on such legal and sufficiently large residential plots.

This site-and-service scheme of mine was reviled in the beginning, like many other plans which were later lauded to the skies. But the towns which tackled it seriously — and not merely with the intention of abandoning everything at the first stage, but which rightly regarded it only as a foundation for gradual development — have made use of it with great success. Thus the site-and-service scheme principle, followed up by housing of a steadily improving quality, is of great importance. In addition there is a further thought, namely that the native should take a share in caring for himself. He should not always be subject to spoon feeding. For this reason emphasis is placed nowadays, as a principle of policy, on the fact that wherever possible owner house building schemes should be promoted and that in any case to the greatest possible extent only economic housing should be provided. In order to make economic housing possible, the cost of building houses had to be so reduced as a result of research that

the tenant would readily be able to bear fully the charges of rent and redemption under the schemes. As you know, this principle of policy is being correctly applied by various local authorities who are busy achieving enormous successes, to the benefit of the Bantu who have to make use of these schemes and can thereby retain their self-respect.

However, there was one great difficulty, one large bottle-neck, before any progress could be made with these various ideas. This was the need to provide services between the town and the somewhat remote native residential quarter, without these becoming a burden either on the native inhabitant of the residential area, who is not responsible for the fact that his place of residence is far from the town, or, on the other hand, on the municipal rate-payer who is frequently not responsible for the fact that such a native is there and requires a place to live in. Furthermore, the bottle-neck existed that though money was sometimes voted for housing or the purchase of land, no use was made of this because no money could be made available from the same sources for the provision of the various essential services such as water, sanitation, roads, electric light, etc. With the object of solving this problem, I then devised the idea on which the present Services Levy Act rests. As municipal officials, you know the opposition I experienced (from employers and also in Parliament) when I forced the Services Levy Act through. For all that, this Services Levy Act has become the basis of all the success that has been attained in connection with native housing in South Africa. I think that if each of you reflects on your own city or town — I am now actually speaking about the 39 areas where the Services Levy Act is applicable — and have to imagine that you were called upon to solve the problem of isolated accommodation without the means provided by the Services Levy Act, then you would all realize that you could have achieved absolutely nothing.

Today the Services Levy Act is applicable to 39 areas. The amount collected thereunder during the short period it has been in force (that is, only a few years) is already about eight and a half million pounds. One million pounds of this has already been granted for subsidies to suitable transport. Projects to the amount of six and a half million pounds have already been received and approved and are in various stages of execution. It is on the basis of these possibilities of providing services that the further structure for the separate care of natives in the urban areas is erected.

Another important point of policy, though it has also been

contested, is the housing or settlement of the urban native on an ethnical basis as well. This was at first represented as a dream, as folly, as sources of conflict and strife. Nevertheless, it was carried out and those places which went ahead with the system, or partially introduced it, experienced nothing but benefit from it. Greater satisfaction is found among the Bantu themselves, but the system also lays down foundations for other developments which are essential and must rest on an ethnic basis without which they would not be practicable. I will only name two. One is the establishment of schools for the children. If there is not ethnical separation within certain limits in the urban locations or native residential areas, then education cannot be built up on the basis of the Bantu language of the small children concerned. Ethnic grouping has become the basis of successful school building and school planning. In the same way (and a little later I will have something more to say on this subject) it will have to form the basis for any attempt towards the development of Urban Bantu Authorities. It was not instituted as a whim, as an arbitrary principle, but as a foundation which must be built on in connection with the progress of essential services and of control for which you are jointly responsible.

There is a further principle flowing from the general policy — a further specific point of policy. This is that care must be taken to provide employment for everyone — either within or outside the urban area. The native who enters European territory is there because he renders service. Therefore no idleness may be allowed, because idleness is the basis of social evils of many sorts. Deliberate provision must be made for employment. The labour bureaux system which has been evolved for this purpose and to which local authorities must contribute their share, should be expanded to the maximum extent in collaboration. This is the more important to the local authority because in proportion as influx control carries out its duty fully, the community will need to make use of every employee who is admitted. Wasteful employment of labour power will no longer be possible and the expansion of the labour bureaux system is an essential factor in bringing this about.

Another principle of policy which has been laid down and has to be carried out by the urban authorities, is that they must tackle undesirable living conditions of various types simultaneously. I say this emphatically, because unluckily I have had the experience that certain urban authorities do not wish to comply with this principle of policy, with the result that they come into such

conflict with the state that they are left behind in comparison with those who co-operate properly. There are actually three kinds of undesirable conditions which concern me now and to which I wish to refer. These three sorts should be combated simultaneously.

The first is the creation of slum conditions or the existence of slum conditions. Such conditions should be eliminated. The existing slum conditions may be of two sorts — I am talking now of how this affects natives. The first is where they live under slum conditions in squatter surroundings. These squatter environments are ordinarily in White neighbourhoods, sometimes on European-owned farms near the town. The second sort of slum condition has developed within what are already existing native residential areas in the town. These two kinds of undesirable conditions, I classify together as slum conditions, viz. either in the form of squatting near Europeans or in the ordinary form of slums but within native residential areas. Both should be tackled and tackled quickly. For this purpose the site-and-service scheme may prove eminently suitable as an important auxiliary.

Secondly, there are the undesirable conditions among natives illegally housed within European residential areas. These are also of two sorts, namely the illegally admitted dwellers in backyards and the illegal residents on the top storeys of large buildings. It very often happens, as you know yourselves, that a householder not only permits the servant whom he may accommodate in his back yard according to law, but also members of the family or sometimes visitors or even totally unknown casual nightly inmates to be there. The same happens with regard to illegal native residents in flats and other large buildings in the urban area. These two sorts of illegal dwellers in European residential areas are the second group in respect of whom legal places of residence must be provided in native residential areas.

Then there is a third group for whom provision must be made. That is those who are legally allowed to live in the European residential areas, but who are present in excessive numbers and are unnecessary there. They ought not to live in the European residential areas, just as little as the natives who work in factories and have to live in the locations or in hostels there. These are the inmates of the so-called "locations in the sky".

Now I wish to emphasize this again. This process of clearing up slum living conditions wherever they may occur, the illegal residence within European residential areas, and the excessive although legal residence in European residential areas, must all

three be tackled simultaneously, especially because the means to be employed, though partly different, also partly coincide with each other. There is a tendency on the part of some authorities to want to draw up a scheme of priorities as between the groups. As a principle of policy, no priorities may rightly be drawn up in respect of one or other of those groups, for the reason just mentioned as well as on account of the fact that each of these undesirable conditions adversely affects other groups of Europeans or Bantu. A local authority which attempts to concentrate on one of these groups commits an injustice either towards the members of one of the other groups or towards those parts of the community to whom they are a nuisance. Each of the three groups thus for certain reasons has its own right of priority. We must therefore become accustomed in our thinking and actions to the idea of getting rid of all three of these evils, and to setting the processes of rehousing or resettlement in motion in respect of each of the three groups. Then progress will be made towards the solution of all three of these sorts of undesirable conditions. Otherwise the danger will arise that if only the first group is dealt with which a part of the authority or community regarded as the worst, when this is finished the last-mentioned may pat itself on the back and say its task has been carried out. Then those who still have the right to support and aid will be left in the lurch. The state cannot permit this to happen. For this reason it lays down as a condition for aiding the local authorities, that the policy of resettlement, to whose execution the local authorities are committed, and the three groups, shall be simultaneously dealt with in accordance with the methods which are very well known to those authorities.

The next specific question of policy which is of importance to you is, to what extent and how, when the native residential areas have developed to a reasonable degree, the native himself can be engaged in the management of these areas. In other words you will ask: does the Government, as a point of policy believe in the institution of urban Bantu authorities, and, if so, in what form? Here I desire to lay down a few explicit propositions.

The first is that, on account of the situation of these residential areas in European territory, such locations or native living quarters must remain subordinate to the neighbouring European local authorities. The locations are European territory, the European local authority is the guardian and the owner of the ground, and it is the creator and maintainer of that residential area. The European authority also remains responsible towards the state for the

proper control and administration of that area. The European local authority must therefore remain the guardian and the controller. In addition, because these native residential areas are located in European territory, the interests of the European townspeople must be given preponderance above the interests of the native inhabitants. This is not unfair because in the native areas just the opposite should be the case. There the interest of the native must be the predominant factor and the interest of the European who proceeds to the native areas for his own purpose (usually to earn money just as that is the object of the native in the European areas) will have to be subordinated to the interest of the native. It must be very clear therefore, that as regards the native residential quarters in European areas or as regards the inhabitants of the native residential quarters, their interests are subordinate to those of the European local authority and the inhabitants of the European town.

A second proposition emerges very clearly from this. This is that independent native townships with native township managements cannot arise within European territory (as I have read in the newspapers some urban authorities in the Union are supposed to think). No location may become an independent town with its own governing body standing on its own feet as an independent co-ordinate, urban authority over and against the European urban governing body. In the native areas this may take place, because there we are establishing native townships, with Bantu township authorities. At the moment, we are busy establishing no less than 60 of these townships within the natives' own territory, which will be administered by native authorities themselves. It is their territory. In the European territory on the contrary, the native residential area remains subject to the European urban authority.

For precisely the same reason, the next position follows logically viz. that it is not and cannot be permissible that natives should serve in the name of those areas on a mixed municipal council, i.e. that they should have access to membership of what are now European municipal councils. It is not even necessary to expatiate on this.

On the other hand — and this is the fourth proposition — I do not consider the system of Native Advisory Boards a successful system. Any advisory body which bears no responsibility, necessarily becomes a body which comes forward with all kinds of demands and requests and expectations. In fact, the greater the demands advanced by such bodies, the greater chance the members have of being re-elected. They need only raise their

promises continually to gain increasing popularity, because nobody tests their capacity to carry out the promises; nor do they have to levy taxes with a view to this. Naturally this forms the foundation for agitation and conflict. For this reason I am not in favour of the continuance of the advisory council system. I believe that eventually the native inhabitants should have a certain measure of joint responsibility in the regulation of the affairs of their own residential area by means of representatives, that they ought to receive a certain administrative responsibility. In other contexts it has been experienced that when the energies of the native are enlisted to exercise a certain measure of control over his own people, then a greater sense of responsibility is displayed and a much better disposition develops, so that the work of administrative officials is made much easier. Therefore, I believe that we must eventually arrive at a system of urban Bantu authorities, but, as I have said, always subordinate to the European municipal council and always having clearly circumscribed and limited powers, powers over which the European council as supervising body will continue to exercise final control. Moreover, I believe that these Bantu Authorities must be founded on an ethnic basis because most success is achieved where the connection with the traditional customs and respect for the traditional authority of the Bantu are not lost. It is well known that there exists strict discipline within the native community and great respect for the principal moral obligations. This tends to be lost in proportion as the Bantu becomes urbanised, but mostly when he is helped to wean himself from his bonds with his family and his homeland, from his bonds with his traditional customs, from his bonds with his language and from his bonds with the tribal usages which at first kept him and his children on the right road. It is necessary that there should be a restoration in this sphere for the sake of order and peace, and especially for the sake of the welfare and prosperity of the Bantu themselves.

Some years ago I caused an Urban Bantu Authorities Bill to be drafted. Unfortunately, the contents and the intention and the practical possibilities of the bill were misunderstood by some European municipal councils as well as by certain native leaders. I felt that something of this sort should not be imposed either on the European or on the native community, and that it would be better to allow time for reflection. Besides, in the meanwhile, experience could be acquired in connection with the application of the Bantu Authorities System in the native areas. However, I now tell you as members of the institute and as municipal urban

officials that in one way or another we will have to assist to promote the administration of native residential areas by the establishment on a sound basis of a form of Bantu authority in the urban areas, in accordance with the positions I have already laid down here, namely, the paramount authority of the European community for whose sake and under whose protecting umbrella the native residential area has arisen and grown up.

While I am speaking on this subject, I wish to add a final proposition in this context, namely, that I do not believe it is a sound state of affairs that a blanket authority for urban natives should arise in the municipal sphere. By that I mean that in my opinion it was a mistake to amalgamate the Native Advisory Boards in a sort of general country-wide congress of advisory boards. I have never found that such native organisations succeed in rendering fruitful the real work of their members, namely, their bread and butter activities, i.e. that they learn through discussions there how to improve the business of the local administration of their Bantu residential areas. These congresses have been used as opportunities to talk about broad national problems. Ordinary members have been made vulnerable to the influence of agitators, both Black and White. For this reason, I do not believe that such a blanket authority has any value, either for the country or for the activities of the advisory boards, or for the European urban authorities, or for the ordinary Bantu inhabitant of the towns who simply desires order and peace and reasonable living conditions and ought to have benefited by the discussions during these sessions. If these Bantu Authorities of which I am speaking — Bantu Authorities with limited powers — arise, then I hope they will really succeed in confining their attention to the businesslike management of the daily township problems of their own people, in order to help them with the ordinary things which make life easier. With this in view, care will have to be taken to prevent a new kind of blanket authority arising in connection with such a system, which would very probably have the same adverse effects as are being experienced today. They will have to be municipal bodies, local organisations, and local they must remain.

I hope that from my exposition of the policy which should form the foundation of your work as well as of the work of the local authorities, you will observe that all this results from an attempt at a consistent application of a comprehensive programme. It is not simply a question of isolated ideas and seizing here and there on one or other point, but it is a far-reaching programme touching on the living conditions of the people in the attempt

to make them happy, to assist in avoiding conflicts and to bring about order and peace. If it is accepted that the various directives are not loose plans but part of a comprehensive programme, then it will be understood that deviations cause confusion — it does not matter whether the deviations arise through expecting indulgences from me in the form of concessions, or because certain local authorities wish to follow a course of their own. In so far as deviations necessarily involve difficulties and confusion, it will be understood why this must be so firmly resisted.

Concessions may sometimes appear superficially to be fair, but the consequences must be borne in mind. If for example, it is requested that a native advocate should be granted a divergent permission to have his offices in a European office or shopping area and in European buildings, then it must be remembered that there go along with it the similar requests for special privileges on a similar basis for native traders of all kinds, dentists, doctors, barbers, shoemakers, foodsellors, etc. If once you allow the principle in the Urban Areas Act, that it ought not to happen, to be broken down, then it must be accepted that the logical consequence will be a general breach of this policy on a broad front. The state is not prepared to permit such a thing to take place. Therefore care will have to be taken to ensure that concessions which may appear superficially fair, are thought out to their logical consequences and that consideration is given to the eventual injustice to others which may arise from apparent friendliness towards one person.

It is sometimes forgotten that in this country justice should not only be done towards one person. It is sometimes forgotten that in this country justice should not only be done towards the non-European but also as regards the European. There is not only a moral obligation towards the non-European, but also a moral obligation towards the European. A Department of Native Affairs will only render the highest service to the country and to those entrusted to its care, if it is prepared to take the rights of both sides into consideration. Should it wrest privileges for the Bantu under the mistaken impression that it is its duty to grasp whatever it can for them, then it will cause the Bantu so many conflicts and difficulties that eventually the last-mentioned will suffer more damage from apparent readiness to make concessions and actual weakness than they will derive benefit from it. For this reason, I take up the attitude that the Government may not open the door to malpractices or engender a feeling of uncertainty with consequent dissatisfaction, but should be prepared to work accord-

ing to plain and clear principles and a consistent programme, even though this may seem harsh at the outset. In the long run, it leads to the best conditions for both European and non-European because there will be security for everyone.

My next thoughts have reference to the advantages of good co-operation between local authorities and the state. Although I have stated that the local authorities have obligations towards the state which is the formulator of policy, it remains true that co-operation on a friendly basis rather than as the mere result of discharging a duty, is of the utmost importance. Even although the state has the right and the power to lay down its policy and to enforce it, one cannot expect great success from this alone. If co-operation can be obtained, if everyone is prepared to accept the facts as they really are, then tremendous success may be achieved. Here I wish to cite the example of two adjacent towns to show the advantages of co-operation and the disadvantages of opposition. It must be forgiven me if I name these towns. In the first place there is the case of Benoni. (I refer to two towns which are both under control of my political opponents and mention this expressly because it shows the fairness of the comparison and not for any other reason.) Benoni, completely under the control of people of political opinions other than those of the present government, acted precisely in accordance with what I have today called a basic principle of our country's legislation and part of the structure of our state. Its town council adopted the attitude that it was concerned with a local problem connected with Native Affairs, mainly the problem of bad and wrongly-sited housing, and that they would be prepared to inquire as to the state's policy in regard to this and then to carry it out with the state's assistance. As a result of that willingness to carry out national policy strictly and to co-operate in a spirit of the greatest amicability, despite political differences, the Benoni urban authority made tremendous progress with the solution of its problem in a short period. Indeed it set an example to the whole of South Africa, not only of co-operation under these apparently difficult circumstances, but of such rapid progress that every town would be well advised to have a look at what has been done there. I wish to add that the value of a municipal administrator's aid in promoting this spirit is not underestimated by me. In this context, I may be permitted to praise the president of your institute who happens incidentally to be the chief official of Benoni in this sphere.

In Johannesburg again, the contrary was experienced for the most part. For instance, in connection with the site-and-service

scheme, we put to them the viewpoint that seeing they were probably short of something in the neighbourhood of 50,000 stands, they would be able, within five years to resettle 50,000 wrongly settled persons and families — especially families — by annually providing 10,000 stands with services, allowing these people to establish themselves there and then following up with houses to the best of their ability. Johannesburg was not prepared to do this, and urged all kinds of objections to this system, often through the medium of the press. The objections were frequently founded on misunderstanding and when they wanted to complete a couple of housing schemes which would not cost less than another three-quarters of a million pounds, we helped them despatch their obstructiveness, but only subject to the promise that they would tackle the 10,000-a-year site and service scheme. Later on, however, the praises of "Johannesburg's site-and-service scheme" were loudly sung! The same happened from time to time. For example, it is generally known what opposition the Johannesburg City Council offered in connection with the removal of the Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare locations and the development of the Meadowlands housing scheme. I was compelled to use the powers which I have and may exercise in respect of any municipal council, to take the task away from them and entrust it to another body created, so the municipal council cannot claim the credit for the great and universally lauded scheme in progress there. That at least is one case where the part played by the Government is not misjudged. Ordinarily it is my department and I myself who are the projectors of such policies, we make the plans, take the initiative and even exercise pressure and have to find the money. But when, in the long run, housing schemes have come into existence, the local authority, which acts as controller of the scheme's execution, usually gets the credit. I grant them this. We do not look for fame, but only seek the solution of problems. We look for the accomplishment of what is sensible for the country. We heartily concede to the local authorities all the honour that is to be gained, but then they must not require to be galvanised into action periodically by force, as sometimes happens.

I do not desire to dwell further on this. I do not wish to unravel the Johannesburg example of opposition instead of co-operation as I might well do. Only it must be stated generally that much of the success achieved everywhere in the country in the sphere of native housing has been attained as a result of systems which in the beginning were greeted with almost venomous

hatred, although in the long run they were accepted as really worthwhile. I have already mentioned the Services Levy Act as an instance of this. It was bitterly opposed at first, but is now recognized as the foundation of progress. The site-and-service scheme after having to be forced on some town councils, was later announced to the world by these bodies themselves and the press which supports them, as their "amended" successful site-and-service scheme, although the alleged amendments by them were not worth the paper they were written on. Indeed, it usually only showed that they had later arrived at a better comprehension of what my department had previously told them about the scope of the scheme. The same phenomenon occurred in connection with ethnic grouping. How were we not denounced as dreamers and dolts! But after Benoni — one of the first towns, I say it to their credit, to accept this and to apply it so consistently and well in their planning with our aid — had shown its practicability, then suddenly it became a useful system, forsooth.

The "Locations in the Sky" legislation is another example. How were the Government and I myself not attacked about this. All the town councils, however, themselves decided that they would like to be the agents in its execution, and I predict that the time is not far off, when its successful accomplishment will be applauded by the community, freed from many perils and undesirable conditions. Then we will find that it will also be spoken about as one of the successful administrative achievements of the various authorities. However, I will be pleased enough if they are in a position to boast about this one of these days.

Whence does this continual and unnecessary opposition originate? I speak of this to you because you are the people who are involved along with me in the midst of this strife. After all, you have to guide the local authorities not to be wrongly influenced thereby. I wish to help to strengthen you against the opposition and the accusations, because we must all steel ourselves against these things. This opposition sometimes arises partly from political manipulation. Opponents sometimes realize that the thing itself is not wrong, but calculate that it may perhaps serve as a stick to beat the dog — in this case, the Government. That is not important to you. I mention it because this reason is of importance to me, and I deal with it in the proper place. But then there are two other reasons and these are important to you. Sometimes the opposition results from ignorance. People simply do not understand what we wish to achieve. For instance, the site-and-service scheme sometimes had to be explained three or four times by

competent officials of my department before certain town councillors and officials grasped the real basis and full potentialities of this scheme. Therefore, I say, ignorance plays an important part in this opposition. But there is also a tendency on the part of people to leave untouched irregularities and wrong conditions which developed in the past. It is love of an easy life and fear of bringing about alterations and dread of criticism that are sometimes the cause of opposition to good corrective planning. If we, however, as municipal administrators or I as Minister of Native Affairs, merely from indolence or fear to initiate and control a large scheme, are prepared to permit abuses to continue, then we ought not to occupy the positions in which we are placed. We are not placed in these positions to shrink from exertion. We have been appointed to bring defective conditions under control and to create healthy conditions in our community and in our country. For this reason I call upon municipal administrators to be allies in the struggle against ignorance, indolence or fear.

I have now come to the end of what I wished to say. I ask for your co-operation, as I said at the start, not because the Government has the right to issue directives to you. I ask for co-operation solely for one reason and that is because what is required of you is the natural and logically correct thing to do in the discharge of your daily task. If I ask you to use the levy funds properly, if I ask you to introduce the site-and-service scheme, if I ask you on this basis to make use of the housing funds which become available to build houses continually for the inhabitants of such schemes, if I ask you to apply sound management in the native residential areas, if I ask you to take the value of ethnic grouping into account, then I am only asking your support for the sole basis on which you will be able to build up a sound administration in the interests of the local authority. This is the only way in which you will be able to discharge your responsibility towards the town council which appoints you and the state by which you are licensed. In other words, I ask you to support us in discharging fully what is an honourable duty for all of us.

I also ask you, when legislation is passed, to realise that I sometimes have to draw the fire on myself, although, the legislation is actually intended to help you in your work. Legislation is not piloted through Parliament merely for the sake of amusement. When legislation is introduced into Parliament, it is always done with a definite object. The purpose is to do the best thing possible for the community, after difficulties have been brought to notice

in the course of the country's administration. Then I would request you further not to act as I have sometimes seen happening in the press. This is, that when legislation has been passed in the interest of your own work, some of you accept the act as useful, but do not admit its value publicly or simply remain silent, but rather put the blame on the state or the Government. In other words, some of you eagerly employ the act, but if unpopularity should happen to be associated with it, you leave your helpers in the lurch. I want to mention two examples, namely those that are now attracting most attention.

One of these is the Act for the Prohibition of Interdicts which was passed in the latest session, and the second is the alteration of a certain section (29 bis) of the Urban Areas Act, concerned with the expulsion of natives from urban areas when they cause trouble there. My department and I had no direct interest in this matter, but you did have a very real direct interest, and the local authorities had an interest in procuring certain powers to take action. The state would have acted irresponsibly if it had seen local authorities being obstructed in the honest, proper and equitable administration of their duties in an unfair manner and had not helped them to overcome this difficulty. You know yourselves what obstacles sometimes occur when one wishes to do good, such as the time when Klerksdorp wanted to establish a proper native residential area and built houses at considerable cost, only to be faced thereafter with a series of delaying orders of the court, which the courts could not avoid granting and which did not display any wilful desire to obstruct on the part of the court, but which delayed the good work of the urban administration for periods of up to five and seven years. That is why it had to be made possible by legislation to prevent such delaying orders from standing in the way of sound reforms. In point of fact, the law has been so drafted that it is not normally applicable anywhere; in other words, the courts in general retain their full jurisdiction, only if a local authority should find after all efforts have been made to solve difficulties in the normal way, that it is being prevented from fulfilling its task merely by the demands of agitators, will the authority and methods of this act be called into play. The fact that this act exists will ensure that such obstruction by agitators is no longer attempted, simply because it cannot succeed. In other words, the tyranny of which we are accused, is a figment of the imagination. The presence of a weapon is sometimes the best guarantee against its employment. The powerful armaments of a great world power are sometimes the best protection against

war. In that spirit and with such a righteous purpose we introduced this legislation, but nevertheless we had to be held up to the world as oppressors and tyrants — simply because the Government tried to help the local administration of native affairs to function soundly in the interest of both groups in the country.

Now I mention the other example, viz. the power granted to local authorities to expel those who cause a disturbance in their areas of jurisdiction from the area concerned. Is not this reasonable? If it is reasonable that Southern Rhodesia may expel inhabitants of other member states of the federation to which it belongs, from its own territory without creating a world-wide clamour, why may Germiston not do the same for the protection of its own Bantu community there, if it has difficulties with certain natives from other parts of the Union, who wish to try to create a commotion in its new location or native residential area? The expulsion of agitators is usually undertaken for the protection of the Bantu community itself and, as I know from experience, is usually in accordance with the desires expressed by the decent and order-loving Bantu members of that community. All I ask in this connection, is that you should realize that when legislation of such a nature is passed it is done to help you with the task of equitable administration. I would like to see you accept the help of the state in this spirit, and not hesitate to testify to its utility for your work.

As administrators you have a lot of work, and I know that you frequently have many difficulties. Moreover, I also know that you sometimes think my department creates more difficulties for you than are strictly necessary! I know, for example, what you think when, with each act which is passed, you get a new set of regulations to study. Allow me to state clearly that I am an enemy of complexity and of red tape. Therefore, where we can, we will try to help you to simplify what has grown complicated in the course of time. We are aware, for instance, that the Registration, Reference Book, and Labour Bureaux Regulations create difficulties for you, especially when as sometimes happens the regulations appear to overlap. I wish to inform you that my department is busy trying not merely to bring about uniformity among these regulations — just one set of simplified regulations — which will replace the Registration Regulations, the Reference Book Regulations and the Labour Bureaux Regulations. We wish to help the European employer by doing this; we wish to make things easier for the native; and in particular, we wish to help you in this manner.

To the foregoing communication, I wish in conclusion to couple an appeal for help. You who work with these various problems and experience difficulties with the regulations every day, must very often have brain waves. Now you should not merely sit and grumble if you are having a hard time within the existing provisions of the regulations. You should ask yourselves how you can get out of the wood, how, for instance you could simplify regulations in an effective manner. Then my department would not only be prepared but eager to receive such ideas and hints. We not only wish to hear about what is uttered in a congress like this, but also what you think as a result of your private experience. I therefore appeal to you, when you have ideas and proposals which you think will benefit your administration if we assist, to feel free to get in touch with my department. The Department of Native Affairs is not a department which merely wishes to do things its own way, but its task is so big that it only has one object and that is to solve problems and render good service to all who need it at its hands. For this purpose it welcomes all advice.

Mr. President, perhaps I have taken up rather a lot of your time, but consider it as a proof of the interest felt by myself and my department in your work, work which is extremely important and extremely difficult.

Speech on the Occasion of the Opening of the Transkeian Territorial Authority, Umtata, on May 7, 1957

The United Transkeian Territories General Council, commonly called the "Bunga", voluntarily decided to terminate its existence in the old form at its 1955 session in order to make way for the new Transkeian Territorial Authority that has now been set up under the Bantu Authorities Act. May 7th, 1957, provided a momentous occasion for the South African Bantu in general and particularly for the Transkeian Bantu people because on that day Dr. H. F. Verwoerd opened the first session of the Transkeian Territories Territorial Authority and so heralded a new achievement in the progress of separate development.

Chiefs and Members of the first Territorial Authority of the Transkei:

For you this is a great day, a day of rejoicing. I have come to be with you on this important day in the history of the Transkei because this is an occasion when you remember what your own traditions are and think of the developments which lie before you. We must, all of us, do honour to that which is ours. If there is one thing which is more one's own than anything else it is one's language. I will therefore address you in the two languages of the White man of this country, first in English and then in Afrikaans, but all that is said will be interpreted to you in your language. So, on this memorable day, we all honour what is ours through the medium of those languages which symbolise our racial groups.

I said this is a great day for you because today the first Territorial Authority in South Africa is being opened. When the law was passed I did not expect this first authority to be in the Transkei, but you were very quick and very clever. You saw the opportunity offered and you took it immediately. I think you were wise and as you pick the fruits you will realise this more and more. Indeed, there will be many in South Africa who will say: "We too, should have been as quick." I am glad to say, however, that progress in this direction is being made very rapidly

everywhere. On that I will add a few thoughts a little later. There is only one regret that I have: This opening should have been a great festive occasion for your followers as well as for you. It would have been very good if this meeting could have taken place in some neighbourhood where thousands of your followers could have held a big feast, and could see with their own eyes how you meet to deal with the affairs of everyday life. Leaders do not meet just to talk — they come together to think. They think about what is good for their people but when they have finished thinking, deeds must follow. If the people can sometimes see their leaders thinking about their daily problems and worries then they will feel happier through this experience than when this always happens far away. I hope that when I come again we shall meet somewhere in your own area where you can have your followers surrounding you. That could be a very great occasion.

I want to congratulate you on what has happened during the past two years. I know that this Territorial Authority is not yet fully organised in the form it must take, but that will come very soon now. In the meantime you are starting on a path of adventure. Because that is the case, I want to talk today about a big idea, since, as I have just said, ideas are the forerunners of deeds.

When one thinks big, one can do great things. The big idea I want to talk about is that of separate development. These are words of great hope for the Bantu. Every man wants to have something which is his own — something which is separately his. He likes to be with other people but he also wants to be separated from them at times. "Separateness" means: Something for oneself. The other word refers to what is bigger still, viz., "development", which means growth. One should never fall back when one starts any work. Through the work of one's hands or one's mind something must be made. That is creation — and development is growth brought about by man creating something new in a continuing process. Therefore, separate development means the growth of something for oneself and one's nation, due to one's own endeavours.

Separate development is a tree, a fruit tree which this Government gave the Bantu of South Africa. It planted the tree but that tree must be tended in order to grow. If it is looked after well, it will grow and bear fruit. It should not grow too quickly because the type of fruit tree which grows too quickly also dies quickly, and one can only pluck the fruit for a little while. But the tree

which grows slowly and bears a few fruits at first, gradually becomes very big. Then it will bear much fruit and one can enjoy the fruit from such a tree for many, many years. This tree of separate development which you must tend yourselves, must be one of these. Let it grow slowly. Do not be impatient. Let the branches become strong so that they can bear many fruits.

You are already, as Bantu of South Africa, picking some fruit from the tree of separate development. Those are the positive results of this policy. I wish to show you some of these fruits.

You will know that in the times gone by the Bantu in the cities did not build their own houses. It was the work and the duty of the White man to build all houses, although the Bantu were the workmen who assisted him. The Government saw that it was best that all Bantu should live in their own residential areas. They were scattered over squatter camps and backyards, often under very bad living conditions. When these separate residential areas had to be developed, the Government, however, also said: "Why cannot these people build their own houses?" And so a law was passed making it possible to teach and train the Bantu to build their own homes. This chance to serve their own people could only come when separate development, including separate home areas, was accepted as the right policy. The money earned by Bantu builders is one of the economic fruits of separate development plucked by the Bantu.

There are other economic fruits. The Government also said: Why cannot these Bantu who live in their own residential areas have their own people as policemen?; and if they have their own policemen, why cannot they have their own corporals and their own sergeants? Will they not work among their own people and serve and look after their interests? This development followed but it could only take place because it could be separate, amongst their own people. You know that such appointments were not made before.

There are still more economic fruits. The Government asked: Why cannot there be Bantu clerks on the railway stations in the Bantu residential areas? Why cannot there be Bantu clerks in the post offices serving their own people? The answer was: Yes, the Bantu must have all these opportunities if they are to develop separately. So these fruits are being plucked by the Bantu and that development can proceed further and further, always in the service of their own people.

It is, however, not only in connection with work and good income that development takes place. This can also be found in

the social sphere amongst the Bantu. You know what happens when a Bantu teacher is appointed in a Bantu school. That has happened for a very long time, but now new growth is taking place under the Bantu Education Act: The schools became schools of the Bantu community! The parents therefore formed the school committees and the school boards, because if there is to be separate development the Bantu must look after their own schools and their own children. A few years ago people said this would not work. They said: We cannot find Bantu school board secretaries. They cannot keep the books and they cannot be trusted with money. But this Government said: No, if there is to be separate development then there must be Bantu parents who can look after the schools and educated Bantu persons who can be secretaries and treasurers of school boards. Today, only a few years later, there are actually more than 30,000 Bantu parents who are members of the school committees and the school boards, caring for the schools of their communities. All the school board secretaries are also Bantu. The majority of whom are doing their work well. There you are picking the fruit of social development — a development in the community life of the Bantu themselves. They are not trying to pick the fruit from another man's tree, by desiring his schools and a part in his social life. It is their own that they desire and obtain.

Similarly more can be achieved for their own people in other connections. I am thinking particularly of welfare work in aid of the Bantu and also of health services for their own people. Must the white man always remain the person who conducts those welfare services, or should you be prepared to serve your own people in this connection? It will be one of the duties of the Bantu Authorities in the Bantu areas to further the welfare of their people, to care for those who suffer from ill health, those who are blind, those who are poor, those who are old. Such people must be supported and tended by their own communities. I know that it is a very big task to organise all this and I do not expect the Bantu to be able to undertake such tasks quickly. The White man's help is still necessary and will be so for a long time. He is willing to help in the creation of future Bantu organisations. He is willing to help financially where it is needed. He will help in the training of people to perform these duties. But if the Bantu are to grow in social responsibility towards their own people they must be prepared to make a start. Having control over the welfare work amongst their own people is one of the fruits, which they must pluck in the future.

It is not only in social life that separate development will produce fruits, and not only in connection with economic matters, but also in connection with the political control over their own affairs in their own areas. This is important. That is the roof which is put on the building. This is very important today, because we are now putting a roof on the house which is being built here. The institution of Bantu Authorities give the Bantu the opportunity to control his own affairs. I know that when the roof is put on a house, the house is not finished. You know yourselves that to lay a foundation and build the walls can be done quickly, and in a few days' time the roof can be put up. It is the work inside the house which takes very long to complete. So, although we put on the roof today, we know there is much work left for the future. About this I will say a few words later.

There is one further comment I wish to make first about the tree of separate development because you could easily say: "Yes, but why does the White man wish to plant this tree for us? Is he so unselfish that he does not think of himself?" You might even think: "I do not trust this." Therefore I wish to impress upon you that the White man realises that he already has his tree of separate development. His tree of separate development was planted long ago. It is already a big tree and bears many fruits. You know that. You have seen everything that he has and he has that because he looked after his own tree. The White man knows what separate development means for his people and therefore he believes that if the Bantu wants to progress he must also have such a tree of his own.

I must warn you there are some people who become jealous when they look in the other man's garden. When they see a big tree full of fruit there, they say: We want that. But the man who tries or desires to steal from another man's garden, always forgets to care for his own. While he leans over the fence and looks and looks, he forgets to water his tree. He forgets to spray against insects and when he turns back he finds that the branches are withered and the fruit will not grow or is uneatable. Similarly, the man who steals another man's cattle can never be happy. He does not build up his own herd and the day of arrest and punishment must come. It is the man who builds his own herd who grows rich and becomes prosperous. It is that man who has the trust of his people, not the one who robs somebody else of his life's work. Therefore do not look at the more developed tree of the white man with jealous eyes because then you will neglect your own small tree which will one day also be big. It has often happened

that when one person desires what is somebody else's they fight. In the meantime what both want rots or falls to pieces. Or the chopper can be applied to the tree and then nobody will have any fruit! Do not let us in South Africa be like this. Let us take the trees of separate development and each care for his own. The Government is prepared to help you in preserving your tree so that it can grow and bear much fruit in the course of time.

I now proceed to the following idea, i.e. that Bantu Authorities originated in order to enable the Bantu to manage his own affairs. The problems he must deal with occur in his own territory. There is a great task to be undertaken in connection with everyday life. The common people require guidance and help. Among other things, their land must be looked after properly so that it remains productive. However, all the people cannot have land to support them. Care must therefore be taken of the other people as well.

Today I cannot speak about all the ways in which the landless and stockless Bantu in the reserves may be assured of a living. I only wish to say that we cannot all make a living from farming and that there are ways in which good management and correct development of the territories can provide for the others.

It will, therefore, inter alia, be the task of the Bantu Authorities to ensure the conservation and improvement of the soil. It will, for instance, be their task to see that the roads are good and that the land is well cultivated. Rainfall is not always so regular and abundant as at present, and water must, therefore, be stored in dams. Where there is plenty of water, irrigation schemes must be introduced. More people can live and live well on a small piece of land under irrigation than are able to exist on dry lands. The Government will help the Bantu Authorities to undertake this work of building dams. However, a person does not look after anything so well if it is not his own handiwork. Therefore it is essential for Bantu authorities to realize that they must manage their own soil and water conservation themselves. They should support Agricultural Schools so that their children may learn to farm properly.

There is an old proverb which says: "God helps those who help themselves". This does not mean that the Government will not give the Bantu a helping hand, but it does mean that if anyone wants something he must work for it himself, and that his leaders must guide him in such a way that he wishes to be independent. This creates a big task for the Bantu authorities. Here in the Transkei there are already many Bantu authorities,

especially tribal authorities. Before long all the tribal authorities will have been organized. This first section of the Bantu administrative machine to take care of most individual and local interests can function very soon. They can deal with the minor difficulties and needs in the immediate vicinity where the families live. When the same work has to be done for larger areas then the district and regional authorities are the proper bodies and they are also coming into existence already. All the necessary authorities are thus in process of development. I am glad that this is not only happening in the Transkei so soon, but also in Zulu and Sotho areas. More than three-quarters of the Bantu Authorities in the country have already been established and the others will be proclaimed shortly. This is a marvellous development in such a short time. In a few years one will be able to see how the work of the Bantu Authorities has improved as the result of experience and the ordinary people will then realize what they have gained.

The Government is making big plans to help Bantu Authorities to provide their followers with means of existence in the Bantu Areas. There are extensive afforestation schemes for those areas that are suitable for this. There are also plans in connection with the cultivation of various kinds of fibres. Both these are very important because certain industries in Bantu Areas can be developed by the Bantu themselves to utilize the fibre and certain forestry products. There is no production of fibres worth mentioning in European areas and the prospects for this are therefore very great. More could be told about the possibilities of agricultural development by Bantu Authorities during the next few years but sufficient has been said for the time being.

Everyone knows, however, that not all Bantu can be farmers. I would, therefore, like to say a few words about how the Bantu in Bantu Areas may be assisted in connection with other occupations. It is well known that Bantu traders and other commercial activities by Bantu already exist. The White man took many years to learn how to be a good trader and many Bantu traders are still deficient as regards capital and knowledge and commercial morality. Bantu consumers still need the European traders in many places owing to the lack of Bantu entrepreneurs. There are, however, many Bantu traders in Bantu areas and their numbers are continually increasing. Many have difficulties to overcome, e.g. difficulties in procuring the required capital and also in purchasing goods wholesale. These difficulties are receiving attention.

There are, however, other possible occupations which will arise. For example, there are certain industries which the Bantu will be

able to set up in their own areas especially in connection with meeting the needs of their own people there. As the towns in the Bantu areas develop, Bantu families will need furniture. The furniture used in European houses and which they purchase at present is not always right, for example, as regards size, for use in homes. Under the policy of separate development it thus becomes possible for the Bantu to create his own little furniture factory in the Bantu Areas. He has already proved that he possesses the necessary manual dexterity for this, but in general he has not yet demonstrated that he possesses the knowledge to organize such a business. There are also few with the money necessary to start such a business. To assist in both respects, a Bantu Investment Corporation will be established by the Government, after investigations which are already in progress. This corporation will assist the development of the right kind of business in the right place with knowledge and capital.

Industries, however small, belonging to the Bantu themselves, in the Bantu Areas are also one of the fruits expected from separate development. At the same time it provides a new chance to make what they need for one's own people. True enough the fruits will not be plentiful at first, especially since a person must learn from experience and this is acquired slowly. However, the chances are there for those who want to take advantage of them. The last-mentioned progressive people will certainly be persons who believe in separate development, for the others, who are not interested in separate development, are of course the kind of persons who only wish to deprive the White man of something or intrude upon his preserves and who will not themselves create anything in or for their own spheres. I am sure that in future the Bantu Authorities will help to make the Bantu in Bantu areas begin to think otherwise about such matters.

Another major problem about which Bantu Authorities should think does not concern their ability to aid those who remain in their own territories. There are, namely, children of theirs who leave their own territories. They go, for instance to East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. What becomes of those children? Here in the Bantu areas there are two fathers who help. Plans are made by the magistrates and other officials of the Native Affairs Department to further the opportunities of existence and improve the Bantu way of life. In addition the chiefs are there to care for their children and to give them assistance and advice. We all know that the chiefs will be the soul of the Bantu Authorities. We all know that they are the fountains from which the rivers flow. We

also know that the water of the river gives vitality. In that quarter things are right. When the water flows strongly it is not merely for people to drink. If they do not want the water to flow away uselessly, they must use it. Sometimes they must work extremely hard to use that water to advantage. In other words, if a lot of work flows from the leadership of good chiefs, then it should be taken seriously by the people. Then prosperity will ensue in the entire area.

Now, however, the river which flows from the chiefs should not stop at the border of the Bantu Areas. Its influence should reach out to their children wherever they may be. They should all continue drinking from the river. They should all retain the leadership of their natural authorities.

For this reason this Authority and these Bantu Authorities must remain in continual contact with their children at a distance. Those children must not forget that in the long run their homes are here in the Bantu areas, that their fathers and chiefs are here, that this is the place where their family is to be found. They should remain connected with their homelands by strong bonds. They should realise that when they grow old, they may return to the towns which are being established, and that when they grow too old to care for themselves the Bantu Authorities will look after them. The children must not lose their love for their own people and their own land.

Now I ask the chiefs and authorities to think how they can retain the connection with their children. Should not the Transkeian Territorial Authority have representatives in the places where their children are so that they can always remain in touch with them? Should they not sometimes return here to see where their own people live? And should their children wish to study further, ought they not rather to do so here among their own people? Is it not better that higher and normal schools and special educational institutions should be situated in Bantu areas so that they may again make contact with their own tribe and countrymen? A Bantu community should be a community in every sphere, whether its children are here or far away. They should be children of the Bantu village.

When I went to Europe there was always a desire in my heart to return to my own country and my own coast. I could not become a Frenchman, or Italian or anything else because I am an Afrikaner. When I visited the ambassador of my own country, then I was filled with longing for my homeland. Should it not be the same with the Bantu? Should his children there in Cape Town,

Port Elizabeth and East London not always hanker after their chiefs, authorities, and own people here? Should they not be able to visit there a representative of their chiefs who will enable them to maintain a connection with and respect for them and even long to return?

There is a great deal of planning involved, i.e. not merely how to rule here, but also how to retain your influence over the children far away. The leaders in the Bantu areas should always remain connected with their own people so that they are not lost to their tribe through wrong influence. Every child who is lost there is like a branch broken from a tree. If it is a fruit-bearing bough, everything on it is lost. Every branch broken from the fruit-bearing tree not only means loss of fruit but it helps even to kill the tree in course of time. For this reason I ask the Transkeian Territorial Authority, which is at the head of all the authorities, to think about these important matters.

And now I have said my say. The message I have brought you is plain. It consists of two parts. The first is to care for the tree of separate development which has been planted so faithfully with all your powers so that more and more fruit may be plucked every season. The second message is that the authorities should concentrate on looking after the interests of the ordinary people and their needs in connection with their everyday life. Their land, their work, the progress of their areas, their schools and so on. When the Transkeian Territorial Authority thinks about bigger things, then it should be about how to make all the other authorities function well and about how they can help to ensure peace and tranquillity. They should think about their children in distant places, and stretch out their hands to restrain them so that they are not lost to their own homeland. They should not occupy themselves with political agitation because they must prevent the Bantu from coveting the other man's tree and neglecting their own.

I began by saying that any-one who thinks on a large scale, can act on a large scale. Any-one who does not think is also afraid to act. And the man who only wishes to pluck the fruit of other people's acts is not a thinker and not a man. He is not a builder but a thief. The members of this Transkeian Territorial Authority must be builders. They must be persons who look after their own gardens and keep their tree growing. That is why this is a great and important occasion. It is the start of new relationships and new ideas about what can be done by each race without conflict. The Government wants separate development, the European in

South Africa generally desires it, and I am sure that most Bantu also wish for it, in their own interest. It is from this source I derive my confidence that separate development will bear fruit for all of us.

I wish the Transkeian Territorial Authority good fortune in its great task and now declare this first meeting of the first Territorial Authority open.

Chiefs and Members of the Council, I greet you.

Message to the People of South Africa, on September 3, 1958

After the death of Advocate J. G. Strijdom on the 24th August, 1958, the parliamentary caucus of the National Party was called together on the 2nd September, 1958 in Cape Town where Parliament was sitting, in order to elect a new leader. The complete caucus consisted of 101 members of the House of Assembly and 76 Senators. At the meeting the names of Advocate C. R. Swart, Dr. T. E. Dönges and Dr. Verwoerd were proposed with the result that voting had to take place. As the first vote did not assure a complete majority for any of the candidates, a second vote had to take place. In this, Dr. Verwoerd was elected with a majority of 23 votes.

Advocate Swart and Dr. Dönges were the first to congratulate Dr. Verwoerd, which beyond all doubt confirmed the solidarity of the party.

The Governor-General, Dr. E. G. Jansen, asked Dr. Verwoerd after his election as leader of the party in power, to form a cabinet. That same night he announced the names of the members of his first cabinet. No change was made in the existing cabinet and no-one was appointed in the place of Minister Strijdom.

Immediately after his election Dr. Verwoerd delivered a short address on the steps of the Senate building and said, among other things, "what happened today within the caucus is the proof of the high standard of democracy in the National Party. As friends, we devote ourselves to the service of the Nation."

At a time when a Nation is in mourning, I have been called upon to assume the duties of Prime Minister of South Africa. A beloved and competent predecessor has passed away while in office. His task must now be taken further. I hope to follow faithfully in his footsteps and in those of his esteemed predecessor. The aims to which their actions were directed are also my aims because that is the course the electorate of South Africa has instructed us to follow.

It must be stated at the outset that we, as believing rulers of

a religious country, will seek our strength and guidance in the future, as in the past, from Him who controls the destinies of Nations. The grief which plunged the whole country into mourning was His will. But the life of a Nation goes on. In accordance with His will it was determined who should assume the leadership of the Government in this new period of the life of the people of South Africa. We firmly believe that because God rules all will be well with our country and our people.

No one need for a moment doubt that it will always be my aim to uphold the democratic institutions of our country. It is one of the most treasured possessions of Western civilization. The will of the people may not be impaired.

Co-operation between people of the same mind for the realisation of common ideals in the political sphere is essential. This has been ensured anew. The force which emanates from this unity must have a lasting value. At the same time, the right of people with other convictions to express their views will be maintained. The State, after all, is responsible for good government in the interests of all.

A people is always entitled to demand courtesy and sincerity from its leaders. This, I am firmly convinced, will not be denied them.

Towards the outside world the Union Government has peaceful intentions and the greatest goodwill. The Government will continue its efforts to maintain bonds of friendship with her countries of origin and neighbouring territories. As far as our own continent is concerned the Government seeks primarily to maintain goodwill and will continue to give assistance to underdeveloped states, especially by making available scientific knowledge, coupled with its unique experience of conditions on this continent.

In the relations between the Union and the states and territories of Africa, all leaders, since they are sensible and responsible, will realise that there are great differences between their various countries, among other things, in regard to race and way of life. It will be the aim of the Government to find means of co-operation which will take into account the circumstances and difficulties of these different territories.

The colour policy within the borders of the Union is still misunderstood. The uninitiated in particular do not understand that apartheid or separate development is based on the principle that only in this way can the weak be protected from the strong, and the minority be made to feel safe. In other words, clashes can only be avoided if there is separation where practicable.

Separation, whether it be residential, territorial or social does not entail oppression. It envisages full opportunity for all, which can only be enjoyed to the extent to which the persons or groups are capable in their varying stages of development. This can only be planned and achieved for everyone within his own racial community.

This basic aim and object must be stated most unambiguously. The policy of separate development is designed for happiness, security and the stability provided by their home, language and administration for the Bantu as well as the Whites. It is not always realised that the Government and everyone who wants to build a sound future on a moral basis, must not think of the prosperity, satisfaction and freeing of the Bantu in such a way as to lose sight of the right of the Whites to protection for everything that they have built up over generations. In view of numerical disproportion their possessions, their freedom and their rights can only be safeguarded for them by a policy of separation.

The relations between the Afrikaans and English speaking sections continue to improve. The spontaneous and mutual appreciation and mourning for a great statesman with strong convictions has once again demonstrated this. It will continue to be my aim to do justice to all. Above everything, I look forward to the happy day when all of us will be so joined together by a common patriotism into one people with two languages that political differences that might exist will no longer be based on sentiment but purely on differences of opinion on social and economic problems.

This unification of a people can, in my opinion, only come about with the establishment of a republic in South Africa. For this reason I will devote all my energies to the fulfilment of this ideal — and in such a way and at such a time that it will be lasting. The friendship and co-operation with other countries, especially the countries of our origin and the Western nations, must and can become increasingly stronger, because such a republic will be free from any element of domination or allegiance.

The continued economic development of the country in all spheres — agriculture, mining, commerce and industry — is of the greatest importance. The welfare of the worker and the security of his daily bread is a prerequisite for the happiness of a country. The development of a culture, the promotion of the arts, and the greater need for science and scientists, demand the interest and support of the Government. It is my desire to contribute towards these.

No one is more conscious than I am of the heavy responsibility that has been placed on my shoulders. Times are serious, and there are tremendous stirrings among the nations. The problems of our country are becoming more involved and are being disturbed by ignorance, interference and clashes of interests. There are ideals which have to be fulfilled. World trends, economic and otherwise, must be taken into account, and yet I accept my task cheerfully and with firm faith. In South Africa we too are being carried forward as never before by the overwhelming current of inspired nationalism which has taken hold of our people. There are forces that are unconquerable. This is one of them. So long as that support and driving power, born of the people, continues to sustain us, we shall and must be able to perform the task which South Africa demands of us.

Only when upheld by the blessing of the Almighty, and the confidence of his people, can a leader give of his best, physically and spiritually, every moment of his life. In this spirit I dedicate myself to my country, South Africa.

First Speech as Prime Minister in the House of Assembly, on September 18, 1958

Dr. Verwoerd became Prime Minister while Parliament was in sitting. Owing to parliamentary activities, nearly three weeks passed before he was given an opportunity of stating his policy as Prime Minister. He did so against a background of insinuations and suspicions in reply to a speech criticizing him very severely, made by the Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff. In his speech the Prime Minister strongly defended himself against the accusation that he is no democrat, and also shed light on the republican aims of the National Party, its economic policy and the development of its Bantu policy. He also expressed the desire to remain an ally of the Western World.

The hon. the Leader of the Opposition proceeded to say that he was relieved to learn from my radio speech (so I understand him) that I also want to subject myself as a democrat to all the democratic institutions and to democratic procedures. But his expressions of relief were accompanied by such a strong intimation of suspicion that it seems to me that his feeling of relief was very slight. I do not know what grounds exist for this uneasiness because every leader of this side of the House has said that the Afrikaner people with whom we are so closely linked, are democrats through and through. In expressing our support for democracy in this way, we were not referring to some vague form of democracy. We were referring to concrete examples of democratic behaviour throughout the history of our people. In other words, no one need try to insinuate, as the hon. the Leader of the Opposition apparently wanted to do, that in speaking of democracy we are perhaps using the word as a Communist in Russia would use it. The word "democracy" is also used in that country but it is used in the context of a rigidly autocratic system. When we speak of "democracy", and the hon. member knows this, we are referring to democracy as we knew it in the Republics and as we know it in the Union as governed to-day. By this we mean that the will of the people is supreme, that the people decide which government they

want and that every government must depend for its existence on retaining the confidence of the people who will reject it if it tries to violate their rights or to diminish them in any way. The fact that this Government is in power, and has been returned to power with steadily increasing majorities, shows that a freedom-loving people are convinced that everything which has been done during the past ten years has not only been done in accordance with democratic procedures, but in accordance with the spirit of democracy. They are satisfied with what this democratic Government has achieved during this period.

The last election confirmed, more convincingly perhaps than any nation in the world has done in recent times, what great confidence the people have in their present Government. I know that the hon. the Leader of the Opposition went on to refer to measures which had supposedly been forced through the House and which he proceeded to condemn, and which he submitted as proof of the fact that we were not really democratic. Surely he cannot be unaware of the fact that the acceptance of these measures by this House was confirmed by an election which took place after the hon. the Leader of the Opposition and his supporters had travelled throughout the length and breadth of the country condemning these measures in exactly the same terms that he used here to-day. In other words, he submitted these accusations to the people, including the allegation that these measures quoted by him were undesirable measures, oppressive measures, measures which were undermining the authority of the people. And the people did not believe him! The people rejected him and his arguments. That was the democratic test, in other words, the voters endorsed these measures which had been enacted to safeguard something which the people regarded as far more important than any criticism of the hon. the Leader of the Opposition, namely the future of White civilization and the road to freedom for South Africa under a republican form of government.

In this regard I want to add that we on this side of the House were glad and grateful to the Opposition for the fact that on the death of our previous Prime Minister and Leader, such a fine spirit of appreciation of him, both as an individual and as a political leader, was revealed. We were thankful for the tributes to his sincerity, to the honesty of his convictions and to his outstanding political morality. I have said elsewhere in this country, what I want to repeat in this House for record purposes, that in the light of these well deserved testimonials by people who had known him here for 30 years, these testimonials to his honesty, his sincerity, his

high moral code and his deep religious faith, the accusation should not be made again that steps to which he was a party, which he considered necessary and which were taken under his leadership, were immoral, underhand, undemocratic or prompted by ulterior motives. Are we not entitled to draw the conclusion from this stirring experience of a nation that if such a leader could not stoop to anything low, his measures should be accepted as emanating from a great and good spirit, even by those who remain convinced opponents of these measures? Cannot we get away from the type of political warfare, accompanied by abuse, which has been waged over these issues; cannot we stop running down the measures taken under his leadership by describing them as immoral, and can't we stop basing our accusations on such allegations? I know and everyone knows that hon. members of the Opposition disagree radically with these measures, and that they continue to condemn them as being wrong. We do not expect them to abandon this attitude. But we can expect one thing and that is that in view of the fact that after his death they could not describe the man who to a large extent was responsible for these measures, as someone who would have stooped to anything low because of ulterior motives, they should cease describing these measures in the language I have indicated. For the purposes of this debate it also follows that since my predecessor acted democratically and was an honest person, the accusation cannot be made against me that I am undemocratic if I retain these measures. They can safely accept that, just as he did, I shall observe the principles of democracy, as we know them, and that to the best of my ability I shall try to act honestly and as a Christian.

The hon. the Leader of the Opposition went on to say that a good test of my democracy would be the articles for which I was responsible, particularly during the time I was editor of the "*Transvaler*". On the basis of this test, he comes to the conclusion that he has cause for concern. Of course I know which of his assistants probably went through the "*Transvaler*" of those days in an attempt to scratch out leading articles which they could use on this occasion to arouse the suspicion that I am not democratic. But if the hon. member concerned has scratched out nothing worse for the Leader of the Opposition to use than the quotations he has used here, I must say that it shows that during the long period of my editorship I stood for beliefs and principles which are so correct and so praiseworthy that the Opposition could scarcely find any contentious quotations.

Let me commence with the first article that he quoted and which

supposedly shows that I want to ignore the rights of individuals, that I want to impose a rigid system on our people. I do not know why, when one tries to organize anything carefully and well so that that object one envisages can be achieved, the hon. member should regard it as wrongly inflicting a system upon people. Do we not all try to be systematic in our every-day activities? Is the good organization of his business, of which the businessman is proud, as well as the success he achieves, not based on the proper development of a definite system, and is the success of his undertaking not based on clear planning? This holds good in private life, it holds good in the business world, it is essential in organizing the activities of any State department, and planning will be just as valuable in organizing a State and its activities. I think therefore that the hon. the Leader of the Opposition was just using meaningless words which apparently condemn somebody, but which will not make any impression on any-one who gives any thought to the matter. Everyone will realize that when one wants to carry out successfully a task which has been entrusted to one, one must plan and work towards a specific object in accordance with a clear line of action; and one must systematically co-ordinate the various activities of oneself and those who are working with one in order to achieve such an object. This is not in conflict with democracy. All the hon. the Leader of the Opposition has actually done has been to pay a compliment to my good organizing ability.

He then went on to quote an article written in October, 1942. Since, as a matter of courtesy, I must reply immediately to the Leader of the Opposition, I am of course not in a position to consult the relevant documents themselves and to see quotations in their correct context; he will appreciate that. However, when one reads the quotation, the meaning of what I said at that time becomes quite clear. I obviously asserted: If the National Party's future aims are fulfilled (and amongst these aims I included the strengthening of the authority of the White man in South Africa and the establishment of a Republic) the necessity would disappear for parties of the Hofmeyr school of thought in the United Party, a Liberal party and even capitalistic parties, and accordingly the parties themselves would disappear. It does not contain one word or suggestion that such parties will be suppressed or prohibited through National-Socialist methods of organization or Communist methods of organization. In other words, in writing that article I meant that if in the future South Africa developed into a White-controlled Republic, I did not doubt that the basis of our present party political differences would fall away; that there would no

longer be a United Party which adopts a certain attitude towards our constitutional and colour problems, as it is doing to-day, nor would there be a National Party which in striving for a certain form of freedom and in striving for White supremacy in South Africa, adopts a different attitude. These problems will be solved, and in this new situation new party orientations will obviously arise and develop further. After all, this has always been the position whenever countries have become free.

At no stage, and certainly not in that article either, did I imply that we wanted to be placed in power simply to ensure that such parties are suppressed because we then want to institute an autocratic system of government! I have never said such a thing, I have never insinuated such a thing, I have never meant such a thing. However, it is my firm and inexorable belief that once we can get away from the present struggle over the colour problem and the issue of freedom, by securing the safety of the White man and assuring South Africa's status as a Republic, new party orientations will arise of their own accord. Indeed, in such a Republic where our colour policy will be generally accepted, there will be no place for a Liberal party which strives to establish joint rule by White and non-White. No one will support such a party for ulterior motives as is the position to-day. Under those circumstances there will be no place for a Hofmeyr party which had a similar outlook. That is what I said in 1942 and I still say so to-day.

Reference has also been made to the republican constitution published at that time, and on this basis the deduction has been made that there is good reason to be concerned about me. It has been said: "His newspaper approved of it". In discussing this constitution, it is necessary first of all to repeat what previous Prime Ministers have already said, and that is that this republican constitution has at no stage been accepted by the National Party as a plan which it entertains for the future. It has not even been considered at any stage by any branch of the party as such. This is something which a group of young intellectuals drew up as a reflection of their ideas. I was connected with these people and I knew of the work they were doing. I do not hesitate to say so, but this had nothing to do with the party. The National Party is not and was not in any way connected with it. As a matter of fact, the party's leaders thereafter repeatedly stated that the party did not accept this constitution as a basis for its own future plans. To-day I also stand here as Chief Leader of the National Party and in this capacity I repeat what my predecessors have said, namely that this republican document was a document drawn up in 1941 and was

the work of certain other persons. This is a document which has never been accepted by the National Party and, if I have anything to do with the matter, it will not form the basis of any republican constitution drawn up in the future. More plainly and unequivocally I cannot put it. However, I just want to add a few further words, namely that many of the criticisms levelled at this document since then have actually been rather naive; no allowance has been made for the circumstances under which this document was drawn up. I cannot at this stage, nor do I intend doing so, go into a detailed discussion of this document, because as I have said, it is of no real importance as far as future political developments are concerned. However, it does contain one point which has often been mentioned, and I therefore want to discuss it today. It is the reference to the official language in that document where it is stated that Afrikaans will be the first official language and English the second official language. This has from time to time been attributed, without any right, to the National Party. If they want to do so, let them blame the compilers.

However, what is important is the general situation which prevailed in the country at the time. Those were the days, that is to say, during the early stages of World War II, when there was a United Party Government which ignored the rights of Afrikaans and Afrikaans-speaking people so blatantly that the Afrikaners revolted against the suppression of their language and their rights. As a result of their aversion to the way in which the rights of Afrikaans were being violated, although bilingualism was embodied in the Act of Union, and in protest against the then Government's practice of simply ignoring Afrikaans and its rights wherever it could, these people included in this constitution what was in effect only a direct translation of the corresponding provisions in the Irish Constitution. Ireland was faced with the difficulty that over the centuries Irish had fallen out of general use, but that English had been made the language of Ireland. The Irish adopted the attitude that they knew that in many instances English would perhaps still be in general use, but in order to give Irish an opportunity at least to achieve an equal status, it must of necessity be given the status of the country's first language seeing that they were actually an Irish country. That is why they said that they were going to entrench Irish in the Constitution as the first language, as the compulsory language which must be used and learnt officially, because the second language would in fact be used without compulsion because its usage had become so strongly entrenched in the past. At that time the attitude of these young men was that they

also considered it necessary initially to place Afrikaans in such a position that it "must" be maintained. Although it was recognized by the Act of Union as one of two equal languages, its rights had been ignored. They said: "We are now going to ensure that it shall be used; the other language will in fact enjoy its rights of its own accord and at a latter stage equal language rights will of necessity once again be restored". In case hon. members doubt whether this provision does appear in the Irish Constitution, I have brought it along with me in anticipation that this point would be raised. I should like to quote Section 8. It reads:

The Irish language as the national language is the first official language. The English language is recognized as a second official language. Provision may, however, be made by law for the exclusive use of either of the said languages for any one or more official purposes, either throughout the State or any part thereof. In other words, this "terrible" provision which has on many occasions been hurled at us, originated in the first place in the constitution of a democratic country which was formerly linked with the British Empire, and secondly owes its origin to the circumstances prevailing during a certain period. It owed its origin to the violation of Afrikaans by the then Government. Now I hope that we have heard the last of this story. In any case each successive Prime Minister has given this assurance time and again — it appears in the National Party's Constitution, and I repeat the assurance here — that we, who have had experience of the oppression of our language and who know what resistance such treatment evokes, would be the last to deny another man his language rights. Indeed we know that the development of a united nation in South Africa, as well as the promotion of peace and happiness in a Republic of South Africa, will have to be based on the absolute recognition of the two languages and the equal treatment of these two languages, without the slightest suggestion of any discrimination. As my predecessors have done in the past, I also bind this Government and this party to act on these lines.

Reference has also been made to the Senate and a personal remark was then made which I did not think should have been made during this debate if we want to keep it at the essential high level, but to which I am now obliged to reply. This remark was to the effect that I hold my present position as a result of an enlarged Senate, in other words, as a result of the existence of a body which the United Party has always opposed because they wanted to retain the Coloureds on the common roll, and in regard to which they are still licking their wounds because this body made

it possible for the policy of this side of the House to be implemented. Hon. members opposite now want to direct against me the attacks which they have been making on the Senate out of revenge and dislike because they were unsuccessful in keeping the Coloureds on the common roll with the Whites, and they are now implying that I only hold this office as a result of the existence of that body. May I state publicly that, as far as I know, the support I received from the House of Assembly was as much responsible for my election as the support I received from the Senate; and if only members of the House of Assembly had voted, then, as far as I know the possibility that I would have been elected would have been just as great as it was when I was in fact elected by the combined body. But may I add this, and this is the important point. After I had been elected, I was accepted by everybody. If members of the House of Assembly had really entertained a grudge because they had been outvoted by another body, I would not have enjoyed the strong, powerful and friendly support of everyone on this side of the House — support which I do in fact enjoy to-day. It does not matter therefore for which of the three of us who are friends members voted.

May I once again make this perfectly clear: The Minister of the Interior, the Minister of Justice and I have been personal and good friends for many, many years. We have co-operated in many fields and in many organizations, and we frankly told one another beforehand that whoever won, we would stand together. It did not matter who was elected. As good friends we also realized that when a member of a democratic party is proposed for election, the person concerned, even if he does not desire election, or even if he thinks that he will perhaps receive fewer votes, does not have the right to refuse to make his services available to his people in accordance with the wishes of those people who regard him as most suitable. The result was that as true democrats all three of us placed ourselves in the hands of the body which the people had appointed to choose the Chief Leader. As democrats each of us accepted our fate — I, although the younger man, to take up the leadership; they, as the older men, to be prepared to co-operate and by so doing to serve the same cause. I now want to take this opportunity, seeing that this attack has been made in public, to express my very greatest appreciation in the first place to my friend, the Minister of Justice, who continues as Leader of this House, who is a valuable colleague, and to whom this House owes a debt of gratitude for the capable way in which he has performed his duties during the difficult times we have experienced. I just want to say

that I have the greatest respect and the greatest affection for him as my life-long friend. I say the same of the Minister of the Interior. Once the election was over, he also co-operated with me, consulted with me, and, as is customary, gave me the opportunity to give my opinion on matters in regard to which he had to make statements. There has not been the slightest attempt to supersede or by-pass any-one. No former Prime Minister of South Africa, even though they were older and perhaps of more recognized status than I, could boast of greater support and more willing co-operation than I have; I can state this publicly with a sense of gratitude. I am grateful to the Leader of the Opposition who tried to arouse suspicion in this connection, for giving me the opportunity to testify to this. The allegation has also been made that since becoming Prime Minister, I have said that I want to get rid of the Natives' representatives.

Since becoming Prime Minister, I have in fact repeated a statement to the effect that, as the Bantu authorities develop, this development may lead to their disappearance. However, I have already said on an earlier occasion — but it was in the Senate — that the basis of apartheid, the system of giving the Natives ever-increasing rights within their own areas, implied that in the long run they should be able to enlighten the Government themselves as to their difficulties and as to their daily requirements. I also said that at that stage I had already received representations from various leading Natives, both in the reserves and in the cities, asking for the abolition of the Natives' representatives and for these funds to be used instead in order to give such Native organizations the opportunity to consult the Minister concerned or the Department concerned more regularly themselves. Because, as they have told me, they practically only see these representatives just before the election of Senators for example. These Natives' representatives only come into regular contact with small cliques of agitators or their Native friends — some of them perhaps good people; I do not know. Then these representatives think that they are interpreting the opinion of the mass of the Natives, which is what they are not doing. The complainants do not feel satisfied with such a position and they consider that they will be able to plead their cause far more effectively if they can approach the authorities directly themselves and if they do not have to make their representations through a much less effective channel.

*Mr. LAWRENCE: Is there anything to prevent any member of the Native community at the moment from approaching any Department directly?

*The PRIME MINISTER: No, there is no difficulty. Certain individuals are in constant contact with us. But in this instance the intention is that when this system has developed to the stage where there are bodies which can speak with authority on behalf of specific large ethnic groups of Natives, these authoritative bodies will want to make representations on their own behalf. If, for example, one of the highest authorities, namely a Territorial Authority should be established to represent, let us say, the whole of the Zulu nation or the whole of the Zulu group, it is their desire that those authoritative pinnacles of the Authorities system should have direct access to the Government heads concerned. Hon. members should not pretend to be surprised at my emphasizing this point. Indeed it is necessary that I should emphasize that when such a position has been reached, or is about to be reached it will in fact become pointless to have non-White representatives in the present sense because the 1936 system did not envisage the latest and wider opportunities to develop which have been accorded to the Bantu in accordance with what is happening throughout the world. Moreover, what is happening in this country is similar to the development which is taking place in the relations between Britain and her Protectorates. Has the Basutoland Protectorate any representatives in the British Parliament? It has not. But what is Britain doing? She is considering granting Basutoland a system of government whereby they will be given a controlling body which will consider and decide upon their own affairs to an ever-increasing extent. I consider that under the latest system the Protectorate Natives will not be able to make more decisions than a Territorial authority will be able to do under our system once it has fully developed. That is to say, in terms of the proposed draft constitution, if Britain accepts it, the powers of this new body will also be limited. It is seen as part of a process of development, just as we have always said that the system of authorities forms part of a process of development in this country. But I repeat: The fact that Britain administers this territory and provides for the welfare of these people has not persuaded her to give a seat in the British Parliament to a representative, whether White or non-White, of this High Commission territory, to put forward the opinions of these people. She has not considered such a change necessary in the composition of the Parliament which controls that country, but has ensured that the British Government through its High Commissioner has a White representative to whom the Native authorities can submit their requests for transmission to the British Government. I must say that I am prepared in the future to consider the

suggestion that once the Territorial Authorities have developed in the Native reserves, the Government (besides meeting representatives from the authorities in Pretoria) should have a political representative, apart from State officials, who will represent the Government in those areas in order to facilitate contact between the Territorial Authorities and the Government or Parliament.

***Mr. LAWRENCE:** Some sort of ambassador?

***The PRIME MINISTER:** No, not some sort of ambassador, but some sort of Lieutenant-Governor. The hon. member is implying that I am envisaging some sort of colonial policy. That is not correct. I should rather say that Britain is following a sort of colonization policy in allowing Swaziland or Bechuanaland to be partly occupied and taken over by Whites. But I am in favour of the policy of preserving the Native areas for the Natives and giving them every opportunity for development in those areas and, as a constitutional aid, giving them opportunities for contact as Britain is doing to-day by means of its High Commissioner who is vested with a certain type of authority and who also establishes local contacts at a high level between Britain and those areas.

I therefore want to impress on hon. members that what I said, or what I implied, in discussing the Native representation, must be seen in the light of the possible developments in this country as these Authorities acquire more and more authority. That is progress, not retrogression. On the one hand hon. members of the Opposition accuse us of oppressing the Native, of denying him any opportunity to develop in his own areas, of actually practising tyranny, but as soon as I refer to such a possibility of further developments — and moreover a development which is similar to that of the British Commonwealth, they accuse me, as I am convinced they will now do in public, of wanting to establish separate states which will constitute a threat to the Union of South Africa. To this argument I once again reply for the umpteenth time that we shall have to choose between the whole of South Africa being a country which will be dominated by the majority of a mixed population — and then it will be a Native country with the Whites in the minority — or we shall have to adopt the policy of segregation and we shall have to accept that the development of the rights of the Natives in their own areas will constitute compensation for the fact that the White man remains the ruler in his areas.

May I also add this: The hon. member went on to say: What about the far distant future? He wanted to commit me to the idea of a future federation. This is a matter which future generations

will have to decide, and he knows that as well as any of us. I am not prepared at this stage, merely for debating purposes, which may facilitate misleading, to take up a stand *vis-a-vis* a problem which future generations will have to solve. But what I do want to tell the Opposition is this. They must not think that the only basis for establishing future relations between White South Africa and the Native areas is that of a federation — that is to say, eventually still to have a mixed joint Government. There are many other possibilities. *Inter alia*, there is another example which hon. members opposite will best understand, perhaps, and that is something on the lines of the development of the British Commonwealth. Throughout the development of the British Commonwealth Britain has never yet said, although she has links with or authority over other peoples — small or comparatively large, completely subservient and underdeveloped, or independent and self-governing. White or non-White — that those peoples should have representation in her Parliament, or that she intends entering into a federation with them. Throughout the 400 years of the development of the British Empire, and later of the British Commonwealth, together with the development of that section of the British Colonial Empire which still exists, the basic principle has been one of a British Parliament existing as a separate Parliament in which these colonies or friendly nations had no representation. They have not entered, and never wanted to enter, into a federation with them. The development has been in the direction of separate countries. Those of them who were underdeveloped, fell under Britain's direct jurisdiction, supervision and care. Others developed into self-governing communities with whom she has retained proper and friendly relations in various ways. Besides the possibility of a federation which certain people are mentioning, there is also the possibility in South Africa therefore of a future development in terms of which White South Africa as the basic and powerful country will have one or other of these types of relationship with the Native reserves without the establishment of any form of mixed or super-Government. I do not propose therefore to commit myself on a matter which in any case will only have to be decided in the future. I am merely pointing out that there are many lines along which these developments can take place. Two hundred years ago no one could prophesy what would happen to the British Empire or that the development of a Commonwealth was possible. Even 50 years ago no one could foresee that there could be a development in the British Commonwealth such as that which took place in 1949 when Republics were allowed in the Commonwealth. That

being so, what right do hon. members have to demand that I should prophesy to-day on what lines the constitutional development of South Africa will take place? What I can say in advance applies to what we are establishing to-day, namely the possibility of developing the system of authorities, and at the moment that is all that the Bantu is capable of aiming at. The establishment of authorities on the basis of his background of self-government linked with a progressive development in his own areas to the stage of a territorial authority, is what we can foresee and promote to-day. That is practical politics. Speculations as to federations, etc., have no bearing on practical politics. Such talk is simply academic conversation.

The hon. the Leader of the Opposition then proceeded to refer to the possibility of the establishment of an economic council. He actually asked what functions would be assigned to this body we envisage. He went further and created the impression that some sort of overall controlling and dominating body might possibly be established which would throttle private enterprise. May I say this clearly and immediately: The idea behind such an economic body will be to assist in the achievement of the co-ordination of the economic activities both of the state and of the private sector, not the achievement of co-ordination by throttling private enterprise, because, as has often been stated, we believe in the basic principle of private initiative in the industrial life of our country. But we also believe that all developments in all the various fields of activity should be taken into proper account so that when decisions have to be taken in the economic sphere, we shall have available all the relevant information and so that we shall be able to exercise a good influence on the basis of all the facts; which knowledge can be utilized *inter alia* in respect of developments which should be co-ordinated. The eventual aim in establishing such an economic council is therefore not the development of some sort of central autocratic control over all economic activities, whether public or private. It envisages the proper organization and regulation of the economic life of the country in so far as this can be done through investigation, research, the dissemination of knowledge and the co-ordination of state activities. I hope I have made myself quite clear on this point.

I have not had the opportunity to consider the form this organization should take, for example whether it will be a small or a large body, and how it should be organized. But I am prepared to make one point. It will be a body which *inter alia* will assist the Prime Minister and advise him in regard to his central task of

co-ordinating the various departments which deal with our economic life.

Next it was put to me that my election represents a triumph for those who believe in an isolated small republic. I honestly thought that my predecessor had replied so conclusively to this type of accusation that it would never again be used because I saw the shame reflected in the eyes of the Opposition when my predecessor told them in his reply that many republics had become some of the mightiest nations in the world, such as the United States and France, which are most certainly not isolated, but which on the contrary are helping to decide the fate of monarchies. Let me put it in this way: We are a small country. As a small country our influence is of course restricted, and we know it. But if we should become a republic, our importance as a small country in the society of nations will be no less than it is to-day. We shall remain the outpost of western civilization in the possible struggle between East and West; we shall still remain the outpost on the southern tip of Africa, *inter alia*, for spreading civilization through the rest of Africa. We shall remain a valuable ally to the countries of the western world, even if some of them are great and powerful. I have already explained that we form part of the western world. We shall contribute our strength to its cause. If a struggle with Communism should break out, if a struggle should arise between the East and the West, they know where we stand. And this House knows where we stand. Every Prime Minister to date has made this clear. Not one of us will want to make South Africa a small republic isolated from this society of nations. They will accept us as we want to be — a republic which wishes to be friends with everyone who thinks and is like us. We shall probably be a better friend of certain nations than we can be to-day in the light of such friction as does exist between the language and national groups of this country. If all of us in this country feel that we are one people, with undivided loyalty to one country and one nation, with our two languages accepted beyond all dispute as the two languages of this country — because the republic has been established and the people are no longer speculating as to what may happen in the future, all of us will for example be able to be friends of Britain without the slightest suspicion of any ulterior motives. Once the politicians opposite can no longer try to come into power by frightening people with their stories of what the future will hold, the greatest danger to our national unity will have disappeared. Once this period of suspicion has passed because we have become a republic and we are one nation and once all these fears have disappeared —

the fear that democracy will not be preserved in the republic, that the language rights of both groups will not be recognized — the Union will advance as a united nation and will be able to be better friends, particularly with Great Britain herself. Then no one will be attacking his fellow countrymen in such a way that a portion of our Press publishes all sorts of accusations, fears and suspicions which are broadcast throughout the world. Then all they will be able to report will be our mutual and sincere friendly intentions. Our mutual good relations will then no longer be sabotaged. I therefore say that when the time comes, we will be far from being a small isolated republic, but on the contrary, we shall be a republic with an internally more united people which the nations will want to have as a friend. And we shall want to be their friend. I firmly believe that one of the main reasons why we must establish a republic as soon as possible is because it will put an end to this discord between the English- and Afrikaans-speaking peoples. If the republic can be established, it will put an end to the tactics of the United Party who for their own petty party political aims are trying to seek the friendship of Britain in its struggle against the Government side in this House, at the expense of the friendship between two nations which should be friends. That is why I emphasize that one of the main reasons for becoming a republic is to give everyone the opportunity once and for all to experience what we have always said will be the position: It will be a democracy, and both languages will be accorded their full rights in that republic. But when we say so to-day our opponents simply do not believe us. How can we convince the country, the world and the United Party that in the republic we shall really have a democratic system of government, that we shall really maintain both the languages, except by proving it to them in practice?

We shall prove it to them in practice by making South Africa a republic. We shall make Britain, the Opposition, the world and the inhabitants of this country realize that the South African republic will be a friendly country with good intentions, a democratic country and a bilingual country.

I must say a few more words about the republic. The hon. member says that we could also have given them reason to support a republic by sacrificing, for example, the principle of mother-tongue education.

*Sir DE VILLIERS GRAAFF: No.

*The PRIME MINISTER: I am using the term "mother-tongue education" myself, but the hon. member did say that we should see to it that the ordinance relating to school attendance

in the Transvaal is repealed. That is the mother-tongue ordinance. The basis of the differences between the United Party and ourselves, which is embodied in the Transvaal Education Ordinance, is surely the concept of separate schools, because he says the children should attend the same schools. This is after all the matter at issue. I do not want to depart from the basic issue in order to quibble over the allegation that the issue is one of parental choice. That is in any case the greatest of nonsense. The fact is that the English-speaking people have exercised their parental choice by sending 90 per cent or more of their children to English medium schools, and the Afrikaners have exercised their parental choice by sending an equally overwhelming percentage of their children to Afrikaans medium schools. The principle at stake is not that of parental choice. The principle which they always said they advocated was that the English child and the Afrikaans child should attend the same school. They tried to enforce this principle by introducing dual medium education, and it was a failure. Now they say they support parallel medium schools. But their own educational authorities have said that for administrative and other reasons they cannot establish parallel medium schools everywhere in the cities. There is therefore no point in debating this particular issue. The hon. member's point — and this is the point I must discuss — is that if we want their support for a republic, we should sacrifice the principle that English children should go to their own schools and Afrikaans children to their own schools. Then we shall become one nation. But I do not believe for one moment that if we should make this concession the United Party will suddenly become a republican party because it should be remembered that it is still on paper a type of republican party. Its constitution gives its supporters the right to advocate a republic. Notwithstanding all their assurances that, while they are strongly in favour of retaining the Commonwealth connection, the party allows its members the freedom to propagate a republic, their leaders have stated one after the other that they will *never* accept a republic. The Leader of the Opposition should therefore not try to mislead me by saying that if we amend certain laws they will accept the republic while they do not even want to obey their own constitution which gives their supporters the right to advocate a republic but which they, however, say they will never accept. Of course he has also mentioned other laws, a whole series of these laws, but I repeat that even if we should repeal all those laws, I still do not believe that they would be in favour of a republic.

*Sir DE VILLIERS GRAAFF: But then we may achieve national unity.

*The PRIME MINISTER: I also wonder whether that is true, because apart from the fact that they are demanding that we should sacrifice our entire policy, I believe that the United Party will then search for other bones of contention in other fields — between English and Afrikaners, between Whites and non-Whites — in order to come into power. This has indeed been the basis of our struggle over the years: Nationalism against Imperialism. This has been the basis of the struggle since 1910: A republic as against the monarchical connection. That is why I say we should not allow ourselves to be bluffed by such contentions.

In this connection another allegation has been made regarding myself to which I must reply. It is the contention that I am supposedly the person who above all others does not want to have anything to do with a republic within the Commonwealth. The standpoint which my party has stated before is the standpoint I advocate, and this standpoint is clearly set out in the party's constitution. This standpoint is that while the issue prior to 1949 was whether the Union would become a republic (obviously outside the Commonwealth) or whether it should remain in the Commonwealth, the situation was changed after the 1949 London Declaration in terms of which States such as India became republics and remained within the Commonwealth. Thereafter the National Party adopted a clear standpoint which was stated in this House, first by Dr. Malan and later by Mr. Strijdom. I repeat it to-day, namely, that the issue as far as we are concerned has since been split into two sections. The first is that the question should be asked: Should we or should we not become a republic? Thereafter, the second question which must be asked is whether it will be a republic within or outside the Commonwealth. Our reply is this: As regards the first point we stand unequivocally and clearly for the establishment of the republic by the correct methods and at the appropriate time; but as regards the second question, we shall not nor can we come to a decision at the moment. This decision will have to be taken when the time for establishing a republic arrives. Then the decision as to whether the republic should be within or outside the Commonwealth will depend on what will be in the best interests of South Africa under the prevailing circumstances. I stand by this standpoint as unequivocally and as firmly as my predecessors.

A further question referred to our economic development. The hon. the Leader of the Opposition says that this Government is

continually interfering with the economic development of the country and that this will bring our progress to an end. He even went so far as to word his question in this way: To what extent does the Prime Minister still fear that South Africa will fall into the clutches of overseas capital? He was referring to a speech I made in Nelspruit, but of course these words I used came to his notice completely out of context. What I did say was that the National Party years ago initiated our struggle for the development of economic independence just as we Nationalists years ago set ourselves the ideal of constitutional independence. When we initiated this policy in 1915, we did not have a programme or a "blueprint" covering all the aspects which this economic development should embrace. We did not know whether or where there would be Iscors or Sasols. We set ourselves an overall ultimate objective, namely to make South Africa as self-sufficient as possible in the economic field, and in the financial field to finance its capital requirements in our own country as far as possible because no country can strive for constitutional independence without striving to attain economic independence. To this I added that of course no country is completely independent economically, just as in the international political sphere no country is ever completely independent of the tendencies and influences making themselves felt in that sphere. But it should be our aim to achieve this independence to the extent which any country can achieve it. At that time the predecessor of the present United Party, the old South African Party, opposed our efforts; they told us that South Africa was a producer of raw materials while Britain was the manufacturing country, and that we should send our raw materials to Britain and be her market. This was the cause of the conflict between us in the economic field. I said that we were all desirous to-day that South Africa should become as economically independent as possible as regards the goods it produces, but that no country dared allow itself to fall into the clutches of foreign capital and that we were protected from this danger through the very fact that for 40 years we had already been implementing this economic policy and had achieved a great deal through the use of our own capital. As a result of the fact that we had developed an independent manufacturing industry in South Africa, the opportunities for foreign countries to obtain a stranglehold on our economy were no longer as great as they were in 1910. Furthermore, I said that we should nevertheless be on our guard in the future because there were in fact smaller countries which were being economically controlled by large financially powerful countries, but I added that this did not mean

that we did not welcome foreign capital; on the contrary, I said we still required it. We should only ensure that when capital was obtained, the form these investments took in our country would not be such that our country would lose control over its own economic future. I said the same thing to the foreign press representatives the other day, and I have said the same thing to financiers who have visited me from time to time. *Inter alia* I said this to the chairman of a Swiss bank when he visited me some years ago and questioned me about our Native policy. After my explanation he replied: Seeing that you know what you want, we are prepared to invest in your country because we international financiers cannot express my judgment on the correctness or otherwise of the domestic policies of the countries in which we want to invest, but we can only ascertain whether a country knows what it wants. Countries which know what they want are countries where one's money can safely be invested. On sitting down, he only put this one question to me, namely: What is your Colour policy? I gave the reply, and when I had finished he added: "I have just come from Mr. Strauss and Mr. Strauss told me that if this happened they would do this, and if something else happened, they would do that. But it is very difficult to say and one did not know what would happen". In this regard this banker said: "I do not know whether you are right; I cannot judge at all, but because you know what you want to achieve with your Native policy we shall invest money here, although if Mr. Strauss had been in power, we would not have risked our money here". My statement about not falling into the clutches of foreign capitalists therefore conforms with the necessity for still bringing capital into this country and welcoming it if it is invested in the correct way. But it also conforms with our pride in the fact that the process of capital formation in our own country has already reached such an advanced stage that we can obtain a large proportion of our capital requirements from our own people.

Mr. Speaker, the Leader of the Opposition has once again referred to the old standard issue of economic integration, and he has maintained that I have attached a new meaning to economic integration. Of course that is not correct. The fact is that economic integration has a certain meaning, a meaning which hon. members opposite understood full well when they started using that term. But because later on they enmeshed themselves in the true meaning of integration, they tried to escape and they themselves tried to attach a new meaning to this term, which is not the correct meaning. We are here dealing with a concept which relates to people. They

used it in this sense themselves, namely the economic integration of the racial groups who are employed in our economic life. Everyone knows that after they started using the term economic integration in this sense, this was followed by an admission that social and then political integration must flow from economic integration. This was because they realized that economic integration in the sense in which they themselves used it at first and on the basis of which we attacked them, namely of people, was not in the least like two rolls of dough which could after a time be separated, but that we were here dealing with two rolls of dough which had been baked in an oven into one bread and which could no longer be separated.

It assumes the simple intermingling of racial groups who cannot later be separated. This is the important point. We say that when a Native drives a tractor on a farm, he is not economically integrated. We have also discussed this point previously. Merely because he helps the farmer to produce, is such a Native who operates a tractor integrated into the farmer's life and community? Of course he is not, because the concept of integration relates to people, and here we do not have people whose activities are becoming interwoven. They will only become interwoven in this way if the other forms of integration, namely equal social and political rights, result from these activities. I therefore repeat for the umpteenth time that we dare not succumb to this confusion, that is to say in respect of the presence and the use of labour which under changed circumstances can in turn be removed from our economic life, and the use of such labour and its interweaving into the whole of the communal life in such a way that it can never again be removed. When a factory is reorganized, certain labour can be reduced or removed. If automation is introduced into a factory manual labour can in many instances be eliminated. But if the Native who was previously employed in that industry has been absorbed into one trade union with the Whites, and has acquired a share in the industrial and capital assets of the country, he cannot easily be removed at a later stage from the economic industrial entity. This is the difference between labour which we can remove and labour which has become interwoven in so many other ways into the White community that it cannot be removed, even if we want to. Hon. members cannot grasp this distinction. I said that of course the number of Natives in the cities was increasing at the moment. This is the obvious result when a Nationalist Party Government helps to promote the great industrial development. As the number of industries grows, so the number of Native

labourers will grow. This is still part of the process of development, but they are only there in this one sense which I have just outlined. They are not present in the sense of full economic integration which is actually the basis of the policy of hon. members opposite, even if they no longer dare admit it.

Furthermore, I want to say that the Leader of the Opposition has made several allegations which I deplore and which are not correct either. He says that because the Minister of Native Affairs has interfered in South Africa's industrial development, industry could have lost ground, but it has not done so only because his policy has failed. The reply I want to give to this allegation is this. I as Minister of Native Affairs have not done anything which has had the slightest ill-effect on industry, although my policy is continually being enforced. What is *inter alia* characteristic of this policy? There is influx control. Where has influx control impeded any industrial development? Control over the proclamation of new industrial area is another policy I have introduced. Where has it impeded the development of an industry? It may be that an industry, instead of being established in one town where no further industrial land is available, has had to be established in another town where such land is available, but nowhere has it caused the slightest hindrance to industry. In the same way I could take each aspect of my policy and show that it has not hampered our development in any way, but on the contrary has promoted this development.

Far from the Government wanting to discourage industrial development, it wants to encourage this development but it does want to distinguish between those industries which can develop the most advantageously in the White areas, in the four industrial complexes and in other industrial areas, and those which can develop most advantageously near the Native reserves where the labour resources are located and where all the benefits which I have so often discussed, can be enjoyed. During a transition period one cannot say all at once: Only exclusively White industries may be established, let us say, in the Witwatersrand complex, and all the others must be removed to the Native areas. During such a transition period one guides development through proper planning and at the outset one does only what is possible. If it is possible for us today to establish industries which will employ Whites and non-Whites in a ratio of 50/50, then as mechanization and automation develop, we shall be able to set an ever-increasing ratio. This is a policy the seeds of which are being planted but which will yield its fruits to an ever-increasing extent during the new industrial

development of the next 50 years. To laugh at such an argument, instead of recognizing it as sound and sensible planning which takes into account the circumstances prevailing during a transition period, seems to me personally to be sheer stupidity. But allow me to add that it is public knowledge that quite a few industrialists have themselves said that they are prepared to co-operate in this process.

Under the chairmanship of Dr. F. J. de Villiers, a committee which I appointed has already earmarked a large number of such areas. In the case of some of these areas, certain industrialists are already establishing themselves in these areas. If I had known that this debate would take this course, I would have brought the list of these places with me and I would have submitted it to hon. members. This is what is being done at the very commencement of this process of development.

But I must point out another fact to the hon. member. In the Western Cape we have the Coloured population. As hon. members have already mentioned, the Coloured population will increase greatly in number during the next 50 years. A figure of $3\frac{1}{2}$ million by the end of that period is being mentioned. The industrial development of the Cape must therefore be undertaken with due consideration of the fact that here a source of labour is available which must not be drowned by an influx of Native labour into these areas. We must therefore plan with a view to the future potentialities of this group as well, and that is what we are doing. To say that we are discouraging the development of industry and to tell the world that South Africa wants to lower its standard of living is nothing else but sabotaging our future, that is to say, if people believe what the United Party say.

Besides this industrial development, we are also in fact encouraging the other type of industrial development near the Native reserves where it can take place under far more favourable conditions because the labour supplies are available there. Why must we believe that industries will only develop in South Africa if we always do what other countries do not do, namely transfer labour to the place where an industry is being established? Normally industries go to where this extremely important factor in industrial production, namely labour, is available. But here in South Africa we are expected to allow all our industrial development to take place in one specific area, and always to bring the labour to that area. According to certain industrialists so much of this labour must be brought in that a reservoir of unemployed is established so that they can recruit cheap labour from it. This is a very foolish policy.

The hon. member went further and said that 90 per cent of the capital required for such development belonged to the Whites, and consequently the new industries should be established in the White areas. I am glad the hon. the Leader of the Opposition in using this argument has apparently abandoned the support the United Party previously gave to the standpoint that the Whites with their capital should go and establish industries in the Native reserves, a standpoint which I had to oppose last year when the United Party defended it.

*Sir DE VILLIERS GRAAFF: No, I did not say that.

*The PRIME MINISTER: Very well, then the United Party remains true to the belief that the Whites should share in the establishment of industries in the Native areas. Then we understand one another quite clearly. The United Party wants to have White-owned and -operated industries in the White areas and it wants White-owned and partly White-operated industries in the Native reserves. In other words, it wants to colonize the Native areas away from the Natives through the economic infiltration by Whites and later to have political integration in the form of partnership there. Then I shall not go any further into that point. I just want to point out that by adopting this attitude the United Party is creating the possibility of competition with the White industries in the White areas and that it will create further dangers for South Africa, over and above those already facing us. For the sake of making money, for the sake of becoming rich, it wants to use our industrial development to endanger the whole future of the White man in this country, whereas we adopt the attitude that economic development can take place there and can be encouraged but must take place in such a way that the White man's own opportunities which he has earned through his own endeavours, will not be harmed in any way, and that the Natives will be given opportunities which they can exploit to the limit of their own abilities.

The hon. member has linked to this argument the contention that the use of the Native labour for hundreds of years has not resulted in residential or social integration. But is this true? Is the truth of the matter not that during the last 30/40 years we in South Africa have to an ever-increasing extent come to realize that a development which in the early years was scarcely noticeable, or which at the most was taking place under cover, is now taking place openly and obviously, namely that social integration is in fact resulting, that residential segregation is in fact being undermined in many areas, and that hon. members opposite themselves say they expect this process to continue to an ever-

increasing extent and that they themselves expect political integration to follow. How can the hon. member now say that after hundreds of years we do not find residential or social integration? This then is the very crux of the struggle which we have been waging in recent years. Because we have seen this danger, we have had to introduce the Group Areas Act; because we have seen this danger, we have had to establish Meadowlands in order to clear up the other areas; because we have seen this danger, we have had to introduce the "locations in the sky" legislation in order to establish residential segregation. The fact that the United Party opposes us and says that we should not establish segregation by legislation but by other methods shows that they know that this form of residential and other integration exists. It is because they know it exists that they oppose us when we try and keep the races apart. Otherwise they would not have needed to oppose us. If we should attempt to enforce segregation where it is not required because no integration has taken place, we should after all be wasting our time. They are opposing us because they do not want us to establish this type of segregation. Consequently a measure of integration must exist. And then the hon. member says that after hundreds of years this process has not resulted in social or residential integration.

Did he read the report the other day showing how far social integration has progressed in the Witwatersrand University where young students are already attempting to compel the University authorities to introduce a form of social integration which even the University authorities have opposed to date? Has he not read how the Senate and the Council of the University of the Witwatersrand have had to oppose these young students who have so fallen under the influence of the liberalistic propaganda being disseminated in the ranks of the United Party that they now follow such leadership rather than the leadership of the conservative members of their party? I think the hon. member dare not say that he cannot see the dangers which are already developing.

Moreover, the hon. member further said: "What is the policy of apartheid going to cost?" We have also debated this point on many occasions.

*Sir DE VILLIERS GRAAFF: And we never received a reply.

*The PRIME MINISTER: Oh no, hon. members have been given very conclusive replies. One of the points at issue has been for example: What will be the cost of the development of the industrial areas near the Native reserves, which I have discussed? I gave the clear reply that hon. members should not imagine that new industrial

development alongside any existing industrial or urban area takes place without involving any expenditure. When industrial development is extended, or, let us say doubled, in Johannesburg or any other city, it does not only necessitate the proclamation of those industrial areas with consequent financial gain to the speculators selling that land, but it results in the imposition of financial burdens on the local community in respect of the provision of roads, electricity, etc. All these services must be paid for, and capital must be found to finance these services. Above all such development necessitates the allocation of location land, the building of dwellings in the location for all the Natives who are to be employed, for the construction of transport systems of which we have heard so much lately, and it results in great expenditure in meeting the transport requirements of such employees, which in the case of the Railways alone now totals £70,000,000. To develop industrial areas around the ordinary cities is shockingly expensive; when industries, however, are sited in areas near the Native reserves, it will cost less rather than more. Hon. members must therefore not say: What will apartheid cost? Hon. members must remember that the cost of establishing an integrated industry in the urban areas is far higher than when one achieves apartheid in that way. I want to give another example which we have also discussed in the past. It has been said that the Socio-Economic Commission estimated that the cost of developing the reserves over a period of ten years, will be about £10,000,000 per annum, or approximately £120,000,000 for the first ten years. However, I have shown before that this estimate was based on the old system, which was still applied during the United Party regime, whereby the Trust did everything in the Native reserves, and then afterwards was responsible for ensuring that these areas did not again deteriorate, whereas we have changed this system into one of Bantu authorities who undertake this work themselves with the assistance of the Trust and who then undertake this maintenance work on their own responsibility. I have pointed out how the cost is consequently far lower to-day. I have calculated that during this same period it will cost £36,000,000 instead of £120,000,000, and I have stated so in this House.

The proof is the experience we have had. I have given one example of how under the old system the construction of a dam in a Native reserve cost about £8,000 whereas under the new system it costs £640 when the Natives themselves build it; the same type of dam. If they want to see it for themselves hon. members can go and look at it in Pilansberg.

There are many more examples. I have told hon. members about this one example and the tribal authority followed it up by building a further six on the land of this one tribe alone. That is why I once again emphasize that the cost of apartheid is probably lower than the cost of Blacks and Whites living together, but even if it were not lower, the advantage of apartheid is still that we shall have safety in this country, that we can have prosperity, that White civilization can be saved and that White civilization can continue to exist here on the southern tip of Africa in the service of the world. Then the results of this policy are still of such immeasurable value to the Whites as well as the Bantu that even if the cost were to be high, it would be a cost which would be well-worth incurring.

Then I come to another point. In a sudden mood of anxiety about the future of White South Africa the hon. the Leader of the Opposition has said that we should outbid the Natives by means of immigration, and that we should safeguard the position of the Whites by this method. In his sudden anxiety he tells us: Look at the increasing number of the non-Whites. They will be four times as many as the Whites, and how is the White nation to be protected? He says by immigration. When we take the following facts into account, I ask what is the protection he is offering us? In the first place he knows and we all know that we will never be able to import so many Whites that in a mixed fatherland they will be able to outnumber the Natives. He will not find so many immigrants; he will not be able to establish them in this country; he will not be able to provide them with a living in this country so that even in the next 50/60 years our numbers will be equal. This is no solution for the problem. It is only a useful supplementary solution. Everyone admits that it is valuable to strengthen a people through immigration, but then it must be by selective immigration. Of what avail will it be to bring large numbers of Whites into this country, and when they are here they are disappointed, when they cannot make a living and they leave again; or else when they come here, they can earn a living, while the children of one's own nation are unemployed? In other words, the recruiting of immigrants which is necessary, useful and right must be undertaken judiciously. There is also another respect in which we must act judiciously. These immigrants must be brought into the country in such a way that the country can absorb them. After all, we see the liberalistic tendency prevailing throughout the world. Many immigrants are people who are unacquainted with conditions in this country. Does the hon. member think that he

will help White civilization in this country if he brings in these large numbers of foreigners with the foreign beliefs which, as we see to-day, most of them hold? Does he not realize that they will come here not as the allies of those people who want to preserve White civilization, but as the allies of those people who are prepared to allow intermingling? Or is the hon. member now eager to obtain immigrants because he thinks he can bring the residents of Notting Hill to this country and because he thinks that by so doing he will strengthen the White cause? If that is his line of thought I have some sympathy with it because there I think he will find support. It is obvious that unrestricted immigration instead of safeguarding the continued existence of the Whites in this country could become an additional danger to the Whites. In its present form the United Party through its policy is already a danger. If it is now looking for immigrants to strengthen it in its attempts to overcome nationalism, our implementation of such a policy would result in a further weakening of the position of the White man. Therefore, let me be quite clear: We believe in immigration; we believe in the right sort of immigration; we believe in selective immigration, and we believe in immigration on such a scale that the country can absorb these immigrants both in the economic and social spheres.

With that, I think I have replied to all the various questions.

**Address at the Opening of the Transvaal Congress of the
National Party, at the City Hall, Pretoria,
November 12, 1958**

It was the first congress of the National Party in the Transvaal which Dr. Verwoerd opened in his capacity as Prime Minister and leader of the National Party. As Adv. Strijdom was the highest functionary of the party at the previous congress, the events of the evening may be divided into two sections. The first part took place in an atmosphere of dedication during which the memory of Adv. Strijdom was honoured through a number of short, factual speeches. After the speeches of tribute the congress members stood in silence for a minute and then sang the fourth verse of the National Anthem in an attitude of prayer. In the second part the new premier and Mrs. Verwoerd were enthusiastically welcomed, after which Dr. Verwoerd spoke.

It is with a feeling of deep gratitude that I would like to express my appreciation to you and that of my wife, for this extremely friendly reception. I would like to thank the chairman for his expression of support and praise towards us. I can only say that we are not filled with pride or self-righteousness in connection with the fact that this position is now filled by us. We feel humble that a task has been dedicated to us, which apart from the honourableness thereof, actually is a very great task to fulfil for fatherland and people. If you realize how heavy is the burden which usually rests on the shoulders of those who are called to this — how heavy it is when it is one which has recently rested on the shoulders of great national heroes, such as those who were recently our leaders — then you can realize that we feel that we are perhaps not worthy to carry this task further.

But with strength from Above and the support of the people, a leader is capable of much. A leader is but an ordinary person who, although he stands at the head, means nothing himself. His deeds and words count not at all if the people do not take those words and deeds to heart and carry them further. It is in this spirit that I take upon myself this task — the spirit of the person who

must walk ahead in faith, but who, above everything, must put his trust in the nation which supports him and the more it is able to give him support in his deeds, so much the bigger will the heritage of the people themselves be.

In a certain sense we are a fortunate people, even in our sorrow which will necessarily overshadow the Transvaal congress. Fortunate in this sense that there are some nations who have such a long past behind them, that they do not have any incentive to action any longer or any further ideals. They are like a childless couple, who when they have collected much during the course of their life, ask themselves what they have lived for and to whom everything which they have collected is to be left. Old nations — nations without children — nations without a future! As a young nation we are like a young couple with many children, who see far into the future, how their children and children's children will carry on that for the sake of which they laboured, and to whom it is worth leaving something. We are a young nation with great possibilities and for that reason we are a happy people. We have a great future and high ideals to live up to and which we can live up to.

This is the spirit of optimism for the future and idealism for the future in which I wish to put the question and try to answer: "South Africa whither"? I would like to answer the question by means of a contrast between the South Africa whither the National Party is leading us and the South Africa whither the United Party would lead us if it had the opportunity. I would like to connect my thoughts to the most recent points of view of both parties. I would like to begin with the attitude of the United Party in relation to governing the country in the immediate future, because after its recent congress in East London, Sir de Villiers Graaff and his party made a very definite statement on this point — much more definite than for a long time. It was heard at the beginning of the latest parliamentary session when those at the back came forward. It was his backbenchers who told him what to say. You will remember that the United Party has taken up a very uncertain position since 1948 with regard to the government of the country. On the verge of the election they were more national than we were and spoke of White leadership and justice and even of White rule. Then they dared not say what they would do with the Native vote. It was only during the previous election that they roundly admitted that they were fighting the election for the purpose of placing the Coloureds back on the voting role. But apart from this one point about which they adopted a certain attitude, they also

continually adopted the attitude till shortly before the election that the United Party actually would like to retain White rule in South Africa. They threw aside the word, mastership. But the idea behind it, that the Whites would rule — they seemed not to cast aside.

The nation did not, however, believe them, because the man who doubts — the man who swings from one outlook to the next — is never trusted, and a political party which acts in that way, will also never be trusted by the people. Now that it is defeated, the attitude of the United Party is utterly devoid of ambiguity. They do not only see South Africa of the future as a mixed country and a multi-racial nation, but also as one governed by Whites and non-Whites. It is true that they dare not say that it will happen on the basis of the non-Whites having a terrific say in affairs. They try to justify this as before the election, behind plans for the senate and six senators who will represent the non-Whites. The most obvious part about it is, however, that they have repeatedly during the past few weeks said what Dr. de Beer and another young star, adv. van Ryneveld, stated in Parliament that the fates of the Whites and the non-Whites are woven together in South Africa — and this includes the government of the country.

I would like to state this evening, that when the United Party adopts this attitude the nation notices it. They should not think that they will be able to make a right about face of the liberal attitude which they adopted, before the next election. We know what they are like, we know where they are heading to, and we know that South Africa does not want to follow their lead. South Africa wants to follow the road set by the National Party, in which the White is safe and assured of White rule in a White South Africa.

Closely connected to this attitude in connection with the government of the country, there is a second point about which the United Party made its attitude known through the words of its leader. That is that the United Party is not ready, under any circumstances, for the creation of Bantu states or Bantu areas with self-government. They do, however, believe in the creation and development of these areas, but they do not believe that the Bantu should have his rights in those areas. This is a very important attitude which I would like to analyse. The meaning of this point of view is not only the casting aside of our apartheid policy but also entails the absorption of the Bantu in the life of South Africa as a whole. Taking into account what is happening in South Africa and in the world, one cannot imagine a South Africa which is not

developing in one of two directions. Either in the direction where the Bantu gets his rights, among his own people and in his own areas with the Whites in full control of his areas, or on the other hand one large mixed South Africa which has handed over its rule to the Bantu majority.

There is no other alternative. This does not only concern Bantu states. There is a choice between the whole of South Africa becoming a Bantu controlled state or the Whites rule in their country and the Bantu gets a say in his own areas according to his ability. If the United Party say that they are against development in the direction of Bantu self-government in their own areas, then it is handing South Africa over to the Bantu majority who will then freely pour into the country. As the White dwellers in South Africa, we have to face up to the hard facts that the course of history has so willed that there should be Bantu areas here. We cannot wish they were not here or think they are not here. They are there — this is part of the basic attitude with regard to our own political future. And since their existence is a fact, we must decide once and for all whether we are going to use that fact to bring about a split for the sake of the continued existence of the Whites. We believe in segregation, and we accept it as a fact, whether it is pleasant or not, that we are living in a country which has Bantu areas either within or on the borders of the country. We shall build the future on that fact, a future which may only be built, if you grant to others within their own areas, what you demand for yourself within yours.

What is noticeable about the United Party is that, while on the one hand they say that the Bantu areas should remain intact and that the Bantu should share South Africa with us, they are prepared to accept that the High Commission areas — Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland — should develop towards independence. The same United Party which is set against the development of Bantu states in the Transkei, Zululand or wherever they are, is prepared to praise Britain in the giving of a new constitution to Basutoland which will enable it to develop into a Bantu state. What is the logic of the United Party when it is prepared to praise and accept the fact that Britain is creating states within our borders and portals, but when we are ready to allow developments to take place in our Bantu areas in the interest of segregation and white dominion we are criticized and the public frightened as though we are being brought into greater danger? Now I would like to state clearly and on behalf of the Government that we are determined to keep White South Africa

under White rule, and no attacks are going to frighten us off from one of the basic ways of doing it justly, which is to give the Bantu an opportunity in his own areas in the measure to which he is capable of managing himself.

If this position is clear, and shows the honesty of the policy of the National Party to the rest of the world, it must also have meaning in a second problem which has been giving South Africa trouble since 1910. This is the question of the protectorates. I would therefore, in continuation of my clear statement in connection with the reasonable attitude that we are adopting towards the Bantu and his own areas within South Africa, apply that same point of view to the question of the handing over of the protectorates. I would like to approach this from three angles. The first is, what has Britain to offer the protectorates? — and I do not say this in the spirit of an enemy but in the spirit of cool analysis of a problem which is troubling everyone. Secondly, what has the United Party to offer the protectorates and thirdly, what has the National Party to offer the protectorates?

Let me begin with the question: what has Britain to offer the protectorates? Britain, which is far away, may begin by offering, say Basutoland or Swaziland or Bechuanaland, a constitution which may be the beginning of independence. It may offer a constitution which builds on the traditions of the Basuto themselves or one which has partially Western-orientated executive methods woven therein. This does not matter. What he can do is to offer an ethnical group a constitution which makes the chances of development with regard to self-government possible. It may offer the help of Whites to aid the development, either as teachers or as the fellow developers of that area. When they come as teachers, he can withdraw them again and the area can remain that of the Bantu. When, however, Whites are sent as the fellow developers of an area, the possibility is created of the Whites gradually taking a part of the area away from the Bantu owner. It has already happened in parts of Bechuanaland and Swaziland. Any heir of this guardianship will have to maintain those White possessions. The longer Britain keeps these areas and applies these development methods (which are well intended) the greater is the danger of a White — non-White society developing within what was originally native area, and the greater the likelihood of friction, so that eventually, as in areas north of us, the Whites and non-Whites will have to try to share the rule. The more we see that the Bantu do not want this and that the White majority feels itself more and more threatened, the more we must take into

consideration the fact that those areas are closely adjacent and sometimes enclosed (completely like Basutoland) within the borders of another country, South Africa! Anything which is produced there may be a failure if it clashes with the interests of South Africa, because the country lying on the borders, must protect itself from possible competition from there. What must become then of the development plan for this country if it clashes with the interests of the bordering country? It must fall apart because it was not planned as a part of the area south of the Zambezi!

From Britain the protectorates may inherit certain privileges for its Bantu people, but it may inherit many difficulties. I can name another example of this — the position of its population when the area is over-populated or almost over-populated. Basutoland has pushed over almost its entire increase in population to South Africa since 1910. If the population were to stay within its boundaries, how would Britain be able to care for that population? It would not be able to do it, because it is not a sanctuary for the surplus population which cannot make a living there. It is impossible practically — it is a guardian afar off — and as a result the Union of South Africa has been the generous receiver of the surplus population.

But as our own Bantu population increases and as we manage to keep our Bantu population within the boundaries of the Bantu areas by means of our policy of separation, it speaks for itself that we cannot be and remain the receiving depot of those other areas. We have definite plans for our own Bantu areas in connection with their economic development and how they can carry the population increase far into the future. If we were to become the guardians of the protectorates we would have the same development plans for those areas. But if we are not the guardians, we cannot adjust our total plans to those areas, and we will have to leave them in the hands of their guardian, Britain, who cannot care for them.

What does the United Party have to offer? The United Party cannot offer anything more to the protectorates, actually. Because, should the protectorates be taken over, it would have to treat them as Bantu areas, and then it would not be able to do for them what Britain wishes to do. But besides this the United Party would not only develop Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland as a sort of residential sanctuary for the Bantu, but would take up the surplus of those areas into the Bantu community of South Africa because they form a part of one communal fatherland. The United Party would, therefore, be offering the protectorates nothing more

than a partnership with the Whites and the rest of South Africa. That which has been refused by Nyasaland and which is not acceptable to the Bantu in other parts of Africa, is what the United Party wants for the protectorates.

But let us take a look at the National Party — which has been accused by the United Party in Europe as being the suppressor — and the policy they offer. The possibility exists within our policy — just as in the case of Britain — for the distinctive development of Bantu areas. We believe in the principle of the Bantu having self-government in his own area — thus also in the protectorates — but then they may not, and that is the counter balance — have any say in our areas or ever hope for any. But as guardian we can do for them what Britain is unable to do, and that is, for example, to join together as one community, the Swazi of the Union and the Swazi of Swaziland, as they are by nature. At the same time, we may give them what the United Party cannot give them: a chance for developing according to their particular inclination! But we can offer still more. Our policy of border industries can bring to the Bantu of, for instance, Basutoland, possibilities for work on the boundaries of their area but within White territory, which will make it possible for him to maintain his contact with his family, to take care of his family and to build up his own community. Britain cannot do this because it does not share a border with Basutoland.

On the terms of the policy of the National Party, Britain ought to hand over the protectorates to South Africa in their own interest, because their only hope for the future, lies in their co-operation with the Union of South Africa. When we speak of the protectorates in future, we should not think so much about what was said in the past and about what happened, but should realize that the Bantu of that area are being denied a chance by not being allowed to come under the guardianship of South Africa. Inclusion of the protectorates is in the interest of the Bantu. But it is also in our interest — not that we shall have financial advantages or additional territory, but because we shall be able to develop Bantu communities within our borders and on our borders which will not lead to enmity and clashes. I would, therefore, like to appeal to Britain to approach the matter in an entirely different way in future and to realize and to believe that we want the protectorates under our guardianship not because we wish to gain territory thereby, but because we shall thus have the opportunity to have peaceful, prosperous Bantu populations on our borders instead of inimical, poverty-stricken groups.

With regard to the above-mentioned development, the United Party is trying to arouse the people to opposition against our policy with a certain question. They are asking what the relations will be between the White and the Bantu areas and then immediately suggest that a type of federation will have to be instituted. I would like to reply in the first place that it is very impractical to look too far ahead into the future in connection with constitutional developments because such developments depend entirely on what happens. If the Bantu does not have the ability to govern himself to a great extent, he will not be able to attain anything — whether or not you wish to give it to him. If he demonstrates the ability in future, which he has not yet done in the past, one will have to contend with that fact. But the United Party is trying to compromise with the possibility of a federation, so that they may say to the nation that the National Party is providing a mixed government because such a federation government has to have elements from both sides. In this way they wish to justify their own policy of a mixed country.

Although it is senseless to speak about developments which are separate to the present practical policy, I would like to answer this, to show how completely wrong they are when they come with this type of propaganda. The relationship of different nations, even when they have common interests and stand close together, does not stand alone in federal connection. If we take the British Commonwealth as an example, I would like to point out that in the British parliament there is not a single representative of, for example, Canada, or Australia, although they are closely connected to the home country. Britain has kept its parliament purely British and has allowed the other areas to develop independently. Why should we therefore when we give the Bantu the opportunity to develop a measure of self-government in his area, likewise give him representation in our parliament? Why should we necessarily create a federation in conjunction with them in order to have a common government? Why should we not follow the example of Britain and keep White South Africa with its own White parliament, which carries out guardianship rule over the smaller countries, like the colonies of the Commonwealth at one time, until they are educated to the stage where they can care for themselves?

Now I would like to let my eye wander beyond the borders of South Africa and ask "Whither, South Africa?" in connection with its relationship to Africa, "Whither, South Africa?" with regard to the world in general. Let me first say a few words about

South Africa and the countries of Africa. We note that countries such as Britain and France are completely willing to give independence to communities which once stood under their rule. We grant the Negro countries of Central and North Africa this opportunity. It is their territory — their boundaries — they live there. If they have reached a stage of development so that they are able to govern their own people properly — we grant it to them. We are even prepared to give those countries technical and other advice. We have never been suppressors, but have always been helpful to just rights and the just practice of those rights. For that reason we have no feeling of opposition to the fact that those countries have come into their rights. But those countries have lately allowed themselves to be drawn by the Afro-Asian group of countries, perhaps through their immaturity and lack of experience, into criticism of South Africa. I would just like to make this one statement, and that is, that they should realize that when they criticize the policy of the National Party in South Africa they are in the process of deviating from the road which they have set themselves. Because the policy of the National Party, as I have just explained, aims at giving the Bantu in South Africa the opportunity of developing his own self-government possibilities in his own territory. This is what they wanted. They did not want a mixed fatherland in Ghana or in the Sudan, or anywhere else, they wanted a Negro state. And when we as the National Party come into revolt against a White-Bantu-non-White state here in the Union, and we wish to separate, then we are giving to our Bantu the chance which those people wanted themselves. How can they accuse us at the U.N. or anywhere else, that we are not granting our Bantu what they wanted for themselves? Therefore I repeat the advice which I gave them previously, and that is to concentrate on building up their own countries. They have only recently gained independence and the task is tremendous. Allow us to concentrate on our own country, let us do what we believe to be right, and in 20 years from now if they are in a position to look beyond their borders at what is going on in the rest of Africa, they will be surprised to see how happy the Bantu in South Africa are under our policy.

Now I would like to deal with the problem of South Africa — the Union — as opposed to the world in general.

We are one of the much-discussed countries, both at the U.N. and at other places. The Union of South Africa is supposed to be the country which is not fair towards its less privileged subjects. We are continually attacked as the suppressors of the Black man.

And the people who speak like this do not realize what they are doing — not to us — but to themselves. I would like them to realize, if I can possibly do this, that they are doing themselves far greater harm than us. Let me put it in this way. We all know that the Western countries especially, who should have been our friends, are trying to win friends in the U.N. for the sake of certain local interests, and are prepared to condemn us if, by doing so, they may gain the support of a certain country with regard to another matter in which they are interested. I would like to point out that the advantages which they sometimes gain for a local problem or one of their own, does not balance with the great disadvantage which might threaten their own existence. They are buying temporary advantage with shortsightedness with regard to the future of the world and consequently of themselves. I would like to explain it thus. We all know — it does not help to beat about the bush — that a cold war is being waged between the East and West in the world and that the continent of Africa is of great importance. In the competition between Europe and America on the one hand and Russia and the East on the other, the important question is with whom will Africa side? That "with whom" will not be decided by the conquest of Africa, but by the one who will succeed aligning the souls of Africa with himself. How can the East or Communist Russia get the great, uncivilized, slow-thinking masses of Africa on their side? They do this by following two courses: the one tactic is to make the people of Africa forget the things for which they have to thank the great exploiters of Africa's possibilities. They wish them to forget what the so-called colonial powers have done for the territories of Africa. They continually place the accent on certain disadvantages such as, for example, that they have not yet received freedom and independence. The more they are able to cause the average dweller in Africa to have a feeling of resentment against something which he cannot understand, which is called colonialism, and the more they are able to bring the people into revolt against the so-called colonialism and to forget everything which the White powers have done for them, the more they succeed in making the countries of Africa the enemies of those who are actually their benefactors. This is the one course which they follow. And then they keep silent about the terrible slavery and sickness which is found in their own Eastern countries. All their own suffering and everything which is ugly they hide, but turn to Africa with the accusation that colonialism has caused this sort of thing there.

But there is a second tactic employed and this affects us because

the Communist and Eastern countries are trying to bring home to the dwellers of Africa that the Whites are suppressing them. To name but one example: if they succeed in convincing the population of Africa that there is a White nation in Africa which is suppressing the Bantu terribly, which makes slaves of them and which does not grant them self-government, then they win the soul of Africa for themselves, against all the Whites in the world. How should the White nations react to this? Should they help to spread this idea by making friends with them as it were, or should they tell the rest of Africa that this is not true? The Whites of South Africa grant the Bantu a chance amongst his own people and within his own areas, just as they desire. Just think what might have been won in the battle for the soul of Africa, for Europe and for Western civilization, if instead of taking sides against us just to get the support of the Bantu, they had backed the truth. In this way they would have contributed towards opposing Communist propaganda. It is my reproach to the Western world that by playing the same game as those who damn the Whites in Africa, it will never have any Bantu on its side.

I would like to return to our own country, and would like to say a few words about our economical future. I would like to emphasize that in spite of everything which the United Party says, South Africa has a great future. The reason why it has a great future and is trusted in the rest of the world, is because with our separate development policy and our honest outlook, we command the respect of those who are able to think and of the man who wishes to invest money and is interested in business, as well as the realization that South Africa is a country with great stability. The world banker and investor of money from other countries, knows that he cannot judge the merits of inland government, but he can judge if a country has a stable government. He also realizes that with its separate development policy the National Government is a stronger one after 10 years, and therefore he knows for certain that there is certainty, there is a fixed course and a clear aim. In such a country one may invest, such a country is safe for industrial development. I would like to state clearly that the policy of the National Party and the stability which it brings, and the certainty of the course to be followed, is one of the biggest reasons why we may expect economic prosperity in an ever-increasing degree. But I would like to add that should the United Party's policy be carried out, this stability would vanish and the confidence of the outside world in the economic development of South Africa would also decrease. I shall tell you

why I say this: If South Africa were to develop in the direction of a mixed government and give the non-Whites a say no matter how small in the beginning, then those businessmen would put the question to themselves: What course do those usually take who are elected by the non-Whites? We all know that any group which has thus far been chosen by the non-Whites has been orientated to the left. In other words, the execution of United Party policy must result in the government becoming increasingly leftist, just like the liberalists and the countries where the Communist way is followed. For the businessman and private initiative there is no safety. It is therefore not our policy but the policy of the United Party which is dangerous for South Africa economically.

And this brings me to the last point of "Whither, South Africa?" and this has regard to our republican ideal.

I do not intend covering the whole field again but would like to build on the stage which we have reached in our battle with the United Party about South Africa becoming a republic and remind you of what has happened lately. I asked Sir de Villiers Graaff to once and for all stop adopting an ambiguous attitude. If his party is prepared to co-operate in bringing a republic into being, I repeated the offer of Adv. Strijdom, namely, that we should hold discussions together about how the republic should be. But Sir de Villiers Graaff refused this offer for the second time. And now my further attitude is this, and it was also Adv. Strijdom's attitude, that he must not believe that if we succeed in bringing about the republic without the United Party that we will give the U.P. any joint say as a party. Nor do I wish to leave the matter with this negative attitude. I would like to go one step further. But before I do this, I would like to point out that while Sir de Villiers Graaff wishes to give the impression that his party is anti-republican, the past few weeks have proved that there is greater opposition to his attitude within his party, than he would dare to admit. Shall I put it this way? In the Free State they were not even able to discuss a republican proposal secretly. The members of the United Party there are too republican to make such a thing possible, and therefore they had to keep quiet. As regards Natal we know that the United Party is an enemy of the republic, and we are prepared to accept that the Natal section of the United Party is anti-republican. In the Transvaal they held a two-hour secret discussion about a republic. And we are told that a young Englishman's proposal, seconded by Prof. Fourie previously of Edenvale, only received seven votes. But we can read between the lines. You are not afraid to debate

a policy matter, about which the people should openly decide like democrats, unless you know that within your party there is a large group whose attitude you would like to conceal. I therefore, maintain that whatever they may say about seven votes against it, the United Party in the Transvaal are afraid to come out with a definite attitude regarding the republic in an open discussion by their party.

In the Cape, according to their paper — the liberal Rand Daily Mail — they have gained new strength, because there the true anti-republican spirit of the United Party came to the fore, not as at the Transvaal Congress. I am going to read to you the decisions of the United Party at East London. I am quoting from the Rand Daily Mail of the 6th November and would like to ask you whether or not this is an ambiguous, altogether anti-republican decision or not. I also mentioned it in Natal, but they left the essential part out of their press altogether. For that reason I am once more challenging them tonight to put this argument clearly to their readers. The resolution which the United Party accepted there reads as follows:

“This congress is implacably opposed to any attempt by the National Party to impose a republic on South Africa either inside or outside the Commonwealth, believing that such a change would be seriously detrimental to true interests and security of South Africa. Congress determines to oppose any change with all the legal means at its disposal.”

Notice that the key word is not “implacably opposed”, but is “implacably opposed to any attempt by the National Party” to bring about a republic. In other words they dare not say that the United Party is unambiguously opposed to a republic of South Africa, but they are against a republic which the National Party brings into being. And why do they do this? For one reason only, and that is to be able to say to the republicans within their own party: “You see, we are not opposed to a republic which you bring into being with us.” Now I would like to challenge Sir de Villiers Graaff for the second time to prove that they are unambiguously an anti-republican party. I challenge him to take out the clause in the constitution of the United Party which gives them the right to work towards a republic, and to say that the United Party is not only opposed to a republic which the National Party brings about, but that they are against any republic in South Africa — and I challenge him to do so without chasing people away from the ranks of his party!

But I would like to go further than merely setting the chal-

lenge. I have come with an invitation. I invite the republicans in the ranks of the United Party who have realized that the republic will never be brought about by the United Party owing to the evasiveness of Sir de Villiers Graaff, to come to the National Party and together with us, bring the republic into being and decide with us the nature of that republic. But I go further and say that if there are perhaps English or Afrikaans-speaking members of the United Party who do not see their way clear to join the National Party and in this way co-operate with it, why do they not found an English republican party or a republican United Party (or call it whatever you like) which we shall then invite to work with us as I invited Sir de Villiers Graaff previously. If we can agree about the republic, it will give the English-speaking their first chance in many years to express themselves, because they cannot do it within the United Party. They cannot express themselves on the colour question or on the republican question.

I have said before that the coming of the republic is of greater importance to the English-speaking than for us. The English-speaking people isolated themselves within the weak, endlessly weak United Party. They are isolated and they have no share in the government of our country. They find it difficult to join us because they suffer persecution in the business world and in other fields, but if the republic comes into being, one of the foundations of our racial feud and of our present party quarrel will fall away, and we shall most probably have a split between liberal and conservative elements. The National Party will be the Conservative Party — about that I have no doubts. Many of them can then be with us, because the dividing factor, a monarchy or a republic, will be something of the past. For this reason I say that if the English-speaking people want a share in the government of the country, it is of greater importance to them to work for a republic, than for the Afrikaner, because through the National Party the Afrikaner is in control of the country.

The policy of the party is that the republic, when it comes into being, should be lasting. And in order to be lasting it must stand on the broad foundation of the will of the people, which was interpreted by Adv. Strijdom, my predecessor, as being the majority of the registered White voters. Also for me, it is sufficient to see that there is at least a majority and sufficient support in parliament to support the republic. An ordinary majority is sufficient for me because I know that people have been misled by false propaganda to become the opposers of the republic and

whom, when they have experienced the republic, will themselves say: Thank heaven that we have come this far and ended all racial strife.

Day of the Covenant Address at Blood River, December 16, 1958

In South Africa a central festival is held at three places — Blood River, Paardekraal and at the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria — in turn, every fourth or fifth year. When Dr. Verwoerd delivered the speech of the day at Blood River in 1958 it was the first time that a Prime Minister officiated there, although President Kruger was the speaker of the day in 1888 on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Blood River.

Dr. Verwoerd prefaced his remarks by briefly analysing the history attached to the events of the 16th December, 1838, and particularly pointed out what a small group of men could accomplish by harmonious action. The victory gained that day opened up the interior of the country and made possible the great development of later years. The Battle of Blood River and subsequent events confirmed the fact that we as a people not only have great cause for thankfulness but are ourselves compelled to devotion by the deeds of the forefathers. Above all, we are aware throughout our history of the protecting Hand of the Almighty and this has given a religious character to our national festivals.

Dear friends, I want to speak of then and now.

If we review the spirit of the world at the time of the Voortrekkers, we find that it was a period of commotion in the minds of men. A spiritual current was then flowing over the world which created a new atmosphere spreading its influence even as far as here in the southern part of Africa. We all know how a spirit of emancipation arose among humanity during the French Revolution; a spirit of freedom and brotherhood and equality of all people. It originated from the circumstances of the Europe of that time and was then wrongly applied to the outside world which was different.

The application of the idea of freedom, equality and fraternity of all people gave rise to violent disputes and strife and revealed the prevailing misconception regarding the life of people in other countries under different circumstances. In Europe they wrote

about the 'noble savage' while the human being among them, the European in his civilisation of that time, went unregarded. In that spirit the white men who were engaged in civilising countries and saving the savage from himself and from the oppressor among his own ranks, were described as oppressors.

The same happened to our own nation and the Voortrekkers. Gross misrepresentations were prevalent in Europe regarding our people and the deeds performed here. From those countries foreign missionaries, the Phillips's and the Van der Kemps, animated by the spirit which had spread over Europe, came to an area which they did not know. They brought not only the Gospel, but also the disturbance of misunderstanding. They rendered a disservice not only to the white man who at that time was penetrating the interior with the Bible in the hand, but also to the heathens by inciting them against the white man with all his goodwill and his knowledge of conditions here. They complicated matters and much of the blood which was spilt, and the strife engendered were the result of well-intentioned but misplaced transmission of a spirit which, in the circumstances of that time, did not fit here.

That spirit was not directed against the Afrikaner forefathers only but against all white men. The English-speaking people also realised that the christianising process was necessary for Africa and that the supremacy of the white man was necessary in order to bring and extend civilisation and Christianity here in South Africa.

In the midst of all this the conduct of the Voortrekkers was characterised by three definite mental attitudes. The one was symbolised by the readiness of Piet Retief even when his people had found an unclaimed area, nevertheless to acquire it by proper negotiations. Piet Retief was prepared to enter into an agreement with Dingaan. He was prepared to trust and co-operate. He placed the lives of his small group of companions at the mercy of the barbarian. The white man's trust, the white man's honest sincerity, the white man's preparedness to negotiate, the readiness to grant suitable rights, each in its kind and place, were all symbolised in that act of Piet Retief. From the events at Murder Hill we also see that the people gathered there were not prepared to have a part in the suicide of a nation. They were not prepared to give way or to mix. They were prepared to remain or to trek to the Transvaal if necessary, but wherever they went, they were prepared to fight until victory was won, to struggle in order to help in building a nation. Whether the Voortrekker was

journeying or fighting and whether he put his hand to the plough when left in peace, he was always busy building his nation. He was never prepared to break up, to destroy or to lose.

It was characteristic of that struggle that the Voortrekker always had his wife and child with him. It was not a struggle of men only. It was a struggle of the whole family — man, woman and child — side by side to safeguard the future of their posterity and to preserve the purity of the blood of the nation. Had only men surged into a country, there would perhaps not have been a white nation today. Because it was a family trek and because the unity of the family was the basic bond of the democratic government of the states established, order and peace could soon be found there. It was the family that trekked, the family that fought, the family that built.

That is what happened then. What is the position today?

There is a remarkable similarity. Is it not so that today a liberalistic current very similar to that of 120 years ago is again moving across the world? A spirit which originates from World War II, perhaps even from World War I; a spirit engendered by the experience of the people elsewhere and by their self-interest; a spirit of liberalism which causes the white states to become so divided among themselves that each, with a view to the success of its aims, tries to obtain the support of the non-white world — whether in Asia or in Africa; a spirit not born from the highest moral considerations, as it is frequently represented to be. If it were, then it would not look down so damningly upon the fellow white man in other parts of the world but could be as equally understanding towards him as it is towards the black man.

It is peculiar that the world spirit, just like then, is not directed against the Afrikaner, but against all whites. That spirit is permeated with glorification of the noble savage. Everything that the non-white says or does, is good or is glossed over. If he acts roughly or foolishly it is described as merely characteristic of the transition period. But if the white man by standing firm has to ensure that civilisation is preserved, then it is oppression and he is maligned. The world spirit is also directed at all the colonial powers in Africa, whether it be the Portuguese or the British or the Belgians or the French, and whether it be the South Africans. Whoever brought civilisation here, whoever saved the people from mutual extinction, whoever provided shelter and food to greater masses than the country could carry previously goes unthanked for the life, for the prosperity, for the knowledge, and

for the Divine enrichment of primitive minds. It is also peculiar that once more foreign preachers have come to carry the misconceptions further — the Huddlestons, the Collins's, the Scotts, the De Blanks — people perhaps with good intentions, people infused with the spirit of Europe which has been imbibed by them, some even animated by a spirit proceeding from the abject Communism. In this country where we as a Christian nation with knowledge of our history and of the nature of the Bantu people and the level of their development try to do what is right and good and Christianlike, we are condemned by mouths which should have come and learned before they talked.

They do not observe that, just like 120 years ago, there are the clearest evidences of our preparedness to let fairness and justice prevail. I have referred to the manner in which Piet Retief was prepared to enter into an agreement. I add thereto that after that Murder Hill episode, Andries Pretorius, who had come to mete out punishment for the misdeed, while on the way still sent a message to Dingaan saying that if he should show repentance the Voortrekkers would yet be forgiving and not carry the warfare to extremes. Because the message was regarded with contempt, the battle at Blood River had to take place.

Even so the white man is today prepared in all kinds of ways to have justice done to the Bantu. It is the policy of South Africa to grant rights to the non-white in his own community and in his own area where it is fitting.

Again it is the white people of South Africa, who know the conditions, who have designed and now follow the only method which can bring peace and do justice to all. But they are not supported therein by those who come from outside and do not understand it. These have already accepted as unavoidable the disappearance of the white race. When it is said in Europe and also by some in our own country that the solution of this struggle is to be found in the merger of all people — so-called integration — it is not realised that this is not unification. All that will happen is the destruction of the white race. Not integration, but disintegration — disintegration of the white race. of the civilisation and of the religion which we inherited, will be the only result. Therefore, even though we cannot trek any more, we say like the Voortrekker of yore, "we can still struggle". And we shall fight even though we have to perish. We shall keep on fighting for the survival of the white man at the southern tip of Africa and the religion which has been given to him to spread here. And we shall do it just as they did! Man, woman and

child. We shall fight for our existence and the world must know it. We cannot do otherwise. Like Luther during the Reformation we are standing with our backs to the wall. We are not fighting for money or possessions. We are fighting for the life of our people.

But we are not fighting for our people only. I am deeply convinced in my soul that we are fighting for the survival of white civilisation. If ever a struggle between East and West were to come, if Africa ever were to throw in its weight somewhere — and it would be a decisive weight — then the weight of Africa would be on the side of the white man and the Western nations only if the idea for which we as a nation stand can remain victorious. The white man at the southern point of Africa is an outpost of white civilisation and as such the advance-guard of its forces, located where the first attacks are to come. We know that we are a small nation but we also know that we have in us the steel and the strength which resulted in the triumph of Blood River. When you are in the forward lines and see the danger coming, you are entitled to send messages to the armies in the rear who are still sheltering behind you. Hence we send this message to the outside world and say to them once again that there is but one way of saving the white races of the world. And that is for the white and the non-white in Africa each to exercise his rights within his own areas.

We are fighting with all that is within us because we know that we are a nation in the making. We know that we are not yet halfway up the mast. We know that we are still foundation layers just like the heroes of Blood River. We also know that we are ordinary people with many weaknesses. But we know that those who are making history, like they did and we are doing now, are doing so with a young nation still in the spring-time of its life. If the foundations are laid right, the walls can be built strongly. And the foundations that we lay we are endeavouring to lay solidly and securely. We are trying to dig down through the clay to the gravel and bed-rock so that the nation of South Africa may exist to remote times in the future. That is why we are not allowing ourselves to be driven to rashness or to panic. That is why we are building on the only rock of nations, namely the faith and the same helping hand which gave our forefathers the victory of Blood River. We are building in faith, we are building with power because we know that we have not been planted here aimlessly. Why should Whites have been led to the southern tip of Africa three hundred years ago? Why was half

of the country unoccupied, why could small numbers of people increase so much and become spread over the whole country? Why could they, in spite of their Moordkrans and Italemi, also gain their Blood River? Why could they go through their wars of independence and, win or lose, yet survive as a nation? Why was this all given to us if there is no purpose in it? And I believe this to be the purpose — that we should be an anchor and a stay for Western civilisation and for the Christian religion. Western civilisation and the white races are also going through a crisis, even though they do not notice it. Never before in history, at any rate the history of the past two thousand years, has the position of the white races been so perilous. They are in danger not because of their lack of knowledge or power, but on account of that which is going on in their own spirit: their inner weakening and wrong conception of what their task is on earth. And there sometimes have to be small groups that offer resistance; a resistance that can be extended until it embraces the whole pattern of nations.

Perhaps it was intended that we should have been planted here at the southern point within the crisis area so that from this resistance group might emanate the victory whereby all that has been built up since the days of Christ may be maintained for the good of all mankind. May you have the strength, people of South Africa, to serve the purpose for which you have been placed here!

New Year Message to the People of South Africa on December 31, 1958

A memorable year has come to an end, and a new one is about to begin. What the latter will bring in its train is still hidden from the human eye. What is past is known to all; about what is still to be, one can only guess. Confidence need, however, not forsake us, for the God of our Fathers who has steered South Africa through deep waters, remains our Comforter and Guide.

To a certain extent 1958 brought confusion, but on the other hand it was also an eventful year. Under the disposition of the Almighty, it did not become a war year, nor did it contain any premonition of war in the immediate future. Important changes nevertheless took place on the international stage.

The restless giant, Africa, awakening but still heavy-lidded with sleep, cannot as yet clearly see whither it is bound. Excluding the countries of the North and the extreme South, Africa is undoubtedly still dazed by a life-long, nay age-long coma, impervious to what happened in the world outside, to the growth of civilization and to its own development. At long last, however, the arrival of the white man — his initiative and labour, his introduction of science and knowledge, of cultural activities and state organization and of objectives in all spheres of endeavour — is beginning to stir the giant to life. Black states coming into being do not yet appreciate those who have freed them from the bonds of their own past and ignorance. Their immaturity exposes itself in the lack of gratitude towards those who were responsible for their survival: in rash attempts to take upon themselves a greater part in international affairs than they are yet capable of; in the impatience and harshness with which they treat their own people and their neighbours, and in the arrogance towards more experienced nations prepared to help them. This causes confusion throughout Africa. He who is acquainted with the nature of youth knows that what follows applies to nations as well as to individuals and will bear in mind that with maturity, better mental balance and a more sober and modest estimate of one's own strength and of one's own rights as compared to those

of others, is reached. Notwithstanding what is happening now, the bright rays of hope, therefore, shine even over Africa, including this southernmost land of ours. Some day the bright light will pierce the temporary clouds of uncertainty and doubt, and every nation will gladly fill its place in the great pattern assigned to it by the Architect of the Universe.

Internationally, confusion has reigned during the past year, but although the future is not clear, there too hope springs eternal in the human breast. Differences have continued between the groups of nations who are ideologically opposed, and are in fact still bones of contention. At times it even seemed as if the storm clouds were gathering — now here, then there. There was a time when this seemed to be the case in the Middle East, and latterly over Berlin. But the blue sky of peace has so far prevailed on each occasion. Indeed, no one seems to wish to contribute to his own or to his country's destruction. Everybody realises that in large-scale conflict between the nations, one can only lose and never gain. No matter how many anxious moments have been suffered in the past, or how many may recur in the year ahead, the Angel of Peace still wields His sceptre with greater assurance than Mars his sword.

When one considers the progress being made in the field of scientific achievement, and that of knowledge generally, it is clear that mankind nowadays is moving at a breathtaking pace. Man sets himself neither limits in the realms of nuclear power and its application in all possible directions, nor in his reaching out into the infinity of space and in his industrial ingenuity. This is also true with regard to medical science, to the lengthening of life through health research and to man's interference with the reproduction of the animal and human species. Whether all this may prove beneficial or lead to man's destruction, nobody knows. Yet with eager and impatient expectancy he is even now prying into the future, hoping to discover what wonders the new year has in store. There will certainly be much that is new but we in South Africa can guess as little as anyone what this will be. Whatever may happen, let us be of good cheer and encourage and comfort one another, believing that whatever of evil there may be, it will be changed into what is right and good by the same Power which has safely guided progress throughout the ages.

Just as in the world outside, in our own country 1958 was a year of important events but also of confusion. In spite of this, here too it gave birth to new expectations and hope and the

promise of further developments during the coming year. The Government was returned to power with increased support after a lively general election, with still greater political certainty and stability as a result. The confidence of world finance in the economic security and progress of South Africa is a natural consequence of this stability. Its fruits are already being plucked and will become still more abundant during 1959, since more than confidence has been gained. Confidence, as is well known, attracts investment and leads to a keen desire to participate in the prosperity following upon the resultant new developments.

A more sober appreciation overseas of the positive value of the South African policy of the separate development of white and non-white — each with a future and opportunities of his own alongside one another and not intermixed — can also be perceived. This is due to the consistent electoral endorsement of this policy. It is noteworthy that the latest reports from overseas indicate a growing readiness to understand South Africa and to learn from its experience, rather than the old tendency to condemn blindly. In the Union itself many signs are noticeable of increasingly better relations between White and Black. This, notwithstanding the atmosphere of suspicion which is being artificially cultivated and which hampers the growth of such improved relations. The unifying process, welding Afrikaans- and English-speaking South Africans into one nation with one motherland, is continuing. Whatever others may say, I for one, like my predecessors, believe that speedier progress is now being made in this direction than in the past.

Turning to the Union of South Africa, the message cannot be other than that we see, increasingly through the clouds of confusion, the blue sky that symbolises mutual goodwill; we see too, that the sunrays of hope are extending their influence. The year 1959 holds out great promise.

During 1958, South Africa unfortunately had to pay dearly for certain lessons it had to learn — amongst others, that in sorrow and grief we are drawn together, though still members of different classes, parties and language groups. The sudden departure of the man at the helm, Mr. J. G. Strijdom, a Prime Minister who died while holding office, demonstrated this most clearly. More than anything else during the year that is past, this collective mourning showed the extent to which we feel, at least on certain occasions, as one family. It also demonstrated our capacity, whether supporters or opponents, to honour integrity, constancy, and greatness in a son of South Africa.

Following the confusion and uncertainty which was undoubtedly created by this sad experience, a further lesson was learnt, namely, that this country and its people have the vitality of youth. It was possible to resume the nation's task without delay even from where Death left its mark. Four months have passed during which we have once more forged ahead — into the new period in our history. This strength of mind and resiliency was, however, not only characteristic of a nation's mourning but also of every individual citizen who had to take leave of a loved one. We will not easily forget, though the furrowed brow of sorrow may once again be smoothed and though fresh inspiration may give each one of us new courage to perform the duties laid upon us. May what was good in this recent past help us to build the future together.

Tonight it is farewell to the Old Year with all its weal and woe. But the New Year must be welcomed with its unknown measure of prosperity and grief. It should be entered in the spirit of this message namely that trust and hope must be retained under all circumstances since, in spite of international, national, racial or personal clashes and antipathies, the overwhelming power in the Universe remains love, however differently men see or seek its manifestation. Love and hope which will always save mankind will do so once more in this year before us.

My wish for everyone individually, is that the Great Father of us all will from His high Throne grant His mercy and such fortitude that everyone can bear whatever burdens may be his or her lot during 1959, and such capacity for real gratitude that prosperity and success can be accepted in the way it should. Above all, may everyone receive that strength and health of body or spirit, which may be needed, each day, to fulfil the task ordained.

Reply to the Motion of no confidence of the Leader of the Opposition, on January 27, 1959

In spite of the increased support which the National Government obtained in the 1958 election, a motion of no confidence in the Government was laid before the House of Assembly by the Leader of the Opposition in January, 1959. To this the Prime Minister replied on the 27th January, by outlining the growth of the National Party. He also quoted lavishly from opposition sources which had severely criticized the United Party for its inability to overthrow the Government. The Prime Minister once again made use of the opportunity to state the republican aims of the National Party and also made very clear what the Party regarded as a "majority" in order to proclaim the republic which it had in view. In a debate of this kind where every aspect of the Government's policy is subject to close scrutiny, it was inevitable that apartheid vs. integration should have played an important part.

Mr. Speaker, I can congratulate the hon. the Leader of the Opposition on the fine essay he wrote. I regret that I cannot congratulate him on his speech, because he really did not prove on behalf of his party, why there should be no confidence in the Government, and still much less what the essential counterpart of it is — what the reason is why instead of confidence in this Government there should be confidence in his party as the alternative Government. What must a motion of no confidence really do? It should prove that the policy of the Government party is not in the interests of the country and that the motion is based on a real lack of confidence. Secondly, hon. members should then prove that there is an alternative Government in which the electorate can have more confidence.

I listened to the hon. the Leader of the Opposition, and all he has succeeded in doing is to string together a number of sentences, to patch together a number of statements on all kinds of trivial matters in order to form a whole. But what the hon. member did not give us was a broad statement of policy, a clear indication as to the course South Africa should follow. If he imagines that in the

conclusion to which he came, the conclusion in which he says that he just wants to continue in the old way — a continuation of what no longer suits the present Africa — he has announced a policy, then he is making a great mistake. I am going to prove that to him from what his own people have said.

Before I do that, I want to point out to him that he really commenced by mentioning three texts. To those he coupled all his views on diverse matters, traversing the whole political field. With his three texts he in the first place emphasized that we were supposed to have obtained the support of the people and to have come into power by the incitement of emotions. Let me assure the hon. the Leader of the Opposition that the people of South Africa in fact elected this Government on the basis of strong patriotism and on the grounds of feelings and convictions in favour of the Government's plans in regard to certain great problems. The one is the maintenance of White civilization and the other is the obtaining of republican independence. If the Leader of the Opposition wants to call that incitement of emotions he is failing to appreciate the forces in operation in every nation of the world, namely patriotism, which is trying to find expression in such matters and in their solution. But there is another possible form of incitement of emotions, which can be avoided and that is what the hon. member and his supporters are doing. Never before in the history of South Africa has such incitement been set in motion against our own country and has so much suspicion been created; never before has so much vilification taken place, vilification of such a serious nature as that which has been perpetrated by the party opposite. The world must continually be told how South Africa oppresses its Natives and what injustice it does to them. They will continue to hide with every possible smokescreen the positive ideas which are the basis of our Native policy. They try to drag through the mud those persons who with the utmost seriousness are trying to lead South Africa towards a clear future, so that in the eyes of the outside world they must be regarded as scoundrels. If that is the type of incitement of emotions which the Leader of the Opposition has condemned, I join him in condemning it. But it cannot be condemned when a Government approaches the people of a country with the appeal for support in order to implement what are the great ideals of any nation. That is the main difference between members opposite and members on this side of the House. The party on this side aims at goals which are of value to South Africa. The members opposite can only criticize and besmirch, hoping that there will be developments inside and

outside the country which may possibly bring them back into power again.

For the benefit of the hon. the Leader of the Opposition, I now want to emphasize that when he tells the world, as he again did today, that this Government tries to violate the principles of democracy, that the Government aims at despotism, whether in regard to the Natives or in regard to the Whites, he is not really telling the world what the policy of this country and of this Government is. And he knows it. He does it for his own reasons, and that is merely for selfish party ambition.

I will not deal with what the hon. member from time to time said about certain persons including myself. His statements contain distortions, but I do not think it is worth while concentrating attention on such trivial points, because then I would have to deal with his whole speech, to analyse it and to show up all the mistakes he made. I prefer to concentrate on certain important points.

The first thing which I think should be done in a debate on a motion of no confidence is to reply to the question whether there is proof that the electorate has no confidence in the Government but has confidence in the United Party. The first test one should apply is to see how the electorate votes at elections. In 1958 the electorate of South Africa demonstrated what confidence it had in the National Party. That is why it returned us to power. I could mention numbers of examples to prove the growth of the National Party over the years. Perhaps it is best to begin with a statement by the hon. the Leader of the Opposition himself. After he had been rejected by his old constituents, just as his party was rejected, he held a meeting in Rondebosch, the constituency he now represents. There he *inter alia* said the following about the results of the 1958 election:

“The result of the election caused disappointment, disillusion and doubt amongst some supporters of the United Party. Despite the very good organization of the party throughout the country, the Nationalists gained ground. In 1938 Dr. Malan attracted 30 per cent of the votes; in 1943, 34 per cent; in 1948, 40 per cent; in 1953, 45 per cent. But Mr. Strijdom was not able this year to attract more than 50 per cent of the voters.”

In other words, the hon. the Leader of the Opposition himself sketched the gradual increase in the strength of the National Party since 1934, a party which in 1958 had not yet stopped growing. He even made the admission himself that at least half of the voters supported the National Party. How on earth then is it possible for

a person to come and tell this House a year later — less than a year later — that the electorate have no confidence in a Government which is in power not merely by a coincidence but which is in power, as he proved, by continued progress? But the hon. Leader and some of his friends from time to time hinted that unfair delimitations were really the cause of the victory.

Of course that is a reflection on the Delimitation Commission. I want to remind hon. members that the delimitation prior to 1948, under the United Party Government, brought us into power. I further want to state that delimitations had nothing to do whatsoever with the result of the election; and that irrespective of how constituencies may have been delimited, the National Party would still have come into power with approximately the same majority.

Let me quote a few figures to prove it. I have made only a few analyses in the Transvaal. Take the South-Eastern Transvaal; there are seven constituencies there: Losberg, Vereeniging, Vanderbijl, Heidelberg, Standerton, Wakkerstroom and Ermelo. There we find that from 1953 to 1958 the confidence in the National Party increased to such an extent that the votes cast for it increased by 4,244 whilst those cast for the United Party decreased by 356. That is in that group alone. Irrespective of how the delimitation was done, the National Party had to win because of its growth and the retrogression of the United Party. Let me take the Eastern Transvaal. There are four constituencies: Nelspruit, Bethal-Middelburg, Lydenburg and Witbank. The votes cast for the National Party in those constituencies increased by approximately 1,300, whereas the votes cast for the United Party decreased by about 2,000. It was 1,999, to be precise. In the Western Transvaal there are also seven constituencies, the names of which I do not have to mention. The National Party got 5,551 votes more there and the United Party 949 fewer. In the Northern Transvaal there are six constituencies. The National Party polled 4,014 more votes and the United Party 1,145 fewer. That shows a constant tendency which proves that even though delimitations were made, as was the case in Heidelberg, which were unfavourable to the National Party, those seats were nevertheless taken with majorities of 1,000 more votes than the United Party expected; and in addition to that the facts in regard to these groups of constituencies show that delimitations could not make any difference. There may have been variations in individual constituencies, but in those areas as a whole there were increases for the National Party in every case, and decreases for the United Party.

I would like to read something to the hon. member to prove

to him that this deterioration of the United Party (which goes hand in hand with a long history of defections, as we know) has also taken place according to the views of their own supporters or persons well disposed towards them. I want to quote from the *Rand Daily Mail* of 26 May, 1958, from an article specially written by Dr. Bernard Friedman, a former member of the party opposite and a person who is so sympathetic in this article that he even writes sympathetically of the influence of the smile of the Leader of the Opposition. This is what he said in this article:

"Even after the new delimitations there were a number of marginal seats, no fewer than 20 in the Transvaal alone, which the United Party claimed it could win. Sir de Villiers Graaff calculated that it would take only a swing of 5 per cent to ensure a victory for the United Party. Power, therefore, was not yet beyond his grasp."

In other words, delimitation or no delimitations, the United Party, Sir de Villiers Graaff himself said, had a chance to win. There had to be a swing of only 5 per cent to his side, so thinly spread were the majorities of the Nationalists. Then he says:

"The salient fact about the election is that it failed to produce the 5 per cent swing in favour of the United Party. The swing, in fact, went the other way."

And then he says something which the Leader of the Opposition should really take to heart in the light of his speech to-day. It is this:

"The United Party assumed . . ."

As it assumes again to-day with its motion of no-confidence:

"... that current economic discontents, especially in urban constituencies, would produce a swing against the Government. This was a serious miscalculation. The United Party made every effort to introduce other issues into the conflict: The cost of living, high taxation, grievances of public servants and railwaymen; schools segregation — but all in vain."

He further says:

"Mr. Strijdom in his election message made it clear that his party was fighting the election on one issue alone — apartheid versus integration. He tried to dramatise the election as a clash between ideological opposites."

Then he criticizes the whole system and comes to the conclusion that the United Party should not shelter, as it did previously behind the allegation that the liberalists had lost the election for them. He says:

"They were blameless . . . They were kept off the public platform and concealed from view as if they were a guilty secret. They had no influence on policy and were not allowed to expound it in the written or the spoken word. The making and the expounding of policies were the exclusive prerogative of a handful of right-wing politicians . . ."

And then the Leader of the Opposition still talks about cliques! "... who were supposed to be well versed in the art of political seduction; it is under their inspired leadership that the United Party has lurched from blunder to failure and from failure to disaster."

He then proceeds to give them his advice:

"I do not see how the United Party can offer any serious resistance to the Government."

Hon. members should not rejoice at what follows now. I will deal with it in a moment. He then goes on to say:

"... it can never cross swords with the Government on any basic issue of colour. On the other hand, if the United Party were to renounce the doctrine of White supremacy and stand for a progressive policy in genuine opposition to apartheid, it would lose the great bulk of its followers and probably cease to exist as a party.

In other words, that ex-member tells those hon. members: whether you accept the policy of White supremacy or whether you reject it and go in the opposite direction, you do not have the confidence of the electorate. It is a friend of the United Party and its own newspaper who say this.

Then another person, Patrick van Rensburg, to whom at one time they gave such a hearty welcome as a good supporter, also wrote in the *Rand Daily Mail* on 5 May, 1958, and this is *inter alia* what he said. I want to remind hon. members that I am now busy proving that they do not have the confidence of the public and that it is their own people who say these things.

This friend of theirs also makes a statement in regard to the public reaction at the election. He says:

"For the third successive time at a general election the Nation-

alists have been returned to power and the United Party defeated. Their defeat is, on this occasion, more decisive than ever."

And yet the Leader of the Opposition dares to move a motion of no-confidence!

"Although it was said before the elections that the Nationalists had spread their majorities very thinly over a wider area . . ."

That is what the United Party supporters themselves say—

"... by their delimitation proposals, they actually increased their majorities and, in most cases, even their minority vote in the seats they lost."

Then he refers to the "cold comfort" for the United Party when they say that they polled more votes, and when they blame the system. He says this:

"That is the result of a system we have had for 48 years, and the United Party never saw fit to change it in the 'good old days'."

It is therefore unnecessary to look for other reasons for this defeat. Justice is inherent in the system; the victory was obtained under the system under which the United Party previously was victorious and are continually losing now because they have lost the confidence of the public. Patrick van Rensburg goes on to say this. He mentions the differences in the United Party itself, as well as the division and the ambiguous attitude adopted by the United Party as the reason for the lack of confidence on the part of the public. That is the main reason why the public has no confidence in it. He says:

"The two elements remain together in the same party compromising their differing beliefs. As each of the last two general elections have approached, the conservatives have called the tune and the party's policy has become in consequence, increasingly in favour of White supremacy. But all to no avail."

In other words, here is another person also telling them very clearly that they are not trusted. He continues:

"The United Party keeps alive . . ."

And I mention this criticism as an appropriate comment in regard to what the Leader of the Opposition did in his speech to-day:

"The United Party keeps alive by feeding an anti-Nationalist and anti-republican sentiment, and these things can sustain it for just so long."

That is what he has done to-day. He exploited an antipathy but

did not come forward with anything positive. His followers after the election said that that was the reason why they lost the confidence of the public and he actually tries it again to-day! The writer further says what will happen if the United Party eventually accepts the guidance of its Dr. Steytler, etc.:

"Perhaps when the true issues are put clearly and without confusion, a great part of the electorate will choose 'reaction' . . ."

That is how he describes our policy. In other words, if they stop this imitation of the Nationalists, they will land in another difficulty; they will lose even more support because then those people who at the moment are in their ranks through bluff will no longer be bluffed. He therefore says:

"...and a small part only will choose a multi-racial ideal."

Now hon. members should note that the Leader of the Opposition to-day again pleaded for that multi-racial ideal — a multi-racial state, a multi-racial society, and eventually multi-racial representation in this Parliament. This person says that a small section of the voters are prepared to accept a multi-racial policy. This is what the friends of the United Party say.

I agree that a very small section of the public of South Africa prefers a multi-racial ideal. By far the greater proportion of the public, of the National and of the United Parties, are opposed to a multi-racial ideal. I therefore want to point out that when these hon. members are so bold as to base their motion of no-confidence on what the electorate is supposed to be thinking, then the result of the election as well as the subsequent post-mortems in their own ranks is the clearest proof that it must be accepted that the electorate has confidence in the National Party — even persons who voted for the United Party — and that the electorate have no confidence in the United Party as a possible alternative Government.

I further want to point out that such a motion of no-confidence is ridiculous, particularly if the party introducing it is not even united; if inside that party itself there are differences in regard to policy and a lack of faith. I again want to quote a few examples to prove that there are these differences within the ranks of that party itself. Because that is the second test. Can a party expect to have the confidence of the electorate if they are divided amongst themselves? Of course not. In the first place, I take as an example what occurred recently in Johannesburg. There was a sharp difference of opinion within the United Party caucus of the City Council

of Johannesburg. It was a clash resulting at one stage in the United Party contemplating withdrawing from the City Council and to cease serving in the Council as the United Party. That was temporarily prevented by their leaders in the parliamentary party, after these clashes had become so bitter that the people who came into conflict with the United Party — businessmen supporting the United Party who realized how the running of Johannesburg was being ruined by the United Party — wanted to take that step. I have the report in the *Raid Daily Mail* of January 13, 1959, in which it is stated very plainly:

“If the United Party withdraws from the Council, it will not be before the next municipal elections in 1960.”

In other words, they should not now tell us that they have decided not to withdraw. I know that they decided not to do it. Possibly it is a bluff; I do not know. What, however, is certain is that there was a violent conflict within their own ranks there. That is important to my argument. Reference is made to “this group”, which is the business group of the United Party members.

This group was accused of securing seats in the Council on an official United Party “ticket” and of disregarding its policy once elected. These councillors have also been criticized for taking no active interest in party affairs. Nor have they given any time to party activities, it is said.

The business group failed to gain control of the Council. But it has been active in promoting Government plans for the running of Johannesburg.

Therefore, those United Party members trust the National Party’s policy in Johannesburg. It has thus embarrassed the Official United Party opposition in Parliament.

Here we have one example of the differences existing within the United Party, and it is serious enough.

Then there was an article by Owen Vine in the *Rand Daily Mail* of January 22, a few days ago, in which he states how the United Party has been faced with a new situation. This is what he says:

“To put it crisply, the party’s colour policy is out of date. The centre of gravity of political development in Africa has shifted smartly away from conservatism during the past year, especially during the past four months, and what could previously be represented by the United Party as a middle-of-the-road policy is no such thing by to-day’s standards. ‘White leadership with justice’ will no longer do.

I agree that the policy indicated in terms of that concept has no value to South Africa. It will not receive the support of a single liberal in Europe. It will not receive the support of a single Black nationalist in Africa. In other words, it constitutes one of the greatest possible dangers to peace and to a sound Africa policy. It is one of the most dangerous policies if thereby it is intended to get the support of Europe behind us, because they do not accept that it is 'White leadership with justice'. To them it is just another form of discrimination. That is why I say that I certainly reject it." Vine goes further and says:

"It used to be said that the United Party would be better off if it shed its liberals. There was a point in this a year ago; now the need is for the party to shed its conservatives."

I want to mention other examples, one of which appeared in the *Cape Argus*. The United Party cannot repudiate all its friends and therefore I must quote more than one person so that they do not have only one to repudiate. This example is taken from the *Cape Argus* of January 13, 1959. It is an article written by "Backbencher". Where does he sit? I do not know. However, it is a backbencher on their side, and one of them must find out who it is who writes about them in this way. He says that Sir de Villiers Graaff will have to adopt a standpoint in regard to a question which will probably be put to him, namely whether he will bind any future United Party administration to repeal a Bill putting the Bantu on the road to self-government in his own territories and thereby eliminating the White representation of Natives in the Union Parliament, and furthermore whether he will promise that he will ensure that the Natives will be able to send their fellow Natives to Parliament as members of this House and of the Senate. He says that this question will be put to the Leader of the Opposition by the Nationalists, but it is clear to me that he doubts whether the Leader of the Opposition will reply to that question. I am prepared to put that question to him now, and he can deal with it when he replies. I do not expect an immediate reply because it will be beyond him to reply to it immediately. But this "Backbencher", someone who in the meantime can assist him in his caucus in drafting the replies, also says:

"Sooner or later some drastic concession has to be made to satisfy the reasonable yearning of the non-Europeans for a say in the affairs of the government of the nation."

In other words, he says that if the United Party adopts the

standpoint of one multi-racial nation, a concession will have to be made in this direction. He goes further and says:

"Surely the time has come for the United Party to think more boldly and proclaim bold politics."

He has so little confidence in his own party that he says "You must become braver" and continues:

"Some people, appalled at the way of Nationalism, complain that they can find no political repose in the United Party because the party thinks too timidly and seems afraid to announce progressive policies to solve pressing problems."

He concludes by saying:

"It is the party's duty to lead these people, not trot timidly at the heels of the most conservative elements among the ranks of the non-Nationalists."

We have never previously had a more serious indictment of no confidence in a party by a member of its own ranks. It was published by the *Cape Argus* on the 13th instant on its leading article page in its regular column by "Backbencher".

Hon. members are obviously becoming nervous. But I still want to refer them to the *Rand Daily Mail* of the 16th instant to something written by their columnist, Aubrey Sussens. Are they going to repudiate him also? He paints a picture of what will happen and says:

"A number of United Party M.P.s are going to Parliament this session determined to settle once and for all the question of the party's colour policy. Although all members of the party accept the broad programme of principles, there is a noticeable difference in the way in which it is interpreted — and put over in public — by members of the two main schools of thought . . . Feeling between the two wings has not been particularly amiable since the election and many people expected that it would show in the short session last year. It did not, but it is no secret that many discussions — sometimes heated — took place behind closed doors. These will be resumed this year and the United Party's caucus meetings at the beginning of the session are likely to be long and lively."

Then follow a few conjectures as to the liberal tendencies of Dr. Jan Steytler and the conservative tendencies of Mr. Jack Connan and a few conjectures about Dr. de Beer, the hon. member for Maitland, who originally had the reputation of being a liberal and then evidently became conservative, but who has now again returned to the fold. The article then concludes as follows:

"A showdown seems likely, but many in the party are hoping to postpone it until after the Provincial elections. One or two at least of the younger M.P.'s now on their way to Cape Town are determined to prevent a postponement."

Now I again ask hon. members: These are interpretations of the spirit prevalent in that party by members of that party. If that is the spirit, what hope has that party of gaining the confidence of the public? What right has it then to talk of a lack of confidence in the present Government, where solid unity is to be found in contrast with the United Party which now sits there dumb, notwithstanding the malicious insinuations of the Leader of the Opposition in his introductory remarks?

I further want to point out that not only have the voters shown by the way they voted that they have confidence in the National Party and revealed no confidence in the United Party; that not only have quite a few members of the United Party revealed how little confidence they have in their own party and its policy, but that the Leader of the Opposition through the phraseology of his motion himself showed how little confidence he has in the electorate of South Africa. He tried to get away from it in his speech to-day, but not in the drafting of his motion, because the motion was introduced quite early. The Leader of the Opposition in fact did not claim that the voters have no confidence in the Government, but he claimed that the people of South Africa had no confidence. What does he mean by that? What does the Leader of the Opposition mean when he says that "the people of South Africa have no confidence?"

Sir DE VILLIERS GRAAFF: The electorate.

The PRIME MINISTER: The hon. the Leader of the Opposition has evidently run away from the meaning of his motion after seeing the comment in the National Party Press.

Sir DE VILLIERS GRAAFF: Why did they not have the courage to come and ask me?

The PRIME MINISTER: I do not believe that the Leader of the Opposition is stupid, and he must appreciate the meaning of words. A motion submitted to this House is in any case scrutinized by all the members of his caucus, and a motion like this is not moved without every single word having been weighed. The wording of this motion is so significant because the word "people" is used. Originally it could have had no other meaning and it will not and cannot be interpreted by us, nor by the public, in any other way than meaning that the Leader of the Opposition wanted to say that White and non-White — the Coloured, the Indian and the Native

— are the people on whose co-operation and assistance he relies in moving a motion of no confidence in this Government.

Sir DE VILLIERS GRAAFF: A scandalous allegation!

The PRIME MINISTER: Even though the hon. member says that it is a scandalous allegation, I do not hesitate for a moment to repeat that if these words have any meaning, and if the party opposite considered his motion thoroughly, the motion can mean nothing else but that he wants to inspan the people of the country against the National Party, and not only the electorate.

I am going to argue on that basis . . .

Sir DE VILLIERS GRAAFF: Now that you know what the intention was!

The PRIME MINISTER: But it can have no other meaning. Does the hon. the Leader of the Opposition really want to tell me that he inserted the word "people" (which is unusual in this regard) instead of "voters" in his motion by accident, or does he want to tell me that the word "people" means "voters"? If, however, he says that he has made an unfortunate mistake that is something else, but if he tells me that in the Union that word means the "voters", I must argue that it does not mean that. However, if the Leader of the Opposition wants to apologize to the House for having made such a mistake, I am naturally prepared to leave this argument. If the Leader of the Opposition after having received instructions from his Whip, is now able to reply to me on this point, I shall be very glad. I say that "people" does not mean "voters" here.

The motion in its present form is embarrassing to the United Party because it sought assistance and support from people other than the voters at whose hands it suffered defeat, as I have already shown. Now why do they suddenly want to run away from it? But seeing that the Leader of the Opposition is so seriously concerned that this interpretation should not be given to his motion, I want to put another question to him: Why, if he believes that we have here a multi-racial society with one common fatherland — a country in which he believes that to an increasing extent rights should be given to the non-Whites also in this Parliament — the House of Assembly and the Senate — if he believes in such a multi-racial society, why is he suddenly not prepared to seek the support of that multi-racial society? Is he again publicly following the road of the conservatives shortly before an election by pretending to be more national than the Nationalists, whereas whilst framing this motion in his caucus he followed the road of the Liberals? Is this compromise motion between the two sections of his party such a

source of concern to him that he now does not know which way to turn? He must either choose the Nationalist course which says: "We are not a multi-racial society and we must not have representation together with the Bantu in the same Parliament; we must find another way out, namely that of segregation in the political sphere," or he must choose the policy that they will co-operate to an ever-increasing extent. And if he has chosen the second path, as his party has chosen, he surely should not be ashamed of seeking the support of the whole of the people, even though we find that it embarrasses him. By his denial the hon. the Leader of the Opposition has now landed deeper in the morass of confusion than ever before.

In so far as he originally wanted to claim that he had the support of the majority of the people behind him, I want to ask what right he had to say that? The people of the country must embrace the various groups of Whites as well as the non-Whites. Where did the non-White section of the people give him any indication that they believed in him or in the policy of his party? Let us take the Bantu population as they are the biggest section of the population. The masses of the Bantu population are not concerned with political matters. They express no opinion as between the National and the United Party. If there is anything they prefer in that respect it is, as far as one can ascertain, that they want to be left alone i.e. to develop separately. That is also the tendency in Africa. It was even the tendency in Basutoland, to have their own government by their own people and without any Whites. If the masses desire anything, it certainly is not a mixed form of government. The hon. the Leader of the Opposition is, however, possibly relying on the support of the small group of agitators, the A.N.C. etc. But those groups are no longer satisfied with the so-called policy of "leadership with justice". Eventually they will only be satisfied, as in Nyasaland and Kenya and other territories, with the most general common voters' roll. We see that in the Federation also. The aim of all people of that type is to dominate the country themselves — not "White domination with justice" but Black domination at any price. They will not support the Leader of the Opposition. If he relies on these Bantu to support his motion that the "people have no confidence" in the Government, he is deluding himself. The hon. the Opposition Leader should reconsider the matter. It is only wishful thinking which could have given him the impression that his motion of no-confidence is based on wider support than he really has.

Up to now I have been trying to set a certain test for the justifi-

cation of such a motion of no-confidence, and that test was whether the electorate supports it; whether their actions at the polls prove that they support it. I have proved, in the light of the confessions of some of his own followers and his Press, that this is not the case. Again I ask whether a party which is divided in itself can be regarded as an alternative government, and whether it has the right in any case, so soon after an election, to allege that there is no confidence in a strong unified party? I have pointed out that there is so much division in his own ranks that he cannot even claim that they have confidence in him. Finally, I have pointed out that the people on whom he wishes to rely have given no indication that he can depend on them.

I now want to go on to prove that also in regard to the important problems in our country the United Party has no right to claim confidence, and consequently to say there is lack of confidence in the Government. On the contrary, the Government still rightly enjoys the confidence of the electorate and will be able to retain that confidence. Therefore the United Party is adopting quite a wrong standpoint today.

In view of the fact that the hon. the Leader of the Opposition has laid so much emphasis on it, I want to pause for a moment to deal with certain striking differences with regard to our big problems. The United Party adopts an ambiguous and evasive attitude in regard to practically every problem. It always acts negatively. It knows how to criticize us, to vilify and to scold us, but does not know what alternative to put in the place of our policy. On the contrary, the characteristic of the Government party, the National Party, is that on all matters it adopts an honest, clear and definite standpoint, and its standpoint is positive. It knows what it wants and it follows a definite course.

Let me commence with the economic sphere. In this sphere the United Party ostensibly come along with a standpoint of its own, but if one examines it carefully it again consists of nothing but accusations and vague generalities. The United Party has attacked us in various ways at various times, as they have again done to-day, and have accused us of ruining the economy of the country. In the final result the test whether it is true that through our Native policy, as he alleged to-day, or through our economic policy we have really harmed the country, is a test which should be answered by what has happened in practice, and not by vague accusations and a play on words. I do not think the hon. member referred to it to-day, but just recently his Press alleged that the Viljoen Report in regard to industrial protection has proved that we as a Govern-

ment are not prepared to face the economic problems frankly. That, of course, is not true; that is exactly what the Viljoen Report does not say. But because such reports have been appearing in the Opposition Press I think I should just quote a brief extract to show what the report really says about us. On page 67, in para. 523, the Viljoen Report — the report which according to their Press proves that the Government's economic policy is wrong — says this:

"It has an enterprising White population, a large and elastic supply of non-White labour, and a stable Government which favours the maintenance of an economy based on free enterprise."

I cannot conceive of a better testimonial for any government coming from businessmen. The fact that we have a stable Government is the basis on which businessmen decide in regard to their investments; that is also the position abroad. It is on that basis that world bankers grant loans to South Africa — the belief in the stability of the government of a country. Now that same Viljoen Report, which the United Party wants to use as a means of propaganda against the Government, says that there is a stable government in South Africa which can be trusted.

I, however, want to point out further to hon. members that if they want to test the success or otherwise of the Government with reference to the opinions of foreigners who do not speak with political motives but speak in terms of business prospects, they will find that the Government is continuously being supported in its statement that a sound economic position prevails and that further development may be expected in future. This very point I have just mentioned was stressed in the *Cape Argus* on the 15th instant and in the *Cape Argus* of the 23rd instant. They refer with approval to the findings of the Research Bureau of the University of Stellenbosch, a bureau which carefully analyses the data obtained from business undertakings. The *Cape Argus* published that article under the headline: "Green Light for Industry in South Africa." On the basis of the analysis of a group of business undertakings they say that 50 per cent higher production could be reported at the end of the past year than in the last quarter of 1957. It is said that the analysis indicates that only one industrialist out of every five showed a decrease in production and that according to indications both the production and the sales for the first quarter of 1959 would be higher than in the first quarter of 1958. In other words, it is a very interesting opinion, which does not bear out the economic retrogression which the Leader of the Opposition referred to; it indicates progress. I can read further quotations, for example,

from the *Pretoria News* of January 9, in which there is reference to the report of the Standard Bank for January and in which the following statement appears:

"Although 1958 was a difficult year for many sections of the Union's economy, available reports indicated that the general rate of output by manufacturing industry was maintained at the previous year's level and that in some instances small gains were recorded.

This was indeed an achievement if it was borne in mind that the Union's principal adjacent market for manufactured goods, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, had been compelled to limit consumer spending in order to counter the adverse effects of the decline in her primary produce prices.

Domestic sales were also well maintained in 1958, despite many testing difficulties of salesmanship."

A very favourable report also in this instance. I want to mention the opinion expressed by a Frenchman who visited the Union at the end of last year, M. Anduze-Faris, chairman of the oldest French shipping company, who said that he was astounded at the development and progress in the Union. Or else I can take the example of the banker, Dr. J. Keuning, who was here towards the end of 1957 and who said that South Africa stands out like an oasis in the world. I can also refer to the general impression of overseas bankers who visited South Africa and all of whom referred to the sound economic position of our country. There is, e.g., also the president of the Footwear Manufacturers' Federation of South Africa in Port Elizabeth, who recently was reported to have said the following:

"Confidence that industry would be stronger after the present shake-out was expressed by Mr. H. A. Kendall."

Or should I refer to what Mr. Harry Oppenheimer said, viz. that South Africa is a good political risk? I can quote from the *Sunday Times* of the 16th January, 1959 where the correspondent comes to the conclusion that from various reports it appears that "South Africa can with little support from overseas successfully finance the expansion necessary to advance the national income sufficiently to enable the increasing population to maintain present standards of living". I can refer to a number of Afrikaans businessmen who at the beginning of the new year expressed the optimistic expectations they have in regard to the year that lies ahead.

I could go on quoting one favourable testimonial after the other. However, I just want to point out that this progress has taken place

in South Africa despite the difficult times we are experiencing. Year after year, throughout the boom period, throughout the difficult period, and now again at the beginning of the economic revival, the United Party has persisted in its attempts to disparage South Africa's economic prospects. For that reason I allege that the speech by the hon. the Leader of the Opposition to-day was also aimed at creating fear in this sphere, but it will not have this effect, because the businessmen are not influenced by his speeches but merely by the actual economic position.

I want to return for a moment to the Viljoen Report because it has been said that we are running away from that report, that the Government is not prepared to give attention to that report, whereas it is well known that the Government does in fact support the main principles contained in it. I want to outline these principles briefly in an attempt to counteract the effect of the speech of the hon. the Leader of the Opposition by giving the business world clear assurances as to the attitude of the Government. The Government endorses and supports the main principles of the report — firstly, that industries should be encouraged in South Africa; secondly, that tariff protection is one of the means by which such encouragement can be given; and thirdly that the protection must obviously be on a selective basis. (The latter means that the protection should only be afforded to those industries which show signs of virility and those which genuinely require assistance in their development.) Fourthly, it is stated that this protection must be effective; it is of no avail affording protection which is ineffective.

Differences of opinion can arise in deciding which industries should be selected for protection. Various Departments are also undertaking investigations into many of the particular principles enunciated in the report, such as those affecting transport, the taxation system and labour. I am not committing the Government at this stage in respect of such details because we have to await the result of the work of the Departments. But on behalf of the Government I now give, as a carefully considered policy, bearing in mind my previous remarks as to details, the assurance requested by the Viljoen Commission itself which described it as a prerequisite for any progress, namely, the assurance to which reference is made in paragraph 511 on page 62 where the Commission deals with the need for giving a certain assurance to the country. I quote:

“The Government has in the past clearly enunciated the policy that it will extend adequate protection to secondary industry in

this country, provided that it is organized on an efficient and competitive basis. There is no evidence that general protection accorded to secondary industry up to the present has been inadequate to promote a satisfactory industrial development in this country. The Union has, however, enjoyed almost uninterrupted conditions of prosperity since the early 'thirties and it would seem to the Commission, now that the post-war boom has spent its force, that import control has been substantially relaxed, and that conditions of intense international competition have been resumed, that there is need for a positive assurance from the Government that it will apply the policy set out in this report, designed to afford protection which, while on a selective basis, will be adequate to the possibly changing circumstances of the future."

I have now most explicitly expressed our support for these four basic principles so that there can no longer be any doubt.

In discussing the economic position the hon. the Leader of the Opposition has referred to the policy of decentralizing industries to the borders of the Native areas. He stated that this was an impossible, uneconomic and incorrect policy. He prefers the policy whereby industries are allowed to develop in certain central points, no matter how many Natives they attract and no matter what expense and problems they cause the country.

By this time he should know that they cause tremendous social and other problems. I now just want to point out that, unlike the impression created in the Press, the Viljoen Report does not adopt that attitude and does not condemn the decentralization of industries. On the contrary, when one refers to page 35 one finds it reads as follows, and I am quoting it deliberately because the Press has misused this report. Paragraph 281 reads as follows:

"The decentralization of secondary industry and the encouragement of the favourable location of industries that are dependent for their labour on a large proportion of Native employees, and particularly textile and allied industries that are faced by competition from lower waged countries, could help to solve the problem of the shortage of skilled labour. In the present main areas industries could continue to make use predominantly of European labour, supplemented by non-European employees, whereas in areas closer to the reserves non-Europeans could be trained to do most of the work."

In other words, this is the most emphatic support of the Government's policy which one can expect from a responsible Commission. In paragraphs 451 to 453 on page 57, the report once again

emphasizes other aspects of this matter. It is true that in paragraph 456 certain disadvantages are mentioned, but in paragraph 459 the report indicates how those disadvantages can be overcome to implement this policy which the Leader of the Opposition tried to condemn to-day. In other words, the Leader of the Opposition is not even correct in assuming that he has the support of responsible research workers in launching attacks in this field as he has done to-day.

An hon. member has interrupted me and asked about immigration. The Viljoen Report emphasizes that immigration is or can be of great importance to South Africa, but here again I want to compare the motives of the United Party with those of the National Party to show which party has a constructive policy in which confidence can be placed. What was the attitude of the United Party? It was to allow immigrants to enter the country, the good and the bad.

The United Party said we should simply take a chance, let everyone come. It went a step further and members said the immigrants should come to plough National Afrikanerdom under.

The United Party's policy is to allow anyone to enter, no matter in what numbers, even with the aim of ploughing under National Afrikanerdom, and it did not concern itself about the economic consequences. I now say with the utmost emphasis that an immigration policy applied in that way could have done South Africa nothing but harm. But I go further and say that while the policy of the National Party was to bring in skilled immigrants and persons who could be an asset to the country by virtue of their capital, the country could not absorb large-scale immigration at that stage. That I think was quite right because the solution to a few extremely important problems had first to reach a certain stage before large-scale immigration could be undertaken. The first was the colour problem itself. It is impossible for a country like South Africa to absorb on a large scale immigrants who come from countries which do not understand the colour problems of South Africa, who could aggravate our difficulties on their arrival here. Even though we had to sacrifice a certain measure of economic prosperity, we had to do it for the sake of the maintenance of White South Africa in which we believe. This does not mean that this state of affairs will continue permanently. The National Party has deliberately striven to make such progress towards solving the colour problem in the shortest possible time that the time can soon come when no party which comes into power can or will wish to reverse the process. I say with the utmost assurance that in my

opinion we are now very near the stage where we can think of immigration on a greater scale. I think that in particular certain legislation which will be introduced during this Session, *inter alia*, that legislation to which the hon. member is so strongly opposed, will increase the possibility still further because once we set out on that road we shall move forward rapidly and the United Party will not find it easy to force us back again. My first point is therefore that the National Party was correct in not allowing large-scale immigration before it had the assurance that immigrants could not through lack of experience undermine its colour policy.

But there is a second reason which is also of great importance, namely that a country cannot absorb immigrants on a large scale if it does not have a homogeneous people to absorb those immigrants. Otherwise immigration becomes a source of friction instead of helping the country and increasing its prosperity. If immigrants come to South Africa and on the one hand there is a group — let us say an imperialistic group — who want to recruit these people to plough under another section of the population, and on the other hand there is another section who say they want to receive immigrants in order to make them national in the narrower sense of the word as soon as possible, then there are two conflicting population groups both of whom are trying to absorb these immigrants for their own purposes. I say that under those circumstances this country cannot receive immigrants without doing great harm to them and to its own national unity. The constituent parts of the nation must first unite themselves to such an extent that all immigrants who come to the country are absorbed by the united nation as happens in the United States. I want to state most clearly that the National Party appreciates this, and that this is one of the reasons why I am becoming anxious that a republic should be established. Only when there is one State to which everyone owes allegiance, and in which the mutual differences are based on other grounds than the existence of one nation with one fatherland and loyalty, only then will the nation and the country be in a position to receive immigrants on a large scale and to absorb them. In that event the whole nation absorbs them. I therefore emphasize that if hon. members are genuinely serious in their desire to have immigration — and I am also in favour of it; I believe that in order to keep South Africa White it is important that we should receive immigrants on a large scale — and if they are genuinely serious about achieving national unity, then let them give us their support in this constitutional sphere. Then they may find that what they desire will come about more rapidly.

That immediately brings me to the point to which the hon. member has referred in discussing the establishment of a republic. He has said that he warns us that we should not force a republic upon one section of the population and think that by so doing we shall achieve national unity. But the Leader of the Opposition has forgotten something. He has forgotten that ever since General Hertzog's time this same type of threat of lack of later co-operation has often been levelled at the National Party every time it has taken a step forward in the constitutional sphere. Every time we wanted to take a step forward we were warned about the disunity we would cause and the disaster which would follow. However, every time such a constitutional step has been taken it has led to greater co-operation and unity, and hon. members opposite have on occasions even alleged in public that they were responsible for this development, that they co-operated and actually took the initiative so that we really only stole the policy from them. I do not doubt, just as has happened in Ireland, that once the republic has been established and the Opposition have seen how the democratic principles are maintained, how the languages are treated fairly and how none of their fears are realized in any respect, they will become supporters of the republic, just as they have eventually accepted each forward step we have taken. The hon. member therefore does not frighten me with that threat. I want to tell him that I also have my ear to the ground and that I have had discussions in many places with members of his party about the republic and that I am convinced that there will be no rebellious element in the republic such as he imagines there will be. I am convinced that if a republic is established it will have a good effect. A republic is necessary for various reasons. The question of immigration has already been mentioned. There is also the colour problem. Why do we have the continuous bickering over the colour problem while many of the United Party supporters agree with us? Why do they not vote for us? Why do they not co-operate with us? It is because they have become frightened by the propaganda of the United Party. We shall only achieve national unity on such a problem when we are rid of this bone of contention. I go further and say that the republic will bring peace in South Africa, not only peace between us but also peace as regards the suspicion being spread abroad.

Hon. members should not tell me that they doubt this. If they had any genuine doubts, they would not hesitate to remove from their Constitution the republican clause which gives their members the right to make propaganda for a republic. They are not prepared to do it. Furthermore they were too afraid publicly to discuss a

republic at their congresses. The hon. the Leader of the Opposition says they discussed it fully. However, it was discussed behind closed doors! Their Free State Congress at any rate was adjourned as soon as possible because this full discussion caused them so much difficulty. The Natal Congress took a resolution opposing a republic, but they had to adjourn the Free State Congress as soon as possible. They voted on the matter at the Transvaal Congress behind closed doors as well, and despite all the pressure exercised, certain Afrikaans and English members voted for it. In the Cape Province they also discussed the matter and everyone voted, but against what? Unless all the United Party newspapers are telling lies, they did not vote against a republic, as they are saying, but against a republic "established by the National Party". In other words, they left an opening for their republicans to continue believing that they can in fact be in favour of a republic which the United Party will perhaps establish one day. They did not have the courage to take a specific resolution opposing a republic under all circumstances, no matter who establishes it. It was expressly worded in this way as a compromise proposal: Reject a republic established by the National Party! Therefore the United Party knows in its own heart that it is not united on the question of the republic. But I will tell them something else. They dare not remove that republican clause, not only because of the republicans in their own ranks, but they dare not remove it because they know that if they want to return to power they must recruit republicans by making them suspicious in regard to other matters but that they dare not differ on this point. Otherwise they will never be able to come into power because all Nationalists are equivocally republicans. That is why the United Party do not want to drop the clause. I once again ask the Leader of the Opposition whether he will remove that clause and by so doing bring about clarity in the situation. He remains silent.

As against this attitude of the United Party the National Party states quite unequivocally that it wants a republic as soon as it is practically possible. I have also stated the conditions quite clearly. No one has said that we shall decide at a later stage what will constitute sufficient votes; perhaps even a minority of the votes. I have stated clearly that I endorse what has been stated by my predecessors: That a majority of the White voters will have to be in favour of the republic at a proper poll. By what method they will vote, whether by a referendum, an election or some other method, is of no importance. That will be decided in the light of the circumstances prevailing at the time when the matter is put to the

people. However, the White voters of South Africa will exercise a specific choice. I have added something further to that. Because the United Party as usual has tried to interpret the contention of my predecessors, in a certain way, namely that a large majority or a two-thirds majority or a three-quarters majority will be necessary, I have stated specifically that I consider that a simple majority will be sufficient, provided the Government of the day is convinced that it can establish a stable republic. This depends *inter alia* on the strength of the support it receives in Parliament as well as on the fact that the majority of the White voters support it. I reject outright all the arguments of hon. members to the effect that they are going to force us to obtain a two-thirds or a three-quarters majority. I repeat that under the circumstances I have just described a simple majority will in my opinion be sufficient.

I want to add something else. My further argument was that experience had taught us that many people would vote against the republic on that occasion as a result of the absolutely untrue propaganda concerning all the undesirable elements which we would introduce into the republican system of government. For that reason also I am convinced that the required majority need not be any greater because the concealed support will be far greater. I do not need to estimate and count it by some mysterious method or other. There is no "hocus-pocus" in this regard. I now state in advance that the majority we shall obtain will have to be a simple majority, but over and above that many people who will vote for the United Party will not actually in fact be opposed to a republic.

Furthermore, I have been challenged to say exactly what form that republic will take. In other words, the Leader of the Opposition challenges me to outline a constitution. I am not prepared to do that, for the simple reason that, as is the case with all matters embodied in legislation, what is put to the public is the principle and not the technical details. That principle can be put very clearly in this case. It must be a democratic republic. A further principle can be stated very clearly, namely that it must be a republic in which the rights of both languages will be maintained on an equal basis. Furthermore it must be made quite clear that we desire a republic which in regard to the colour problem will be organized on the basis of apartheid. I am therefore prepared to state various principles quite explicitly. But, if I am to judge by the hostile reaction of hon. members, it is clear that they are not genuinely seeking clarity. All they are doing is looking for points of criticism. They want something to get their teeth into and they will turn any point of view, which is honestly and genuinely meant, into a bone

of contention. I have just said that we want to preserve both the two languages on an absolutely equal basis in the new republic. What was the reaction of hon. members? Ridicule. Do hon. members think they will induce us to supply details of a constitution merely to give them an opportunity to attempt to cast doubt on our honesty when they cannot criticize the actual principle? If they cast doubt on my honesty when I say it will be a bilingual republic, they will oppose every point in that constitution by casting the same type of doubt on our sincerity. I therefore say that the White voters of South Africa will decide on the principle of such a republic. That is what is necessary and nothing more. I hope that I have been quite clear on this point because I now want to proceed to the final matter to which the Leader of the Opposition has referred, namely our colour policy.

The Leader of the Opposition has alleged that we are violating the 1936 Hertzog agreement, as he described it. Furthermore he maintained that we were doing an injustice to the Bantu of South Africa by depriving them of a type of representation in Parliament and by merely replacing that representation by minor local boards. He made the accusation that this was a breach of faith and an injustice. I now want to deal with that matter in this way. During the course of its history South Africa has developed a problem which has become more and more complicated. Gen. Hertzog dealt with this problem on the basis that the White man would always retain supremacy in this country and that he could give a certain permanent opportunity to the Bantu to submit his difficulties to Parliament through a very limited number of White representatives. One could describe this system as an extremely limited form of junior partnership. Gen. Hertzog regarded this as the conclusion of a period of development and as a final solution. But since 1936 tremendous changes have taken place amongst the Bantu themselves in our country. Throughout the world views as to the freedom and rights of people have changed and there have been tremendous developments in Africa as regards the granting of independence to States which originally had been under the guardianship of other States. We must give the situation in South Africa proper consideration in the light of these developments. Now it is of no avail the Leader of the Opposition saying that we should simply go on as we have in the past, abide by the Hertzog agreement of 1936, and only make occasional minor changes to create greater satisfaction. We must examine what the result of these developments will be in the light of developments in Africa and in the mind of the Bantu. That is why the United Party cannot

be trusted with the government of the country and why the National Party can be trusted. The United Party refuses to face that problem. They try to fob it off with words or by stating policies the consequences of which they refuse to accept. They require of us that we should state the consequences of our policy in the far-distant future, but refuse to face even the immediate consequences of their own policy.

I just want to add this in regard to the accusation of breach of faith. There have been members of the United Party, such as the hon. member for Constantia (Mr. Waterson), who have themselves said that the 1936 legislation has been a failure, that it has been made obsolete by later developments and that it should be changed. I now ask why it is not a breach of faith to the Whites of South Africa to change those constitutional arrangements so as to give increased representation to the non-Whites in the Parliament of South Africa, but it is a breach of faith when we replace that system with a completely new system by which the Bantu is given a far greater control over his own affairs? Why is it not a breach of faith when the system is changed in such a way that the Whites are given relatively less power in comparison with the non-Whites — greater power for the non-Whites — but when the White man is to be given full authority only in his own areas and the Bantu will acquire full authority elsewhere in the course of time, it is a breach of faith?

What did General Hertzog want to do? Under the circumstances existing in those times he wished to be fair to the Bantu. Where a limited number of them in only one of the provinces had the franchise on the common roll and it was taken from them, he wanted to replace that franchise with something which he hoped would be of greater value. If that was correct, why is it wrong when we want to take away something today which they were given at that time and which they themselves today regard as unsatisfactory, which other members of the United Party have described as unsatisfactory, and which is described abroad as unsatisfactory, in order to replace it with something positive which holds great possibilities of development for them? Why is it a breach of faith when we want to give them something better than the 1936 legislation? I am trying to visualize the great overall policy for South Africa and to compare it honestly with the policy of the United Party. South Africa is at the cross-roads: it must decide whether it is going to move in the direction of a multi-racial community with a common political society or whether it is going to establish total separation in the political sphere.

The United Party says it accepts a multi-racial community, but in that community it nevertheless wants to maintain "White leadership with justice". Its attitude is that it believes that the White man can retain control over the Government, the Cabinet and Parliament, but within that framework it wants to make all sorts of concessions to the non-Whites such as initially giving them a few more members in the Senate, or a reconstituted Senate, or certain types of guarantees in the Senate. United Party members have advanced all sorts of ideas as to how they want to grant the Bantu increased rights in Parliament. That is surely a fair description of the United Party's aims. I am not accusing the United Party of wanting to grant equality at once. I am not accusing it of wanting to have a common roll for everyone immediately with the consequential immediate domination by the Natives. I only say this: At the moment its policy is one of maintaining the leadership of the White man through discrimination, of hoping that he can always retain this leadership in this way and of only making minor concessions. As against that I say that that is a policy which it will be unable to maintain. It will be unable to maintain it because it must take into account the signs of the times. It is a type of partnership government which it is offering; perhaps the partners will have less powers than at the moment in Kenya, even less than at the moment in the Central African Federation, but nevertheless the Union will definitely be placed on the road of partnership by this policy. As a matter of fact, the British Government regards its conception of what it would like to see established as something which it also describes as partnership. They even regard the Basutoland Agreement, by which very small numbers of Whites have been absorbed together with a dominating number of Bantu into a Bantu Council, as a type of partnership with the Whites as a permanent junior partner. In the same way the United Party is moving along the road to partnership. But the Bantu of Africa do not want that. Certain Natives in Ghana are demanding that in South Africa the Bantu should all be given a vote on a common roll, even if it is only done gradually. In other words, equal rights is the demand being made in order eventually to dominate South Africa. If they are given equal rights on a common roll they will want to and will be able to dominate the whole of South Africa to an ever-increasing extent. That is the unavoidable and inevitable final result of that policy, as we have already said so often in the past. That is in brief the policy of the United Party. That is how the National Party sees it with all its dangers. For that reason we tell the

people of South Africa that we cannot govern without taking into account the tendencies in the world and in Africa. We must have regard to them. Our policy must take them into account. And we can only take them into account and safeguard the White man's control over our country if we move in the direction of separation — separation in the political sphere at any rate.

Dr. STEYTLER: Is it practicable?

The PRIME MINISTER: This question as to its practicability contains the old accusation of the United Party, and now as always I reject it. I believe that our policy, correctly understood, is practicable, and if the hon. member will listen to what I now want to say about the next stage, he will perhaps better understand this policy. In the case of Basutoland the United Party Press welcomed the fact that Britain allowed the Bantu people to move a certain stage forward in developing along their own lines. That is what it is and that is what hon. members opposite have praised. If Britain can establish something that the United Party describes as a Bantustan inside South Africa, and can do so with their blessing, and if their contention is that this development is inevitable and sound, why cannot the Union of South Africa, taking into account the ever-increasing desire for self-government which exists amongst the non-Whites, say: We are also taking steps to ensure that we adopt a policy by which we on the one hand can retain for the White man full control in his areas, but by which we are giving the Bantu as our wards every opportunity in their areas to move along a road of development by which they can progress in accordance with their ability. And if it should happen that in the future they progress to a very advanced level the people of those future times will have to consider in what further way their relationships must be reorganized. I myself have already clearly indicated one of the methods which I consider will then be practicable. I have said that I take as a comparison the British Commonwealth of Nations where the various constituent members of the Commonwealth are not represented in the mother parliament, but within which organization there are still links — economic and otherwise — by which co-operation is possible without a mixed parliament or government, whether of the country itself or of the federation, ever being established. I have gone much further in considering the future than the United Party has had the courage to do in considering the consequences of its plans because its members would otherwise have been obliged to admit honestly that the final result of their policy would be Native domination of all South Africa. I have adopted

this attitude: Development cannot be prevented but the lesser danger is for the White man at least to control his own areas and to live in friendship with the Native areas, either as their guardian or as neighbours who have common interests with them and who therefore follow his leadership, without the White and non-White sitting in one Parliament or in one government.

Our attitude is that matters have now reached the stage, and that development has now reached the stage where we can proceed to the next stage in our positive plan of development. If the United Party had not blinded not only themselves, but the world as well, to the intentions of the Bantu Authorities Act, they would have understood us better today and would not have sat and jeered as they are now trying to do. For a change they could also have tried to have a great vision. But South Africa does not expect much of them; it places its faith in the governing party alone. I now say this: So many Bantu authorities have already been established, and so many regional authorities have already been established — yes, in a few instances territorial authorities are already functioning — that there is no doubt that by the time the period of office of the Native Representatives expires, the territorial authorities will be in full operation in all the reserves. That will be the position, whether the development takes place on the basis of building up from the bottom as envisaged by the Bantu Authorities Act, or on the basis of a transition period, just as the Transkei itself preferred to establish a transition form of government rather than to wait for that stage when the final form would be established. In other words, our attitude is quite clear, namely that we shall soon reach the stage where the territorial authorities will be in operation, which is the stage at which both my predecessor and I myself have said will be the time for taking the next step, namely to establish a clearer separation in the political field than exists today. We must then remove from the Union Parliament the remnants of a type of partnership policy which was envisaged as being the solution in 1936, but which the intervening 22 years have shown is inadequate and cannot be developed any further. In its place we must give the Bantu an opportunity to manage their affairs in their own areas. Indeed we regard the territorial authorities as independent bodies in the first stage of development. There are a number of unpopular control methods which the guardian exercises at the moment only in order to guide them along that road, but which will lapse as they advance from one stage to another.

The hon. the Leader of the Opposition has said to-day that

there are certain matters in respect of which the guardian exercises control. I concede that there are matters over which the guardian retains control for the moment, but I have already said in introducing the Act that those methods of control will lapse in the course of time. I remind hon. members of the fact that precisely the same thing is happening in the case of Basutoland, about which they have been so full of praise. The High Commissioner there has a right of veto. The British Colonial Secretary holds certain powers of veto over their legislation and certain of their actions. Even in the case of the Federation, and particularly in the case of Nyasaland, Britain holds powers of a similar nature. There is nothing strange about the fact that here in South Africa the guardian in his attempts to uplift the Bantu groups who have been entrusted to his care must in various ways exercise supervision over them during the initial stage. When one studies the developments which have taken place in certain of the countries of Africa which have become independent, one asks the question whether it is not a pity that the guardian did not retain rather more control than he has. When we introduce this legislation I therefore ask hon. members in the interests of South Africa not to concentrate attention — as they are doing — on the apparently negative aspect by only discussing the abolition of the Native Representatives, and that alone. That is merely a subsidiary part of a supremely positive step towards placing the Natives on the road to self-government in their own areas. To be able to move along that road, it is inevitable that the other system should disappear. Otherwise they will be in continuous confusion as to where the future really lies.

If we allow the Native Representatives to remain in Parliament, whether in the House of Assembly, the Senate or the Provincial Councils, it will only result in confusion amongst the Natives and in the implementation of this policy. People then will not understand that it is the initial step along the road to separation. They will think, as the United Party wants the people to think, that on the one hand there will be local councils, and on the other hand representation in Parliament which can continually be increased. We must ensure that the outside world realizes, and that the Bantu realizes, that a new period is dawning, a period in which the White man will move away from discrimination against the Bantu as far as his own areas are concerned; that the White man is leading him through the first stage towards full development. Leadership with justice, I said just now, is really a method of discrimination. It is a method by which one says: I shall re-

main master for ever, I shall suppress the other race for ever, but I shall discriminate "justly". That is all the so-called leadership with justice means. But when one says: We are no longer going to give the Bantu representation in the White Parliament because that White Parliament after all is the governing body of the White man in his own areas, but the White man with his Parliament will carry out his duties of guardianship over the Bantu in the Bantu areas and will give them the opportunity to develop fully in those areas, everyone knows what the future possibilities are.

That is what the outside world praises when colonial powers give independence to territories. That is why England has been praised in regard to Basutoland. I therefore do not understand why we should be attacked in this respect. Surely the United Party is not going to persist in its accusations that we want to create Bantustans with consequent dangers to South Africa? After all they should then also criticize Britain because it has started with the creation of a Bantustan, a Bantustan of Basutoland, which they admit we will have to accept. If our neighbouring states are given greater independence under Britain's guardianship, why can there not be neighbouring states developing under our guardianship? But if development takes place, within the limits of the ability of the Bantu to govern himself, under our guardianship in our Native areas — and I think the same method of development should be adopted in the Protectorates — we shall ensure that the relationships of these neighbouring territories in the economic and other fields are properly organized so that everyone can live together on a friendly basis. After all, what is it that we are seeking in the first place in dealing with every problem of human relationships with which we are faced? Is it not friendship? When we say we want a republic, it is based on the principle of establishing closer ties of friendship with other countries. The United Party surely does not want to remain linked to Britain and have ties with Britain even though it militates against a section of the population entertaining a genuine feeling of friendship. What they desire with Britain is above all friendship, not ties. If the greatest measure of friendship can be achieved by both parties having their way, by the United Party having its way in that the bonds of friendship with Britain are strengthened and the National Party having its way in that the republic is established after which there will no longer be any suspicion attached to such bonds of friendship — then everyone will have what they want. The same applies in Africa as well.

In our dealings with the other countries of Africa, we are seeking friendship above all else. If we find we cannot gain this friendship in a certain way, let us say by establishing certain forms of diplomatic relations, but that we can gain this friendship by assisting one another in the scientific, economic and other fields, we should obviously adopt the policy by which the main objective, the gaining of friendship, can be achieved. The same applies to our own Bantu in South Africa. Friendship and good relations will not be achieved by giving them some say in Parliament through White representatives or even a few Native representatives. It will eventually result in a struggle between a majority of the one racial group and a minority of the other group. But that friendship can be achieved if the one group is allowed to develop towards exercising full control amongst its own people and the other group is allowed to acquire or retain full control amongst its own people. It is on that point which I wish to place all the emphasis: That our struggle is not in the first place destructive, but constructive. We want to build up a South Africa in which the Bantu and the White man can live next to one another as good neighbours and not as people who are continually quarrelling over supremacy.

When one considers the matter in this light, it is quite clear that the United Party cannot enjoy the confidence of the people; it merely criticizes, it merely jeers, it merely disparages, it tries to throw the spotlight on the negative aspect of every problem, it tries to incite the world against every positive plan and attempt by the National Party to solve national problems. By so doing it not only humiliates South Africa, but it could be the cause of the White man eventually banishing himself from South Africa. That is what the United Party is doing today. That is why I say: It is quite clear that this House cannot trust the United Party. They have no positive policy with regard to any of our problems; not with regard to immigration, nor a republic, nor Africa, nor the Protectorates, nor the apartheid policy within South Africa. That is why I maintain there is no alternative government. This House must therefore resolve that it has confidence in the governing party and in this party alone, and that the present Government is the only government which can serve the country.

**Address on the Occasion of the Opening of the Academic
Year at the University of Stellenbosch,
February 25, 1959**

It is customary at the University of Stellenbosch that the academic year be opened formally and that a prominent personality from outside the University or one of the staff members be asked to deliver an address. At the beginning of the academic year in 1929 Dr. Verwoerd, then a young lecturer at the University, gave the opening speech, the date being the 23rd February. On that occasion the intrepid young man caused a stir when, contrary to custom, he delivered a highly complicated argument without consulting a single note. In his opening address of 1959 Dr. Verwoerd not only refers to his former address but links up with it and builds thereon. With a few introductory remarks he succeeds, thirty years later, in recapitulating his former address more lucidly than the newspapers which originally reported his speech.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Rector, esteemed friends on the platform and below it.

I want to talk this morning about something which belongs to you. Two things belonging to you I want to link together. These are: the university and the future. The university is this place with which student and lecturer are so intimately connected that they actually constitute the university. The future is something which in the main belongs to the young people here in front of me. In forty years' time, in the year 2000, most of you here present will be about the equivalent of those who stand here talking. The university has to prepare you for that future.

While I say this, I want to call to mind that thirty years ago the opportunity of delivering an opening address of the university was entrusted to me. My subject then was (and I want to make it the premise of my address today): The University and Life. The basic thought I then proclaimed, was that the university with its monastic origin, its isolation from workaday life, no longer played the same part in modern times. The university and life had become one. If, in the university, the student was not brought closer to

that which would be of importance to him throughout his whole life, then the modern university had failed in its duty; I did emphasise, however, that the university had in fact become such. On the one hand it had acquired a connection with life because it had to prepare the student for a vocation. This was perhaps the most common-place part of its task; to prepare a person for the life-work from which he would obtain his income, thereby making it possible to ensure his subsistence and that of his family. The university, however, did not only provide a livelihood, but also a life service. A vocation meant much more than the means to care for one's own interests. In the first instance it created the opportunity of doing something for someone else, and ultimately doing something for one's own people, even though each person could lay only one little brick in the wall being built by the generation of which he formed part. Hence I emphasised that preparation for a vocation which was the university's one connection with the life of every student, at the same time also formed the connection of the university with the nation and the nation's growth. Thus, it would not only be a preparation for selfishness, but a preparation for sacrifice.

I emphasized too that the university was the body par excellence in the community which had to care not only for the reproduction of knowledge, but also for the expansion of knowledge. In the past the expansion of knowledge was seen as a theoretical task. Knowledge was not to be sought with a view to its usefulness, but theoretical knowledge was the goal and the world outside could then extract any practical value therefrom. This idea, of course, had already vanished from the universities of thirty years ago. The university had by then for a long time striven to obtain knowledge which was useful and not merely of theoretical interest. Research work was not only aimed at satisfying a yearning to know that which is mysterious, but also originated from a desire to be of service to one's fellow-man by discovering that which would be valuable or useful to him.

To which was added that, besides catering for the search after vocational knowledge and the search after helpful knowledge, the university which wanted to maintain a connection with life should undertake the moulding of the man himself. This was because to a large extent the leaders of the people, not only in the political and cultural sphere, but in every sphere of life, were usually found to proceed from the universities. The religious leaders were for instance, all partly products of the universities of the country. And if the leaders had to come from the universities, then the

university should be able to mould personalities and characters who would not only stand firm on principles but who could also express themselves forcefully by word and deed as an example to and for the edification of others.

The university's connection with life was, therefore, wide. It extended over all spheres. Its influence was to penetrate right into the spirit and mind of man. Thus (and I concluded with these words, if I remember correctly): if a university was great in the life of a nation, then the whole nation would become great. The measure of the success of the university was the success of the whole nation in whose life it played its part. If the university could not succeed in thinking sublimely, being great and moulding great men; if the university was not deeply rooted in the soil of its own nation; if it could not be distinctive as its national community was; then nothing could become of that nation.

On another university occasion recently I emphasised this latter point of view in another way. It constitutes the second premise of my observations today regarding "the University and the Future". To a nation not only the ordinary purposes of the university in fulfilling its daily task are of importance, but also the influence which it exercises on the mind of the students in retaining them for the nation. It is not only their training and character building, but also their attachment to the nation, their retention for the nation, which is of great value.

Before developing this thought a little further by looking back on our past, I first want to interpose and touch upon two matters. The one is that what I have just said regarding the significance of the university to us as a white nation will be equally true of their own universities to the Bantu population of South Africa. When own university institutions for the Bantu are established in their own areas it will also become evident that the different Bantu national communities will only obtain this real value of universities and university-trained persons if these institutions, lecturers and students emanate from their midst, if the institutions are built and the students study in their own communities and hence areas, and if they stay among their own people to serve them. Those who attack us in South Africa when we give to the Bantu population their own university institutions and thereby ensure that their leaders are not weaned away by going to the white universities and community as pupils, do not realise that it is the greatest service on earth that a guardian can render, namely to allow the nation and community under his care to retain its young savants and to let them become its leaders.

I also want to mention a second general aspect. It is the following. If one sees the university as so closely connected with life and the nation, then it must also be clear that, as usual, the privileges are accompanied by obligations. When the "freedom of the university" which has to be unrestricted, is so lightly spoken of, then sufficient thought is not given to the fact that the university privileges always impose university obligations and that any duty is restrictive. It especially restricts the kind of freedom which would tend to licentiousness. Any endeavour on the part of a university for a liberty greater than its duty, and especially its national duty, so that it wants to renounce its national attachment in the name of academic freedom, usually originates from international currents starting with large nations and inevitably serving their interests or ideologies. This is not freedom but a foreign bondage which tries to alienate a small nation's learned people from their nation and brings them into subjection to what is seemingly universal. Thereby such a university actually becomes altogether without foundation and not really free or independent. Freedom from the tyranny of other nations' claims and views is the liberty which a university should and may demand for itself. A university's liberty is limited by its own object and its intrinsic value, and to the survival of its nation. This, just in passing.

I next want to try and carry your thoughts back to our own experiences as a people of universities and our learned men during a few periods of our existence. When we think of the years 1870 to say 1920, then we find that it was a period of vast developments and complications for Afrikanerdom. During the first part of that period, namely, up to about 1900, there were phenomena which, if they continued, would have resulted in the Afrikaner nation *not* occupying the position that it does today. It was then — in the earlier years of that period — a pioneering people, great in character, derived from excellent background, but in the main, through circumstances, not strongly cultured or highly learned. The spiritual foundations of the people were sound; its standard of learning was, however, not high. The forefathers realised this. When they became established, they tried to create for their children the opportunity which they themselves did not have, and this at great sacrifice to themselves. They let their children pursue learning in many directions, sometimes here in South Africa, often in Europe.

But what happened to many of the young learned people of that period? Some did not come back to South Africa and those who did return did not always go back to association with those who had sacrificed on their behalf. Those who could have filled

the greatest national need, namely by becoming knowledgeable leaders, frequently turned their backs on their own people. On the simple community from which they themselves originated and which, in spite of want, enabled them to obtain the knowledge and education, they turned their backs. There they were no longer at home. They sought the association of other learned circles or of a seemingly higher social sphere. They no longer fitted into their own community, according to the selfish measure by which they then gauged themselves. They became alienated from their people. Together with that they often had to relinquish their language in order the better to adapt themselves to the association of the seemingly more respected section of society. Thus the Afrikaner nation probably lost more than one generation of its sons and daughters who, if faithful, would have helped to lift their own people sooner to a higher cultural life and to knowledge. A whole generation or parts of a few generations of a nation disappeared through the selfishness of a learning which sought its own satisfaction. These persons who had completed their studies wanted to be Europeanised or Anglicised, because they were ostensibly "broad-minded"! In their own eyes they were more "liberal" in thought, "more knowledgeable" than the people from which they were derived. How could a nation whose potential leaders deserted it so, itself climb the ladder of civilisation and knowledge? It was treason, and an injury to their own people as bad as this term usually signifies.

But fortunately a transition period came. After the material defeats of the years around the turn of the century the nation found itself; the young savants found their people. It was the period of acceptance of the learned man into his own Afrikaner nation. The older individuals and the newer learned ones made themselves subservient within the ranks of the people. They did not leave their own society, but saw and found in it a home. A victory of the spirit was gained thereby and the aftermath of this victory of the spirit was, as always, victory in every sphere of life. The rapid advance of the nation in the cultural and political field, and in the economic field at a somewhat later stage, and the whole growth of Afrikanerdom as a civilised people which could hold up its head among the nations of the world, was the result of the devotion of the young savants of that time. The university retained its children and gave them back to the nation from which it previously alienated them. So it happened that in the course of time the Afrikaans universities, if not others, have developed the closest ties with the South African community.

From about the year 1920 until the present another period

evolved. The time of struggle was past. Victory had been won. The generations to come had in anticipation been saved for their people. Now the university ranks entered a period of tranquil reflection, of the appropriation of the knowledge of the world and of simultaneously making that knowledge usable to its own nation. Own contributions were made to the ever-increasing knowledge, both of the world outside and with a view to what was useful to our own South Africa. This was a period of restful thought, of quiet research and training, of forging ahead. Thus, already thirty to forty years have elapsed with this building up of our national civilisation and culture. In this period it has been even easier for the Afrikaner savant to be an Afrikaner than it would have been to become alienated. Now those who deserted their people were condemned; now those who remained in their national institutions and devoted their lives to them, were honoured. Now the leaders of the people in every sphere of life could emanate from the universities, because the university and the nation were one, as they should be. And they remained one. The achievement meant that not only individuals were enriched by study, but that knowledge, passed over unperceived to the whole society, thus elevated it culturally. Thus, as was said once, practically the whole community lifted itself up by its own boot-straps.

But this period is passing by. The period of rest is ending. We have come to the beginning of the future — a future *not* restful for the learned person as was the case in the recent past, but a future of prodigious upheaval. In world history every few hundred years — sometimes the intervals last for three to four hundred years of rest or deadness or darkness in between — a spiritual revival, almost a revolution, takes place. Sometimes it is an event which causes this revolution to come, whereafter everything seems new. It is as if a sudden clean-cut occurs between one period and another. We are now standing again before a historical turning-point, yes, even perhaps the beginning of the greatest sudden revolution there has ever been in the sphere of knowledge and of developments in every field of life. Looking back we speak of the Renaissance as a period of revival with vast development. We see the French Revolution as the beginning of a tremendous upset in different spheres in the history of Europe. If one judges correctly, however, nothing that happened then was so great, so fast, so world-encompassing, so impressive as the changes that now lie ahead and that you have to experience. Nothing was so revolutionary in respect of increase of knowledge, turmoil of nations and so forth, as the changes that are apparently going to come. Nothing

was bigger, more peculiar, newer, more sudden than the crises which we consider to be ahead for all. We stand, so everyone thinks, on the eve of a historical epoch almost unprecedented in the history of humanity. This, because of its magnitude and its possibilities. Where previously it was often impossible to foresee a new era today we can hardly fail to see what lies ahead.

The tremendous changes in the field of knowledge on every hand will, however, not come every time to you, the young people of today, like a thunderclap. Do not think that you will always experience as something peculiar that which is going to happen. Our expectation is too clear and we have already become too used to the impossible. The power of resistance of the human mind is almost limitless. As they come the changes will probably pass by you as something quite ordinary. It is only when the historians later look back on this period that they will see that what you yourself perhaps do not sufficiently perceive as great changes were indeed tremendous. Hence I say again: the changes that are now taking place and are still to come, will not strike you every time as thunderclaps, and perhaps you will even be so used to change that you will not be aware of the significance thereof to humanity.

But the need for proper adaptation nevertheless remains important. If one thinks of it the great changes of the past, the large increases in knowledge, were usually spread over decades, sometimes over centuries. Today so much is compressed into one year or a few years that before it is realised, we have entered a new era and are already experiencing it. Previously the changes were limited to one or two continents. Now they affect the whole globe. One also sees simultaneous changes in every sphere. Man is no longer satisfied to push slowly aside the curtains in front of that which is mysterious. With hurried hand, with impatient eye, man is tearing away all that enshrouds the mysterious, because he wants to know everything and wants to see what he does not know.

In the sphere of the ordinary things of everyday life tremendous changes are taking place. These changes will in course of time become increasingly greater. Already the commonest things of a person's daily life and environment are changing, for instance your furniture and your home, and the changes extend to the symbols of the mind: the image and the book. Hardly a week passes by without there being something new to add to what you learn and know. Researchers are scattered all over the world and are busy tearing away all coverings from what we do not know. It happens not only in each field of normal knowledge. The disrespectful hand of man reaches out into space. Man is no longer the dis-

coverer only in his own surroundings nor even in his larger environment, this globe. In this atomic age man becomes, and wants to be, the discoverer of what lies far out in space. His hand and his eye grope for what he could only think of in the past. He does not want to calculate only; he does not want merely to guess; he wants to see; he wants to go there, to the moon and the stars. It is the same in other spheres of human life once regarded as mysteries. Man does not even want to leave his own being unhandled. Medical science occupies itself with the secrets of birth, the determination of sex. It wants to conquer all diseases; it wants not merely to prolong life, but even to create it. Seemingly nothing daunts the human mind today in its search.

When the future thus involves this kind of search after knowledge — further and further, hurriedly, without patience — it must also influence our own thinking regarding the deeper truths of life. It encroaches upon our outlook on life. Man's philosophy in every sphere in which the thinker moves, will change. Therefore, not only man's daily conduct, his life habits, but also his outlook on life and the world are going to be affected by all that is being sought and obtained in every sphere of science and knowledge. The new era reaches right into the depths of man's being.

If it is conceded that all these changes will surely take place, then the question arises what the university has to do with this. The reply must be: everything! The university stands in the midst of it all. The university is the one institution in our society that itself has to absorb and digest and impart this increasing knowledge. This is its teaching task; the university must serve as tutor. But he who absorbs and reproduces knowledge is not only a depository of knowledge, but also an elaborator thereof. He is the communicator, he imparts, but what he imparts always constitutes the foundation on which the next brick is built, thereby expanding knowledge. The university is not only the communicator, the conveyor and the tutor, but also the researcher. It is itself the seeker after new wisdom and further knowledge. Its students are, in fact, there in the first instance not only to gather knowledge, but to be taught how to increase knowledge.

Even then the task of the university has not been fully accomplished. I have said before that it has a moulding task, and this applies especially in view of that new world which was sketched just now. The university has to form the man of today for the world of tomorrow. We who derive from the past have to mould others for the incalculably greater future. Can the university do it? It must do it, for if it does not, who else will?

The university that has its teaching task, its research task and its moulding task, has yet the greatest task before it. This is to ensure that in the midst of turbulence and change, faith in certain eternal truths will always be preserved. For in the midst of all that is so new, certain eternal values and eternal truths endure. The university must ensure that man's faith is preserved, that the acquisition of knowledge does not wrench away his anchors, thus causing him to become a ship adrift on a boundless ocean where he can see no haven of rest and salvation. The university itself, in helping to create, must also be preservative, must be an anchor and give the anchorage of faith.

But it must do something else: it must also give the anchor of national attachment. It must be able to ensure that what happened to the youth of our nation in the seventies will not happen to the youth of today who will be the learners and carriers of knowledge in that new future. Blinded by new knowledge they must not make the same mistake of thinking that they should have a "broadmindedness", a "liberalism", a "sophistication" that will make them feel at home in a world community but not in their own national community. If this should be the result of any new development of knowledge, namely that the young people of our nation lose their distinctiveness, then we are back just where we were in the past and, with all the cleverness, nothing of benefit to the community has been learnt. Then we may say again, as many did at that time: Can this nation ever survive? But then a wonder happened — the wonder that the youth, the learned youth, were retained for the nation and the nation was saved. Will that wonder not still remain true in our future?

In the midst of all that is happening, we have in the first instance to remain members of our own people, our own nation. The university is the body that has to see to that. In it there should be forces at work that create bonds, that bind together the youth of the nation into a unit so that South Africa may enter the future at ease and may be preserved as a state.

The youth who becomes denationalised by the world-wide stirrings, who only feels at home in the outside world but not in his own country, will surely be lost just as such persons have always been lost. So also the nation which is unable to maintain itself as one of those that have something to give to others, will be lost. A people need not be numerous to be able to give much, especially in the sphere of knowledge and vital wisdom. Sometimes a small nation can give the most, because it is not so prone to selfishness as a bigger nation. The bigger nation with its striving for power

may sometimes be of less service to the world community than the small nation without striving for power, because the one is bent on self-interest, such as expansion of power, while the other is bent on service.

With that I want to conclude and this is my message today: May the learned youth of South Africa and its universities in the midst of this tremendous development of the future, ever remain devoted to their nation, even though it is small, and for that very reason see therein the chance for great service; and may they always be anchored fast to certain eternal truths that give sense and value to our lives. Then we shall have a contribution to make to humanity and life. Then our universities shall have done their duty by moulding us correctly.

**Address on the Occasion of the Centenary Celebrations
of the Reformed
(Gereformeerde) Church at Rustenburg, March 28, 1959**

Since the earliest days there have been a group of people in the Transvaal who have not been happy about the use of hymns in Church because human writings were thereby placed on a level with the inspired Word of God. During the fifties of the previous century they pleaded in vain to the General Church Assembly for the removal of the hymns. When Rustenburg got permission to call its own minister this group of people turned with a heavy heart to the Reverend Dirk Postma who had arrived in the Transvaal during 1858 as a delegate to the Separated Reformed Church in the Netherlands. Under the guidance of the Reverend Postma the group of objectors founded the Reformed Church in Rustenburg on the 11th February, 1859. The Reformed Church commemorated this event during the Centenary Celebrations which were held at Rustenburg from the 27th to the 30th March, 1959.

Mr. Chairman, respected friends, it is a mighty crowd that has gathered here. It strikes one immediately as being a pilgrimage — the pilgrimage of a church to the place of its origin. And this is something quite exceptional. But a church which could survive for a hundred years and can eventually assemble so mightily, must have struck root deep in the life of a people. Without this, survival and the great festival would have been impossible.

At the outset I congratulate you today as a Church which has passed through a hundred years of history, not only church history, but also national history. Our people are a Christian people. Our people have been guided by faith from its beginnings right through its whole history. At all stages it knew that it had to look to the Most High for the tasks that lay ahead. And as it is a Christian people, as one can see in all its actions, the authority and sovereignty of God are also recognised in the Prayer of Parliament. Therefore, also, it turns in prayer to the Almighty on all possible occasions. It is because our people are a Christian

people that I convey to you these good wishes, not only in my personal capacity but also as the head of a government which fears God and which has been put there to rule a God-fearing people. It is in this spirit that I bring to you these congratulations — not on behalf of myself but on behalf of the people and the Government itself. They are, however, not only congratulations on the past but also good wishes for the future; the present and the future, really, because we live in a difficult time, a time that may make the highest demands on a people's devotion, and yet I emphasize particularly "for the future", about which I wish to say more.

I wish to express a few thoughts today on the relation between Church and State, but not as my friend, Minister De Klerk, will do presently, on the relation between the Reformed Church and the State. I wish to speak on the relation between Church and State in general. It will fit in better at this stage of the festivities. I want to ask three questions. The first question is: Does the State recognise the Church and religion? And my reply is: Yes. It is the heritage of the forefathers which we hold dear. It has always been the case that Church and State, each in its own field and independently under the authority of God, could know and recognise the other. The State has recognised the Church throughout our people's history and still does so. I want to furnish proof of this.

I have already mentioned that in the prayers with which the sessions of our Parliament and other government bodies are opened almost every day the supreme authority of the Most High, his dominion over the destiny of peoples and nations, and also his dominion over our own history and our lives today, is sincerely and wholeheartedly acknowledged. Every day when our legislative bodies are assembled we ask in prayer to receive strength from where strength must come. Even in our Constitution, in the Union's Constitution, the supreme authority is fully and openly recognised — the recognition of a Protestant, Christian people.

Not only in our official documents and our official actions, but also on all occasions where we gather as a people, does one find this over and over again. When our political parties hold their big congresses they call on the churchmen for assistance, they open and close their proceedings in the name of the Most High. For them, the party congresses, it is inconceivable to fructify the task of the State without it being preceded by prayer. What is so true of — I can almost say "even" our political party con-

gresses — is obviously true of all our cultural and educational congresses on a national basis. Also at such congresses it is inconceivable to begin or to end without commending the work of human hands to the Most High.

Not only there, but at all national events, the fundamental tone is a deep, pervading, spiritual tone.

I could give many examples of this. Allow me to mention only the following — as it is still fresh in our memories — that is the passing away of great national leaders. When they are carried to their graves it may be described as a State funeral but these funerals are in actual fact conducted only by the Church. What made the deepest impression and what touched the heart of the people most at the funerals of my immediate predecessors, first Mr. Strijdom, and later Dr. Malan, was the fact that they were borne by the sounds of devotion from the house of mourning to the church and to the station and through the crowds, across the streets, across the squares, to their last resting-place. Though these funerals were State funerals in form, they were of a deeply religious nature. It was remarkable how an entire nation quietly, attentively, prayerfully heard and saw the men of the nation pass. Only a truly religious people can carry its leaders to their graves in this manner.

The same spirit applies to other national events — the festivals handed down by our forefathers. Our Day of the Covenant, our Kruger Day. They are inconceivable without the spiritual values pervading every assembly. When we gather, as we did at Monumentkoppie when a political reunion took place, then also the religious and church element was the most characteristic, the most striking, the most moving part of the occasion. With the unveiling of the Voortrekker Monument, when we had that unequalled historical festival, when we looked back upon the distant past, for days, throughout the celebrations, we did so with worship in our hearts, filled with gratitude towards the God who had always inspired the leaders of our people. We were merry, we were happy, we were grateful and we were proud, but above all we did not forget the Leader of the nations.

So you will see that signs of the religious character of the Afrikaner people and of the South African country and nation are and remain recognisable in the midst of what may happen in other countries where apostasy is complained of and where it has perhaps assumed greater proportions than in South Africa.

But not only do the State and the people know and recognise the Church and religion. This is also evident in other, more tan-

gible ways, namely in legislation and in the conduct of the country where the State does not only recognise religious freedom but where it actually takes steps to make it possible for the churches to give full expression to their religion. It does not interfere with the free right of the churches, except for the maintenance of law and order, which is its duty. It encourages the Church in every way at its disposal to take the opportunity of preaching the Word of God, also to the non-Europeans who have been entrusted to our care under Christian guardianship. We even find this in the State's dealings with people in its official service. In the Defence Force, for instance, religious ministering is provided. We see it in the efforts to draw within the activities of the Church those people who are spread along the railways, far from the Church and its preachings. We see to it that the Church takes the Word of God into prisons with the permission of the authorities. The State offers co-operation by giving the Church access to the hospitals. Along these lines the State tries to create opportunities wherever possible.

It can also be pointed out that the State recognises the Church by accepting officials of the Church as its solemnisers of marriages. It tries to assist them in their work of poor-relief and other work in institutions. It acknowledges the value of the Church in combating many evils and makes the best use of the leaders and other members of the Church in many councils of many institutional bodies in the country. It is true that the fields in which such recognition can be given and the extent of the recognition can be enlarged and improved upon, but it is part of the State's view that the Church is of the utmost value in connection with many services over which the State has authority.

This then brings me to the second question. It is not only a question of whether the State, our State, recognises the Church and religion, but also of whether Church and State co-operate, whether they go beyond recognition. Here too the only answer that can be given is: Yes, it is desirable, it must be so.

Each has its field. The Church must contribute to the spiritual welfare of its members and others outside. The Church is independent in its own right by virtue of divine ordinance and has its own organisation and its own definition of object. The State has its executive duty and must perform it in accordance with God's order to every authority. There are, however, many fields in which the task of each has points of contact, where they must go hand in hand. They form the two mainstays upon which the life of the people is built. It would be inconceivable that the

Afrikaner people did not stand fast on these two mainstays of Church and State.

Many examples of co-operation can be given. I start with what is perhaps the most simple one, and that is the preservation of family life. Family life is for the State the foundation of its executive possibilities, it is the foundation on which rest the loyalty and the citizenship and the honest life. Where healthy family life is characteristic of a people, the people will be an orderly and loyal one. The people will be one with ideals.

The family is also the place where the influence of the Church can most strongly prevail. It is in the family where it turns to the child and helps to shape it and equip it for the highest service.

Church and State — two partners — in the maintenance and development of the pure and chaste family life.

A further example concerns the field of public morals. The State must often fight against the results of evil. It is often confronted with the results of decline, of downfall in the personal lives of people. It is confronted with evils that beset a whole community and sometimes spread right through the nation. Sometimes this calls for severe action, and sometimes mercy can be shown. But it must fight against the evils which can cause the downfall of the society.

For the Church the struggle against evil, the preservation of public morals, is of equally great and perhaps even greater importance. For the Church this is a task which starts even earlier, for who can do better than the Church to fight against sinful evils by the preaching of the Word of God and the administering of the Sacraments? The guidance that the Church can give to form a bulwark is of the utmost importance to the State and the community.

In this field State and Church must hold hands firmly, the Church with the spiritual sword and the State with the more tangible execution of authority through the channels at its disposal. Here again we have two partners, each free in its own domain, each independent, each with its own task, but co-workers in the service of fellow-men to which they have been called.

In the field of education State and Church also have their duties. The State must create the opportunities. The training of teachers must be made possible. If it is necessary the State must force the child into school to stay there up to an age when it can go out into the world equipped as well as possible. This is a task which the State must undertake at a cost of millions of pounds. It is however a task where a spiritual function is fulfilled.

The State cannot fulfil this task properly without the helping hand of the Church, without religion playing the important part that it should play in education. Character-building, which is so essential, does not only demand the inspiration that a people draws from its deeds in the material field and from its national ideals. Such building of character calls for inspiration from the ideals set by the Church and religion, and which are all-embracing, as the Bible itself. Once again a field where Church and State should go hand in hand if we wish to remain a people who can triumph in the difficult times that lie ahead.

But this is not all. In every community there are people who suffer hardship for some reason; the cripples, the sick people; those who suffer mentally and physically; those who are poor, those who are aged. It is the task of the whole community to care for these people in its midst who suffer in some way. The State has big responsibilities here. The danger exists, however, of the State fulfilling this task in a heartless manner, as it has to deal with so many people. When it assesses and deals with the problem and dispenses aid, it does so with the whole country in mind so that the service may be of an impersonal nature. The State must organise its offers of aid on a national basis. Those who are sorely tried should rather be approached personally, however, and should be taught to look to God in the first place in their distress. Here lies the task and the responsibility of the Church. Here emerges the voluntary aid of men and women inspired by the sense of charity which is characteristic of the real Christianity. You will agree: Church and State must also co-operate in this large field.

To the question of whether Church and State must co-operate, I therefore positively answer: Yes. Fortunately this is the case. I admit again that as imperfection is characteristic of all human labours there is much room for improvement. To achieve improvement and to achieve progress certain insights are essential. One is that we must understand that although there are points of contact between these fields, the functions of these two bodies are nevertheless different. Each acts along its own lines and has its own duty to fulfil. They must understand one another. They must adapt themselves to one another. They must appreciate one another.

The State, this I wish to testify here now, appreciates the work of the Church in these fields of co-operation and cannot but do so, for without this co-operation its work would come to nothing and weaken. Just think of the disintegration of families which so often

occurs in modern life and which is so harmful to a healthy, orderly community. Conjugal fidelity, the unity of the family, the tie between father and mother and children should rest on the strong foundation of the Christian faith. The Church must be the great conservative factor in home life, in the development of the family, in the development of this foundation stone of the community. The fruits of the Church's teachings and example are picked by the State. The State appreciates this work.

I go further. Where will you find better citizenship, where indeed will you find more orderliness than in a community which finds its home in the bosom of the Church? Disorder, quarrels and strife do not fit in with the teachings of the Church, and whilst our human weakness does not keep us from falling into quarrels it is nevertheless an indisputable fact that where you have a Christian people, bound to its Church, you find an orderly people where there is no room for revolt and revolution.

It is therefore in the interests of the State that the Churches play important parts in their field. It is to the advantage of the State. The State should appreciate this and should by virtue of its gratitude at all times purposefully seek the aid of the Church. And where I appear as head of the State at a function of this nature, I do so partly to serve as a symbol of the ties between State and Church and of the appreciation that exists between State and Church. This appreciation should naturally be mutual. But this we do experience. We find great appreciation on the part of the Church for everything we try to do as State.

We must build upon mutual understanding. We must keep in ever closer touch. This cannot but be so because all the members of the Government are members of their own churches and they are prepared to testify to that. They are not merely dead members who conceal their faith. They are prepared to stand up and testify before the whole world of the foundation on which they too build in their daily activities.

Friends, this brings me to the third question, namely: Will the Church be able to continue and to strengthen the State? If we, to answer the question, look back first, we will very soon see how great influence emanated from the Church in the past. It was relatively easy then, when our people's life was simpler and when many of our people did not have much learning. They did, however, have great depth of spirit, which learning alone does not bring but which draws from a source that lies deeper than can be acquired. At that time the minister in the community was in many cases the only educated person, and because of that

most decidedly the leader in most fields. Whether he had a strong or less strong personality — that did not matter. Each minister was, by virtue of his calling and his training, the leader in his vicinity. Everybody came to him with his problems and his troubles. He gave guidance. His advice was sought at all times. Not only from the pulpit but in every section of the community's simple organisation he had to act as leader. In town councils, in cultural societies, whenever guidance was to be given. This meant much to our people. They were the preservers and builders of the Afrikaans language.

It was those leaders of the past, conservative men, who not only fought for the language of the people but also for the soul of the people. We, and Afrikanerdom itself, has much indeed to be grateful for towards these leaders of the past. It has sometimes been said that owing to the schools of foreign orientation we lost a whole generation or a few generations who went over to other peoples in our midst. This may be so, but that it did not happen on a larger scale is also due to the task that the Church undertook in respect of education at the time. The Church as an organised unity, and its members as leaders of their communities, have played a tremendous part in the development of our educational system. When we look back, therefore, we see a long period in our history during which the Church and its leaders were leaders of the people and exerted great influence in all fields, directly and indirectly. Why also indirectly? Think of all the men and women who, by virtue of the teachings in the catechism class, or the influence of the Church upon their lives, have themselves risen to leadership in smaller or larger fields.

We gratefully recall today the influence which the Reformed Church, in particular, has now exerted for more than a hundred years. One is especially impressed by this when assessing in one's own mind the influence that must have been exerted not only directly by these Church leaders but also by all who have persevered in a Christian way of life under their ministrings and the guidance they have given in all walks of life. Think of all the moral values they have inoculated into the life of the people. When you consider all this you realise that the influence has been, and still is, simply immeasurable and overwhelming. Therefore I say, as far as the past is concerned, there is no doubt in the mind of anyone about the tremendous influence that the Church has had on the State and the community.

But when we now turn to the present we find that as far as the Church generally is concerned, the position has changed in

many respects. The minister, the Church official, is no longer the only leader, no longer the only learned man, not even in the smallest community. In the other walks of life there are many others who stand there with him and do their duty and want to pull their weight. When one, therefore, once again asks the question I have asked, namely: Can the Church in the present time still do much in the interests of the State and the people and the community, apart from direct Church activities, one must consider this in the light of that fact. The secular influence of the Church is being displaced, and this can give rise to envy, unwillingness and conflict. On the other hand it may also give rise to more profound devotion, a greater dedication to duty, an awareness of the new functions, the assumption of new tasks that rest on its broad shoulders.

The Church must preach the Gospel. There are fields of operation which have previously been almost inaccessible to the Church. The Church is faced with certain great challenges. There are certain great developments in the society which it has to face and cannot ignore. If the Church does not hesitate to accept the challenge it can by this very fact still have a wholesome effect on the State. Without dwelling too long upon this subject I wish to give a few examples. The one is the struggle of the Church against the indifference and apostasy of the present time, perhaps less marked in our country than in countries overseas. I have already pointed out how a healthy citizenry is formed in the bosom of the Church. It will therefore be clear that if the Church succeeds in overcoming the growing indifference of the present time and continue giving youth the pure scriptural guidance and promotes continued close contact with the Church, the State will pick the most worthwhile fruits, especially at this time when a section of the young people is causing the State real concern.

But I give you a second example. That is the ideological struggle that has been launched. Today the struggle is against Communism — Communism that is a menace to the healthy nation-state, the state that is governed by the people with its representatives and in which the people, in obedience to God, maintain authority. Communism is at the same time a menace to religion and the Church itself. If the Church can succeed in its struggle against Communism, against this pernicious ideology, as we hope that the State will succeed against it in the political field, then the two can again go hand in hand as partners and each strengthen the other's position, and render to the people the highest service possible in these days.

It is, however, not only the present in which we must take an interest. It is also to the future that we must look. When one thinks of the future, the future which offers the greatest challenge yet for the preservation of the position of Church and State, one is filled with concern. I raised the same point recently at a function of a university. I put the question: Is the university prepared for the future? Is it organised for the tasks and duties set by this challenging future? I want to put forward the parallel thought here today. Is the Church prepared, is it ready for that future which lies ahead?

What are the indications of the future? We are entering a period of development unprecedented in the history of the world. The development was slow at times, with intermediate periods of three to four hundred years. At times very little happened, even in a thousand years. Suddenly a tremendous change comes about. Suddenly it is as if forces are at work which almost every day bring something new in every field of life. Knowledge is enriched, customs are changed, humanity reorganises itself, so that within a limited period of time it is unrecognisable compared to previous times. History has let us read about periods of revolution, revivals and renaissance. The question is whether we who live today are not passing through the greatest period of revival of all ages. It is an overwhelming thought when we look back upon the great periods in history, to the great moments, the golden ages. When we look back we are often amazed to see what tremendous changes took place without the people then alive having been aware of it. Looking back one only sees that they did indeed go through history. The leaders did not even know it! We are, however, today making history under God's disposing hand, according to His Counsel, and perhaps we and our leaders do not realise it. Mankind today is perhaps, within a period that is extremely compact and squeezed together, passing through more drastic changes than ever before.

In the field of knowledge there is an amazing reawakening and a sense of endeavour. There is no field of knowledge and science where people are not seeking what has always been hidden. With impatient and hurried hand man tears away the veils from the mysteries of nature. In earlier times they were gently moved aside, one by one. Man was soon satisfied with little that was new. Today, however, nothing any longer satisfies the human authority and spirit. Man is impatient and eager to master the remaining mysteries.

We see this in the field of medical science; nothing deters the

human spirit any longer. Man reaches for the very secrets of creation and life! He endeavours to conquer all diseases, and the strongholds of diseases and ailments attacking the human system fall one by one. He tries with might and main to make life longer, but more than that: he tries to unveil the origin of life to human eyes. Not only as far as the human body is concerned, but also in the spiritual field his curiosity is unlimited. As a psychologist man wants to fathom the workings of the soul, and he goes further: he wants to control and shape the thoughts and feelings of others. Individual persons already succeed in dominating the minds of the masses. It is a feature of these times that individuals can control the existence of the millions in their grasp. The phenomenal development of science and technology has paved the way for this.

In the field of atomic science and of the chemical and other sciences man is seeking new sources of power. For this he uses all materials: uranium, water, air, and so forth. From these he wants to draw the propelling force he needs. With his scientific knowledge he is developing unparalleled speeds. Distance is conquered.

Man is, however, running the risk of destroying himself; and the world and all the people in it. Man is reaching towards space with his hand. He does not only want to see with his eyes what is inconceivably distant. With his very feet he wants to walk on heavenly ways which have been stars for him up to now! He is already concerned with the exploitation of stars and planets up above and far away. He covers immeasurable and unequalled distances. Man, dweller on earth, is reaching towards all this, but not only with his mind, not only by speculation. He wants to touch it with his hands. With the eye, and also with the hand, he reaches out towards distant space.

Whilst all this is helping to shape future man, all kinds of developments of colossal scope are taking place. Nations are moving. We have seen how the peoples of Europe are rearranging themselves. Borders fade away, nations grow and nations fall. One nation leaves its domain and assumes mastery elsewhere. And now? Now borders are visibly moved, not only in one part of the world — but right around the world — right around the world and in Africa on whose tip our land lies. New nations come; old nations unite themselves against others; powers that have never existed before are rising up. And when conflicts follow, they will affect not only a few nations. It won't be only one nation against the other, a few against each other, it

will be half the world against the other half, the East against the West. Great powers are set up in battle-order. Their armies are not to be counted in hundreds of thousands as of old, but in terms of millions. Not only those who stand on battle fronts are threatened, but all the people of the world. There is no shelter anywhere. We see the transformation of the globe and the rearrangement of our humanity.

It goes without saying that in these world conflicts man's thoughts will develop along other lines as in the past. His philosophy must inevitably change. When he thinks about things, the nature of things, the existence for which man is intended, how reason works, all the general questions about which a thinking person has always thought, all his earlier views must be confused and transformed. Everything, therefore, is considered afresh.

When time and space know no limits any longer, the thoughts of man must be adapted thereto. And it is with a view to this future, this future of spiritual and physical revolution and change that I put the question: Is the Church prepared for it? The human spirit is evidently infinitely adaptable. The most tremendous changes come about, and man barely senses it. It does not necessarily enrapture him; it does not necessarily shock him to the very depths of his being. It passes many people unnoticed! And then there is the danger of man beginning to wander about aimlessly, of his merely drifting about on the new, endless sea lying before him.

The question I asked at the university function to which I referred, was this: What are we in South Africa going to do in that future? My answer is that this will depend on the question of whether we will be able to maintain our anchors. For me this means that we should keep our identity as a people, that we should not become international, that we should not consider ourselves wise or learned or big when we abandon our people. But secondly — and this is the most important — this anchor must ensure that we keep our faith. If we can stay anchored in our faith and thus in our Church, those big changes can do nothing that spells danger to us as a people who hold fast to God and his Word.

The Church has always been the sure rock in a changeable world; the Church with its well-known conservatism; its loyalty to doctrines of long ago, which never become obsolete, founded as they are on the rock of the Scriptures; its loyalty to its methods of organisation, and so on. It was a tie that bound us together as a people, so that we did not lightly wander and roam about.

But the Church could only maintain that position of being an anchor, because in the midst of its conservatism it could look to the future, grow along with it and help to give guidance. In the past the Church had to be an anchor, not a hindrance. And this it will have to be in the future too — an anchor.

There are certain eternal truths to which we must cling, which will have meaning for all time. We mention only the love, justice and truth which the Church must preach according to the Scriptures. The Church is dealing with the invisible, not only with the visible as it is found in the universe, materially and tangibly. The Church offers prospects that can become visible even beyond the seemingly invisible. The Church deals with the invisible towards which the spirit can reach forever only through faith. If in the midst of all the tremendous changes that are taking place and the terrible storms that are threatening, we could sit anchored in our boat, anchored in our people, but above all, anchored in our Church on pure Biblical foundations, filled with love towards one another, filled with love towards God, striving towards justice, striving towards the truth and realising it in our lives, then hand in hand again, Church and State will help to make that difficult and anxious future more promising. Then we will be able to live in peace.

We and our children and our children's children whom we now carry along in love will be able to enter upon the future in good heart. We will be able one day to lay down our heads, well satisfied. But the condition for this is that we must keep our anchors — our national identity and, what is more, and holding in itself a love for one's own people: the Word of God, and the Church, which is based on the rock of our confession.

Participation in the Debate Concerning the Bill Promoting Bantu Self-government, Senate, May 20, 1959

In this speech, the Prime Minister once more elucidated the policy of separate development, and stated fully its implication. This was that the policy of the National Party made provision for eventual total independence when the Bantu was capable of it. This development would take place under White leadership in such a way that when total independence was achieved, they would be "White-friendly" and not "White-hostile" states.

Mr. Speaker, South Africa is on the eve of making a choice, a choice which she has to make under extremely difficult circumstances. It would be idle to conceal the fact that whether the choice goes one way or the other, it remains a difficult choice, the consequences of which are serious. This is no time, however, to inspire fear, it is no time to quarrel and it is no time to use abusive language. This is no time to sit on two stools, as the hon. member for South Coast has just done, by supporting his leaders on the one hand for a stronger influence of the Bantu in the government of the country, and by saying on the other hand that he wants to protect the White man in Natal against the terrible danger which the Bantu constitutes. This is no time to allow ourselves to become confused by all the difficulties of this type which lie ahead of us. This is a time for sober and clear thinking.

First of all I want to say that I am sorry that the hon. the Leader of the Opposition did not face this issue squarely and that his party conducted this serious debate with so little spirit and so little enthusiasm. The order of the day was to be frivolous and to raise side-issues, and what was lacking was a serious attempt to state a policy for the future as against the policy of development as the Government Party sees it. This is the beginning of a possibly fateful period, but nevertheless he had no clear vision of a future policy, which he was prepared to announce to the world. The hon. the Leader of the Opposition must not hold it against me if I feel obliged to withdraw the congratulations which

I offered him during the previous debate, when I said that he had at least restrained the Liberals in his party. I am afraid he has practically capitulated to the liberalistic urge in his party, as I propose to prove. I am sorry that my congratulations have to swing like a pendulum, in other words, in the way that the Leader of the Opposition swings his views!

What disappointed me particularly about his speech was that I could not help noticing a great similarity between the attitude which the Leader of the Opposition adopted here on Monday afternoon and the attitude which Luthuli of the African National Congress adopted in the *Cape Times*, according to a report on Monday morning. I have before me the article which was written by Luthuli. After the Leader of the Opposition had made his speech I analysed this article and in no fewer than ten essential points I found a similarity, which is not only amazing but which gives one cause for reflection. In other words, the United Party shows itself to South Africa as an organization which adopts an attitude similar to that adopted by the A.N.C. in this matter! In countries to the north of our borders we have seen what the trend of the A.N.C. means. I think South Africa should be warned against this similarity of views and should realize that it is dangerous.

In the first place I want to analyse the standpoint of the United Party on the basis of the arguments which have been advanced here by the Leader of the Opposition, and in doing so I shall deal at the same time with the arguments which have been advanced in other quarters and which are of lesser importance in this connection. I do not propose, however, to deal with all the arguments and platitudes.

The first point made by him was that this Bill deprives the Natives of all four provinces of rights without substituting anything else for those rights; and that is bound up with his other argument that what is being partially substituted for those rights is the tribal system which is archaic and in which there is no room for the educated Native. I notice that an attempt has also been made by certain newspapers to obtain the opinion of so-called developed and urbanized Natives, and that they adopt the attitude that they do not want to go back to the tribal conditions of the reserves under any circumstances. They therefore reject the policy which is embodied in this Bill.

This attitude on the part of the Leader of the Opposition and of those Natives is based on entirely false premises, namely that urbanized Bantu will have to go back to purely rural reserves,

as we knew them in the past, and furthermore that the tribal system as it existed in primitive times is the be-all and end-all of the Bantu governmental development visualized in this Bill. That is by no means our intention. What is happening here in respect of a system of government is that a system which has developed over the centuries amongst the Bantu, a system which is known to them, indeed a system which is engraved on their souls and which is incorporated in their own Native laws, is being taken as the starting point for development. Just as the White man's civilization began with relatively simple systems of government but then developed to the high levels that we have to-day, their system too will start with what the Bantu knows and will be developed from that point, but at an increased tempo, into what it is capable of becoming in the light of their experience of the progressive modern White society in which they have already obtained a measure of learning and will continue to obtain learning. After all, that is the basis of all development.

If the Leader of the Opposition reads the speeches of the Black leaders of Central African states, to which his followers frequently refer as something remarkable, he will see that what is demanded by people like Dr. Nkrumah is that the Black nations must not be expected servilely to take over the systems which have been developed in Europe up to the present time, but that they should be allowed to start with what is their own and that they should be able to adapt what they learn from the outside world to their own system. Not even the British parliamentary system has been taken over slavishly in the civilized countries. We find a great variety of adaptations because every nation has taken into account its own circumstances, its own character and requirements. It must be realized once and for all that the developments in the Bantu areas, as well as the emancipation of those national groups, starts with the system which is known to them and which is their own, and that their form of government and freedom will grow and be adapted in accordance with the demands of modern civilization. It will be adapted by the Bantu themselves with the assistance that we can give them. That is the position as far as the system of government is concerned.

As far as their own territory is concerned, the position is that there too there will be development so that no Bantu who has acquired either learning or knowledge or capital in the urban areas of South Africa will be expected to go back to a rural reserve without any hope of advancement. The development there — in respect of Bantu urbanization and also in other spheres —

has already reached the stage where people with skills can go back to their own people and their country to fructify it further and to help to develop it on foundations which have already been laid. If an urban Bantu who has skill or education which he can place at the disposal of his people, refuses to do so, then he will be doing precisely what we as Afrikanerdom experienced in the 'eighties. In those days there were Anglicized Afrikaners who refused to give Afrikanerdom the benefit of their skill and to help to build up their section of the population to the pinnacle of civilization desired by every nation. I say therefore that that is an erroneous impression of the conditions to which they will go back, either in the system of government or in the contemplated nature of their territory. They will go back to promote civilization; they will go back to assist in building up their territory. If they do not want to go back, then they are people who are lost to their nation. But that is not all. Those Bantu who say that they will have to go back to backward tribal conditions, refuse to appreciate what is happening in front of their very eyes. Because what are the true facts? Ever since first steps were taken some years ago on this road of separate development, openings and opportunities have been occurring on an unprecedented scale for the Bantu, and particularly for the more skilled or even educated Native.

That has been emphasized here over and over again in connection with the Bantu school inspectorate and the Bantu school board system. Hundreds and hundreds of young educated Bantu have been given responsible and important positions in the service of their own nation. When we are told that certain urbanized Natives with warped ideas say that they do not want to return to backward conditions in the tribal areas, and when they are encouraged by the agitation set afoot by Whites who say that the conditions to which the Natives will return will inevitably be primitive tribal conditions, it indicates a far-reaching lack of knowledge of what is taking place. I did not expect the same sort of ignorance from the Leader of the Opposition.

A second argument advanced is that no rights are being granted to Natives who will be living permanently in the Union but outside the Bantu areas, particularly in the case of those in the White cities but also in the case of those in the White rural areas. It has even been said by the Leader of the Opposition that the most developed, the most educated section, with the longest contact with civilization, is being eliminated while self-government is being granted to the inferior group of Bantu. Here again hon. members opposite are under an entirely erroneous impression as to the

prospects which are developing for this group to have some say in their affairs. This has been pointed out to them many times, over and over again, but the Opposition refuse to realize what is happening.

In passing let me interpolate one fact. Hon. members opposite persist in saying that the Tomlinson report says that there will be at least 6,000,000 Natives permanently resident in the White area in the year 2000 and thereafter. They even create the impression that that means there will be 6,000,000 in the cities, while in fact that figure was merely an indication by the Commission of the number of Bantu who may possibly still be in the whole of the White area once the curve of the graph has started dropping, after having reached its top some considerable time earlier. If hon. members had read the report properly they would have known that that is the position. But that is only one point. The second is this: The Commission's calculation is based on the fact that the number of Bantu employed in agriculture, where they present no problem, will remain more or less what it is at the present time — roughly between 2,500,000 and 3,000,000 — and that the number (as the result of apartheid) in the peri-urban areas will still be approximately 2,500,000, as it is to-day, in the year 2000. The United Party's policy, on the other hand, would mean that there would then be about 11,000,000 or 12,000,000 in the peri-urban areas alone.

Furthermore, I say that the Natives who will be there and whom the United Party are prepared to accept as being there permanently, will not be permanent residents in terms of the National Party's policy. In the first place it may be — and in my opinion this will have to be the position — that the Natives who then enter White South Africa to come and work here, if their labour is still needed, particularly in the cities, will be migrant labour generally speaking, although not migrant labour in the ordinary sense of the term, that is to say, labourers who come for periods of six months, a year or 18 months at a time. Large numbers of them will come and work and live here for a number of years as family units but will then be interchangeable. They will remain anchored in their homelands, and as they find uses and rewards in the developing Bantu areas for the skills which they have acquired in the White area in the meantime, they will return to the Bantu areas and reap the benefit of their knowledge there. Those who will then have to seek work elsewhere again, will find employment here. In this way the Bantu, even if some of them remain in the White area for years, will nevertheless remain a changing group of workers.

families. That is no strange expectation; it is nothing remarkable. That is what is already happening at the moment with the regular exodus and return to France of Italian persons and families of workers. Hon. members ought to know this because it has been said to them over and over again. In other words, it does not follow inevitably that there must be a permanent Bantu population, which will remain in the White area for generations.

Hon. members of the Opposition went on to say, however, that the Bantu would have no rights whatsoever in the White area. That is not true. It has been said perfectly clearly that in two respects there will be rights for the Bantu who are resident and employed in the White area. In the first place they will have rights in connection with their links with their homeland. It has been pointed out that they will enjoy and exercise their rights as part of those ethnic entities. That is why (unlike the present position) they will be able to go back later on and will not become weaned in the meantime of any rights which they may have there. They will even have the right, while they are in the White area, to take part in the government of their Bantu homeland, of their ethnic unit. But that is only one aspect of their rights. On the other hand it has also been pointed out, with reference to their problems in the Bantu residential areas within the White area — and this Bill does not deal with that, so the hon. member for Parktown is confused in this regard — that in substitution for the advisory councils, provision will be made for machinery of limited self-government. This will not, however, give them fully-fledged municipalities, such as we will have to give the Coloureds, because the Bantu will always have to be under the guardianship of the White municipality which remains the owner of the land on which their residential areas are established, and which must have control over the wider area in which the Whites themselves live. Within those limits of control by the White man in his own area, the Bantu will be given a greater say in local affairs over their own people than they have at present. With regard to their share in higher governmental affairs in their own areas, provision is being made for that. There too it will be possible for more and more development to take place in step with the development of their own ethnic units. It is simply not true therefore to say that these people are not being given any rights.

The next argument advanced by the Leader of the Opposition is that the initial supervision by the Governor-General and the governmental authority is irreconcilable with Western civilization. Among other things, he ridiculed the Bantu Department's state-

ment about councillors in the Bantu Authorities who need not fear now that they will be rejected if they levy taxes or when they perform administrative acts. Does the hon. the Leader of the Opposition not realize that here we are dealing with the beginning of an emancipation movement in nations who are still backward in the sphere of government? When a start is made with emancipation, the guardian must take the lead or retain the lead. That is what Britain is also doing in her liberation of Basutoland. Of the Central African States, it has been said in Britain and other parts of the world that it was a mistake perhaps to hasten the process of granting independence instead of guiding this process step by step. Guidance must be given in the beginning of emancipation and then one can educate these protected persons gradually to assume greater rights of self-government. The failures in self-government, the undesirable conditions one often finds elsewhere, are generally the result of a lack of proper guidance. We have experienced it ourselves. In our own Bantu areas in the Transkei, to give an example, when the former Bunga was still there, it was an incontrovertible fact that the Bantu representatives attached so much value to re-election that they were not prepared to govern properly, that they were not prepared to levy taxation and that they were not prepared to do anything concrete for their area. They just concentrated on talking and all their actions were aimed at being popular so as to be re-elected. We must guide these people and teach them to govern properly and to assume responsibility. Therefore it is a good thing that where, in terms of the authority they actually had and exercised, and in which they believe, they will under their own system in future have authority without fearing that they will lose it if they do unpopular things which are in the interests of their people. As has been said over and over, the Bantu system is very suitable for the expression of the co-authority of the people, for the inherent democracy.

I pass on to the next argument. This argument was that the pattern would now be one of sub-division, a pattern of partition in South Africa, and that this is a bad thing. The Leader of the Opposition asked whether we knew what the end of it would be — because the word “Commonwealth” was used — and he said: “The final result will be an autonomous community which is in no way subordinate to the other.” I think the Leader of the Opposition thought that I and the Government and the Party on this side of the House wanted to evade this possible consequence. The hon. member for South Coast also thought so. Mr. Speaker, nobody on this side is trying to evade an consequences. The Leader

of the Opposition need not think that he will gain any political advantage in the country from this, because the country is prepared to face squarely the direction in which we want to go, but the Leader of the Opposition is not prepared to let the country face his direction squarely. I will, however, put the consequences of his policy to him before the end of this debate.

I also want to say that this sort of attempt which has been made again to-day, to play off people and what they say against each other, is useless. There is, for example, the reference to the article written by the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development. That article was written months before the statement I made in the beginning of the year. Any attempt to play that off against us is meaningless.

If it is within the power of the Bantu, and if the territories in which he now lives can develop to full independence, it will develop in that way. Neither he nor I will be able to stop it and none of our successors will be able to stop it, whether our policy is accepted, or whether the policy of the United Party is accepted. I want to add this: What guarantee have we under the United Party policy that the same development will take place in these areas? We must remember that we are in South Africa, where Britain is busy placing Basutoland on the road to emancipation, whether we like it or not. It has already been stated that the future of Swaziland and Bechuanaland will be considered in the near future. The United Party also says that in terms of its policy of integration it will not apply the logical consequences of breaking down the borders around the Bantu areas of South Africa and throwing them open for White or Bantu settlement, as it wants to throw open the White areas for Bantu and White settlement. In other words, it will not allow the Bantu areas to be absorbed in the big common South Africa. Oh no, it says it guarantees the Bantu his areas, although it does not guarantee the White man his area. I therefore ask where does the United Party policy guarantee that those Bantu areas, to which the United Party guarantees the monopoly of possession by the Bantu, namely Zululand, the Transkei and the other Bantu areas in the Union, will not follow the example set by Britain in Basutoland and Swaziland and Bechuanaland? The United Party must accept, whether it wants to or not, that a process of emancipation is possible there, just as it will follow from our policy. The United Party's policy can lead to precisely the same results as those it warns us against, viz. Bantu states, provided the Bantu are capable of it. Therefore I say that the United Party can derive political advantage from our

frank admission of the possible consequences, because if it wants to adopt an honest and frank attitude itself, it must admit that these are the logical consequences of its policy too.

Furthermore, I want to argue as follows. If that will be the result, if through the capabilities of the Bantu it happens that here in South Africa there will be a White state, a big and strong White nation, along with various Bantu national units and areas (or states, if you like) how is that different from what we have in Europe? Are there not in other parts of the world such as Europe, South America and Asia, various nations and states next to each other within the same continent or part of a continent? What would have happened to France, to Germany and to Britain if they had lost all their borders and their populations had become intermingled? And if those nations do not desire anything like that, and if it is not necessary there, and if it cannot happen there, why is it so terrible if in South Africa there are also various nations and territories and even neighbouring states? Do we find that the all-White nations and states in Europe try to or succeed in becoming one unit without borders? Have those nations become intermingled or has a multi-racial state been established in Europe? Or did we see throughout the centuries, even after the one state conquered the other, e.g. when Charlemagne established his empire, that the various nations again split up and re-established their national borders? Therefore, just as in other parts of the world, we must be able to accept that in Africa there can be various states on one continent or part of it.

These states can nevertheless have a bond, the bond of common interest. Such a bond has even become the modern ideal in Europe, viz. in the economic sphere where they are trying to form a common European market. It is the ideal to retain political independence with economic interdependence. That is the spirit which prevails in other parts of the world where states with various borders, large ones and small ones, occur, but suddenly now something like that is inconceivable in South Africa, and dangerous. Now I ask further: If there cannot be such a division, if the possibility of having separate territories as an eventual settlement of political aims is not possible — how long that development will take, I do not know — what is the other way out? The United Party has said over and over: Nothing else is possible but a common South Africa, a multi-racial country, although numerically the Bantu will outnumber the Whites three or four times. I repeat, with candour and in the best interests of the White people of South Africa, that I choose an assured White state in South

Africa, whatever happens to the other areas, rather than to have my people absorbed in one integrated state in which the Bantu must eventually dominate. One Bantustan for the whole of South Africa is the inevitable consequence of the policy of the United Party.

Therefore to talk about partition and sub-division as being a distasteful pattern is utterly nonsensical, because in terms of both policies there will be Black areas, and in terms of the policy of apartheid the White man will at least control his own area, whatever the difficulties might be and however hard it might be. He at least has the opportunity to save himself, which under a multi-racially controlled state he will not have.

The next argument I want to deal with is the allegation made by the Leader of the Opposition that our course of action shows a lack of confidence in the ability of the White man to retain his leadership. I will have more to say about leadership at a later stage, but at the moment I want merely to say this in regard to that argument, that leadership in a democracy is not retained by men of pious words. It depends on numbers, as anybody who has made a study of the history of any nation knows. In the final result it is force of numbers which predominates — high or low, poor or rich, Black or White — and therefore it is necessary to apply all our energies and to make sacrifices and to work hard to ensure that there will be a White part of South Africa (even though we must accept the presence of the Coloureds) where the Bantu population will not predominate in that community as part of that community.

The next argument of the hon. the Leader of the Opposition was particularly surprising to me. He said that as recently as the First World War the races in South Africa were still separated, and then the policy of Botha, Smuts and Hertzog, who believed in separate governmental areas, was possible. His further argument was that since the First World War the Bantu workers streamed into the industrialized areas of South Africa, which now makes it impossible to have separate governmental areas. The migration of Bantu from other parts of Africa to South Africa is also concerned here. Therefore the inflow of the Bantu into the industrial areas in the White parts of South Africa, and also the inflow of Bantu from other parts of Africa, make the ideal which was possible in the past, the ideal of separate government, impossible. Does the hon. the Leader of the Opposition realize what he is really saying? He says he admits that before the First World War there was a definite White governmental area here, and therefore

Botha, Smuts and Hertzog were justified in saying that we had our own area, and that the Bantu were separate, but that that became impossible as the result of the inflow of Bantu workers from our Native reserves, from the rural areas and from other parts of Africa. My reply to that is that he then accepts a bloodless conquest of the White area by the Bantu, whom the White man wanted to accept only as workers and not as people who would become partners and later the conquerors of his country. If there is any nation in the world which is prepared to allow itself to be robbed of its country by those to whom it only did good and whom it provided with work, then I say that we on this side are not prepared to be "hands-uppers" together with the United Party and to surrender and hand over our country as the result of a bloodless conquest.

I want to compare the position with what would happen in Britain if Britain were to allow Jamaicans to enter the country to seek work to such an extent that in the end they would be in the majority (if immigration on such a scale were possible in such a small country). Would the British just quietly say: We will not stop the inflow, and as soon as they number 70,000,000 or 80,000,000 and we are only 59,000,000 (or whatever the figure may be), then they are in the majority, and because everybody should have equal rights therefore England in future will belong to them! That is ridiculous, but it is in line with what now has to happen in South Africa according to the argument of the United Party. The inflowing Black workers have increased in number to such an extent that a multi-racial Government must follow and in that way they will become the conquerors of White South Africa, just as the Jamaicans would be in England if they were permitted to do the same thing that the Leader of the Opposition says took place here since the First World War. That is the most peculiar argument I have ever heard as a plea for the granting of political rights to the Bantu, as is the statement that we should not protect ourselves and should not keep the government of the country in our own hands. In the time of Botha, Smuts and Hertzog it was correct, but not in our time, it seems, because we have been conquered already by the large number of immigrants.

The next argument was that we are changing the map of South Africa; we are forming a horseshoe of the Prime Minister's Black states. Has the Leader of the Opposition ever considered that neither I nor this party but history, and partly the history of the time when the White man was still landing in Africa, placed the Bantu in the areas where they still are? They inherited it, as we

inherited our area. This horseshoe was not created by us or by any organization we established or by any Act we passed. The Bantu themselves settled there, where the White people found them and where they still are. Is the Leader of the Opposition going to deprive them of that horseshoe? If not, why does he attack us? He does not want to unify the whole of South Africa, as I said a moment ago. He wants the Bantu to retain their horseshoe. In fact, the heartlands (in situation, not in numbers) of that horseshoe are Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. Just look at the map; those are the heartlands of that horseshoe, apart from the Transkei and Zululand. He therefore also knows that Britain has been in control of that horseshoe from 1910 until now. Did he therefore intend to say that Britain wants to bind South Africa in a vice of Black states in the form of that horseshoe? No, only now, when the National Party is considering safeguarding South Africa by recognizing Bantu self-government in those areas, suddenly this is a dangerous horseshoe. It was not us who put the Bantu there. He was there. The United Party wants him to remain there. Nor can we disregard the fact that he is there. Therefore to say that we are changing the map of South Africa is absolute nonsense. But let me ask this further question: Should one throw up the sponge when one finds oneself in difficulties? If it is true that there is a horseshoe of Black states, due partly to the actions of Britain, must we say then that consequently we must simply allow the rest of South Africa to become mixed and in the final result to become dominated by the Bantu? I look upon this horseshoe argument as one fit for a debating society but not for a serious discussion on the destiny of a nation.

In spite of that, hon. members on the other side enlarged on it. The hon. the Leader of the Opposition even came along with the argument about the dangers which would develop on our border under such a future arrangement; *inter alia*, that it would become a springboard for foreign ideologies, that Communists would be able to take over the areas and that the Bantu states would be able to enter into their own treaties. He also asked which navy, which air force, might perhaps dominate those states? He says that in this way our coastal area is handed over to foreign powers! These are alarmist stories he is spreading in advance of a far-distant future, when there will be the fullest development. He does not use those stories for the transition period. He is afraid of what will happen if Bantu states come into being one day. Let us assume that it is possible that some of the dangers which the hon. Leader of the Opposition mentioned may arise. Let me then

point out to hon. members opposite that they must be logical. While I accept for the sake of argument that that may be so, it must be noted in the first place that the same Leader of the Opposition who accused us about these "dangerous" states, later in the debate accused me of wanting to create such weak little states! I believe he even spoke about the immorality of this. On the one hand he talks about the tremendous danger and, on the other, of the creation of weak little states, which would be an injustice.

Let us examine the position if we accept for argument's sake that they may become dangerous independent states. I contend, of course, and it is my belief, that there are no grounds for the fear and anxiety of the Leader of the Opposition. My belief is that the development of South Africa on the basis of this Bill will create so much friendship, so much gratitude, so many mutual interests in the process of the propulsive development that there will be no danger of hostile Bantu states, but that there will arise what I called a commonwealth, founded on common interests, and linked together by common interests in this southern part of Africa. In other words, I believe that these dangers of foreign ideologies, of foreign navies, and so on, will not materialize.

If the hon. Leader of the Opposition wants to frighten people, however — a fear which I believe will be proved to be unfounded — then my reply to this type of reasoning is that in the long run I would prefer to have a smaller White state in South Africa which will control its own army, its own navy, its own police, its own defence force, and which will stand as a bulwark for White civilization in the world and which, in the event of an emergency and a clash with ideologies in neighbouring states, will also have the support of the outside world to enable it to maintain itself (in other words, rather a White nation which can fight for its survival), than a bigger state which has already been surrendered to Bantu domination.

I propose now to sketch the consequences, in terms of this same type of reasoning, of the United Party's policy. What would be the (remember this) eventual position — because after all the hon. the Leader of the Opposition argues in terms of the situation which will eventually arise when our policy is carried out — what would be the eventual situation in the event of his policy being carried out? Then you would have a multi-racial community and a multi-racial state with ever-expanding control by, and a joint say on the part of, continually developing Natives in one joint country, with the Natives outnumbering the Whites four to one.

(Do not let us take the other groups into account.) What would that involve? A South African army and a South African police force under black generals; an air force under a Black air-marshal; a government with Black Cabinet Ministers; a Parliament with Black Members of Parliament; administrators and mayors, all Black! Now I ask the hon. Leader of the Opposition: With such an end in view, what hope would there be for the White man? Not only would he not have his own army, his own defence force and his own diplomatic channels to protect himself against foreign ideologies, if there is an emergency, but he would already be under the domination and under the superior power of the army, navy, air force, police service, government — nation-wide — of the Black man. Is that the eventual picture which the Leader of the Opposition wants South Africa to choose? If the Leader of the Opposition wants to come along with alarmist stories about imaginary eventual consequences of our policy then I can do the same about his! Hon. members over there laugh. But if they were not prepared to ridicule their own Leader when he put forward this sort of proposition, why is it so ridiculous when one outlines to them the consequences of the other alternative, the road to Bantu domination? Their laughter is born out of despair; it is an admission of the weakness and senselessness of this type of argument. In any event this type of speculation gets us nowhere. What we are trying to achieve under our apartheid policy is a South Africa which endeavours to build up reasonable opportunities for the Bantu in such a way and of such a nature that we can secure their permanent friendship and co-operation without giving them domination over the whole of our own area in addition to their own. And if in the coming years all the wisdom of statesmen is harnessed to allow development to take place in this way, and if the Opposition and its Press and the liberals who oppose this peaceful neighbourly development would stop their venomous attacks, then there would and must be great hope for South Africa. Then friendship with other racial areas and also other colour groups here would grow. But only then, never otherwise.

Hon. members opposite spoke of a threat to the economy of South Africa and said it would become third-rate. But the United Party itself said it would allow industrial development to take place in the Bantu areas on the initiative of the Whites. If the Bantu, who would find it more difficult to promote this industrial development, could constitute a danger to the economy of what are now our White industrial areas, just imagine how much greater

the danger would be if under the United Party policy White adventurers could go into the Bantu areas and misuse the Bantu facilities and opportunities to create competition for the Witwatersrand, Cape Town and other industrial areas.

The United Party even wants to start giving property rights to the Bantu in White areas, although not to the Whites in the Bantu areas. Oh no! Only to the Bantu in the White areas! Is that not a great threat to the White economy? What hope has South Africa that sound socio-economic development will take place, other than along the lines we propose? I do not propose to go fully again into the details of the development in the border areas and how that offers the opportunity for the Bantu worker not only to live with his own family, but also to keep it inside his own area and thus under the control of members of his own race. That has been said often, already. I want to put this one point again, however, that political independence here, just as in Europe where they are striving for a European market, is fully compatible with economic interdependence and is the right course to take in the South African situation. In addition I want also to put this question: If it is still said that the White economy is endangered, why then is the United Party so illogical? One moment the United Party moan that the White economy is endangered by the policy of the National Party and the next moment they moan about the danger of this same policy to the Black man! If, however, one wants to give protection to the White man in the economic sphere, what better method is there than the development of border area industries which are under White management within the White area, but which can, where necessary and suitable, make use of Black labour?

The hon. the Leader of the Opposition based a further argument on that. His argument was this: Just think what we will be subjected to if that Bantu labour becomes rebellious and goes on strike, for example. Just think of the disruption of our industries under such circumstances! Naturally, there would then be disruption. But would the chances of strikes and disruption be less if there was one multi-racial South Africa with 10,000,000 or 11,000,000 Natives around Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban, or wherever they may be concentrated? They could then also become rebellious and go on strike. Would the Bantu working masses not then have an even greater stranglehold on the economy of the country than they would have if over a period of 50 years positive steps had been taken to establish in the interior of the White area well-mechanized industries controlled by Whites and staffed mainly

by Whites? Then one would at least have a chance of industrial peace in the heart and soul of the country, even though you may not have it in some border areas. The danger of economic disruption is much greater when there is a mixed fatherland with the same labour mass present everywhere. What sort of argument is that?

Now I come to another argument, and that is the question whether it is moral that 80 per cent of the population should have 13 per cent of the land? That is one of the most stupid arguments I have ever heard. After all, each group, White or Black, always inhabits the area which it has occupied. If this argument has any validity, then it means that those who are numerically in the minority in any part of the world would continually have to surrender land to their neighbours who, in proportion to their numbers, have less. Then Germany and France, which are more thinly populated, would have to concede some of their territory to Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark and Switzerland which have less territory for the density of their populations. Here the Bantu occupied certain parts of an uninhabited country and the Whites occupied other parts. If that nevertheless means that we are morally obliged here in South Africa to concede territory to what has become an overpopulated area through natural increase, then the same must apply to other parts of the world. The fact of the matter is that in contrast with other states and other parts of the world, the Whites in this country have systematically added land to the Bantu area and are still doing so. The White man is still giving some of the White area which he occupied to the Bantu in an effort to secure peaceful co-existence. To my mind it is nothing less than foolishness therefore to base a moral argument on this. I want to add to this: Should not a thinly populated protectorate like Bechuanaland rather give up some of its territory? If anybody has to concede land to the Bantu, should it not be Bechuanaland? Should she not absorb the Tswana of the Transvaal if it is such a moral obligation to concede land, and ought not Britain to be the first to submit to the moral argument of the Leader of the Opposition? The fact of the matter is that half of South Africa south of the Limpopo is in White hands — that includes good areas and it includes poor areas from the point of view of habitation — and that the other half is in the hands of the Black man. It is an accident of history that three Black areas south of the Limpopo remained under Britain's guardianship, but the area south of the Limpopo is divided in half. The Leader of the Opposition went even further and asked:

In the event of a partition must the White man keep all the mines and all those good areas? That, I say, is worse than foolishness. It simply means that when a certain area in a country has been fully developed by a nation, as we have done, they simply have to relinquish parts of it if other neighbours, who have nothing of the kind or who have not developed anything of the sort, demand it, since otherwise they would be immoral. Am I to infer from this statement that it is immoral for 80 per cent of the population to have 13 per cent of the land, that the United Party intend, if they come into power, to give that 80 per cent a much bigger portion of the land than is inhabited by the White 20 per cent? Or does he not intend to do so?

I should like to deal next with the following point which the hon. Leader of the Opposition raised. He said that White leadership should be retained by virtue of moral qualities. He is in favour of the retention of White leadership, but it must be retained by virtue of moral qualities. He then proceeds to give some consolation to his followers outside, who will find but little comfort in his standpoint. He says that the Natives will be given the franchise only with the consent of the present electorate. In saying that, however, he does not mean that they must reject him in order to protect themselves. He means that he is going to use the present electorate so as to give increased voting rights to the Natives. There is this consolation at least: They will cut their own throats! The second consolation is that the Bantu will have to undergo a long period of training eventually to reach that high class which will be given the franchise. Be comforted, he says, it takes a long time! Apparently he realizes that all this is really of no avail because eventually United Party policy will have to submit to the demands of the Natives. In order to give some consolation in this respect as well, he comes along with the proposition that White leadership will still continue by virtue of moral qualities. But then he adds, as a further assurance of security: "We are going to take certain anti-Native measures, We want to retain their friendship, but we are still going to take certain anti-Native measures, even though we do not call them that. We are going to ensure higher birth-rates for the Whites and we are going to make provision for increased immigration, because the United Party as far as possible, want to plough under the Bantu. And the United Party are also going to pull in the Coloured people on our side against the Bantu. Our White leadership, based on moral qualities, is going to be on this basis. That we say we want friendship with the Bantu while

we are openly going to harness against the Bantu all the powers of the White race that we can muster." That is the plan of the hon. Leader of the Opposition. My question is whether that is morality? Is that what the Liberals and people of that ilk mean when they talk about moral behaviour? They say, in other words, that rights must be given to the Bantu: *inter alia*, that an extension of the franchise must be granted to the Bantu, but at the same time care must be taken to see that the Bantu is ploughed under. Then we can expect friendship from the Bantu!

But I want to put another question to the hon. the Leader of the Opposition. If that is really moral, would it also be moral if the Bantu as a result of that took counter-measures; if the Bantu were to say, for example: "Now we are also going to ensure a higher birth-rate"? Heaven knows, they would manage it more easily! If the Bantu were to say that they are going to prevent the United Party from ploughing them under by also ensuring a higher birth-rate, that they are going to try to get Bantu immigrants from other parts of Africa and from the reserves, would that not be moral too? What is the hon. Leader of the Opposition going to do as far as the Whites are concerned if it becomes a struggle of the cradle and an immigration struggle? He against the Bantu? Who would win?

I think I have said enough to make it clear what value can be attached to what was really the best part of the standpoint of the Leader of the Opposition and his followers, namely, their attack. Even that was worth nothing. Nothing.

Now I come to his positive submissions. The hon. the Leader of the Opposition said that this was his standpoint (I sum it up): South Africa must become a mixed state with a multi-racial people, multi-racially governed. That is the first part of his viewpoint. Secondly, there must be certain constitutional changes. The non-White representation in the Senate must be extended to six members. The number of Members of Parliament who represent the Natives must be increased. The representation must be extended to the north to conform to the position in the Cape. The Cape has three representatives in the House of Assembly at present. One of my hon. friends here wanted to know how this extension was going to take place. There was no answer. But the logical answer is that you would have to take into account the basic population ratios. If you did that and three representatives were granted to the Bantu population in the Cape, then the Transvaal would have to have at least three to four (because of its population); the Free State would have to have at least one, South West

at least one and Natal also about three. That would bring us then to 11 or 12. But now there is a difference of opinion — and this brings me to the hon. member for South Coast — about the future of the Protectorates. There is a difference between our points of view in respect of the nature and extent of the incorporation of the Protectorates with the Union. It has been clearly stated that they are regarded by us as certain nuclei in the development of the Bantu areas which are becoming independent. But the Leader of the Opposition did not describe it like that the other day. He said that if these areas are incorporated they will be incorporated to strengthen South Africa. If that is the case, they must also be represented in Parliament and there would have to be at least one representative for each of them. Then his number of Bantu representatives in the House of Assembly is already 15 or 16. He can give his own figures. I just want to point out the logical consequences of his standpoint, from which his Liberals will not allow him to escape.

The Leader of the Opposition says, further, that in these areas there will continually be further development. Therefore there will be an even greater invasion of our Parliament; the Bantu areas are guaranteed for the Bantu and what we call the White area will become a common South Africa. In addition, the economic development will have to be such, according to the policy of the United Party, that influx control measures will be relaxed increasingly. They have in fact argued that the influx control measures are too strict. According to the hon. member for Parktown, these growing numbers of Bantu in the White cities will also in time have to have their own municipalities. That, it seems to me, is more or less the short-term plan. But the hon. the Leader of the Opposition did not stop there. He also has a long-term plan. He indicated this long-term plan in a few cautious words. In the first place I want to point out that he did in fact say that White leadership should be retained, but in terms of his long-term plan he evidently realizes that White leadership perhaps cannot be retained. Even he already realizes that. He therefore says that in the beginning representation must be through Whites. But he concedes that there is a strong body of opinion in favour of direct Bantu and Coloured representatives. He thereby admits that that idea also exists in his own party, and I want to say very clearly that it does exist in his own party. The Leader of the Opposition said the following in London in a radio talk with the representative of the B.B.C. in South Africa, Patrick Smith:

“We believe, however, that insofar as the immediate future

is concerned, the White population will have to retain the leadership."

He speaks in London about the "immediate future". The more distant future is equally important to me. It is in line with what he now says. We already have a strong feeling that he followed up this statement with this one bit of consolation to his Liberals (if they are not yet satisfied with his far-reaching concessions which I have just mentioned) that "future Parliaments may decide differently". They may decide differently about the number of representatives; they may decide differently about the colour of those representatives; they may decide differently, as has already happened to the north of us, when once the policy of partnership has been accepted, about membership of the Cabinet. I say that not only has he consoled his Liberals, but he gave them the idea: Here lies the direction of your further aspirations. Then eventually the Leader of the Opposition says very carefully on top of everything that the future policy of the United Party is that of the federation of the races within the same borders. What is that? How will the federation of the races take place within the same borders? Does it mean a federation of the mixed Union Government and of the governments of each of those Natives' territories, plus also a government of the Natives within the White areas and also other Coloured governmental groups or bodies which may still come into existence? And if there is such a federation, what else can be expected than that which is found in any other form of democracy, viz. that the numerical superiority of these voters and bodies will eventually predominate in this unified state? On this side we are careful to avoid encouraging any idea of federation, because we do not want to make the government by the Whites of their own area in any way subordinate to any other higher federal body, and we do not in any way want to put the White state under the domination of a mixed government. But the policy for the future envisaged by the Leader of the Opposition is federation accompanied by subjection. Now I want to quote two witnesses as to what that would mean.

The first witness as to what it will mean if this new position of political partnership arises is (according to the *Volkstem* of January 14, 1927) contained in the words of the late General Smuts which he used at Louis Trichardt. The date makes no difference because the content of this comment deals with the results when Bantu and Whites can jointly vote for the government of the country, irrespective of the method and the time. I am

quoting his words. He uses the word "kaffir" — and I want to say clearly that it is he who used this word and not I:

"If the kaffirs in the Transvaal send a number of representatives to Parliament, the kaffirs will also be concerned in the political struggle. Just like the Whites, the kaffirs will then also enjoy the privilege and be compelled to hold political meetings in order to discuss the political problems dealt with in Parliament. The only solution lies in the establishment of kaffir councils which will deal with the problems of the kaffirs themselves in their own areas."

That is evidence of what the consequences will be of placing the Bantu on the voters' roll for the Union Parliament, namely political meetings to discuss the political problems of the whole country, including the interests of the White people — political meetings, a political struggle, and the Bantu deciding for the White people!

The second witness I want to invoke is in regard to the question of where all this will lead to. In the first place, I want to quote the London *Economist*, which contained an article dealing with events in Central and East Africa. Then I want to quote the London *Observer* where it says what it thinks will happen to South Africa in terms of the same direction. I find the following in the London *Economist* of October 22, 1955:

"Lord Malvern has sagely told them (the White people) that a privileged class must yield privileges, but he did not tell them at what rate. It is probably much faster than they think . . . It is too much to hope that the Europeans will courageously face this sentence to constructive abdication . . . The art of being submerged without actual drowning . . ."

(That will be the fate of the United Party and of the country if they get their way.)

" . . . may be difficult, but it can be seen practised in the West Indies where the Black majority rules at the polls, but the Whites reign in society and enjoy the full influence conferred by education and business leadership . . ."

That is what counts — money!:

"Together, if not overlaid by fear and security, they (i.e. the Bantu and the White people) can guarantee a comfortable and permanent home in Africa to those Europeans who accept the idea that multi-racial government can never be a stable political system,

or a set of brakes; but rather a process for creating new modern states in which power will inevitably be in the hands of Africans."

Then I come to the *London Observer* of February 8, 1959:

"The question is now being asked — what is the future of the White man in Africa, and has he a future at all? The answer is surely that he has a future, but not as a permanently privileged ruling class . . . In an interesting statement some days ago Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Central African Federation, said that while the White man may be doomed in the northern territories of 'Black' Africa (including, though he did not say so, Kenya), in Central and South Africa the present concept of a multi-racial society would become the rule."

Then follows the comment:

"Is this really credible? It is obvious that the White settlers in South Africa (27 per cent) and Central Africa (5 per cent) — we are now simply called 'settlers'! — nay, alone or together, will hold their privileged position much longer than in Kenya where there are only two per cent or less. But can they really hope to hold out for ever against a population which is beginning to organize itself and which cannot be sealed off from African nationalist propaganda from other parts of Africa? The wiser answer is that the White man has a place in Africa only if he accepts the principle that in the end the African majority must and will rule."

That is the course adopted by the United Party, even though it does not realize it or admit it. There is only one protection against it — that is my final point — and that is the choice with which we are faced. There is only one way out. We are faced with the choice of either giving the White man his own area and the Bantu his, or having one state for all in which the Bantu will govern. The struggle in Africa is for the Natives to control their own areas. The Bantu do not want mixed governments. The fear expressed by the hon. member for South Coast, that the Bantu will invite Belgians or other White people to come into their areas as partners, is nonsense. The Bantu wants his own areas in which he will have all the opportunities for employment and will govern alone. That is why there is still the choice between the one method in terms of which the Bantu can find satisfaction, and the White man can also retain his area in which he has control, and the other method of having a multi-racial community in which the Bantu is incorporated and in which he will have one ambition only,

namely to obtain full control, as was stated in these articles published in British publications, and as is stated by the A.N.C. That is also how the so-called educated leaders of the Bantu state their ambitions. I believe that we have now come to a fateful hour in which a final choice has to be made. It is not an easy choice, because, in whichever way one regards the future, there are difficulties to be surmounted. But amongst the alternatives is the choice of separate Bantu development in line with the development in Africa and in line with the objects of the world at large, viz. to give the Bantu self-government in their own areas. Then, however, we can also tell the world and Africa with even more justice: Also give us, the White people, the right to retain and to govern our own area.

When faced with that choice, our decision is clear. The decision of the United Party is actually equally clear, but they just do not say so, nor do they admit the eventual consequences. We show them our picture for the future, but they refuse to give us theirs. The reason for it is that their feet are on the road leading towards a multi-racial society and the inevitable Bantu domination, and they dare not admit it.

Now I am asked: Why, at this stage, should the Native Representatives not be allowed in this Parliament? Why is the abolition of this representation necessary at this stage, and cannot we wait until the Bantu states have first developed further and have become quite independent? To that question I can give various definite replies. The first point I want to make is this. One cannot confuse two systems and two directions. One cannot confuse it insofar as the Bantu are concerned. He will not understand that he has to do with two systems, one of which will develop further and the other of which will disappear in time. Nor can one get world opinion to understand that one is adopting a new course. For the sake of clarity in the mind of the Bantu and of the world, in Africa and amongst our own population, a definite choice should be made, and one of the greatest symbols of this choice is the removal of the Native Representatives from this White Parliament. In the transition period leading to the developing self-dependence of the Bantu areas, the White Parliament, as the guardian, has a duty to perform, but whilst the task of emancipation is being performed by the guardian it is not necessary at the same time to shelter the ward in Parliament, just as little as Britain finds it necessary to do so in regard to Basutoland. For that reason I say that for the sake of having clarity on our principles it is necessary to abolish Native representation here so that

all parties will clearly see the difference in principle between what was and what will be.

I go further. If both systems are retained, then undoubtedly the emancipation of the Bantu areas will be delayed. Then there will still be arguments about the principle because of the continual demands of the Liberals in the United Party, of the Bantu Representatives who will then be here, and the Bantu in the cities who refuse to join their own people and their own communities, for an increase in the number of Bantu Representatives in this Parliament, notwithstanding the fact that independent Bantu states are envisaged. There will not be a peaceful extension of the process of emancipation; there will be continual struggle to obtain increased privileges in a system which must disappear. It is not possible in principle, nor is it possible in practice, to allow uncertainty and strife to continue in the matter.

Thirdly, it is a fact that the Native Representatives cannot be retained because they are the declared enemies of this policy of emancipation. What they say in Parliament is not so important, but it is because of the access they have to the Natives and the status they have acquired, because they try to create the wrong impressions in the minds of the Bantu masses, try to dissuade them from this process of growing independence, that they should be deprived of the opportunity to abuse their position. For that reason they should not be in this Parliament.

Then I also want to mention a fourth reason. White South Africa cannot be asked to pay the price of gradually granting freedom to the Bantu areas whilst it is not assured of its own safety, its own security in its own area and freedom from partial Bantu control. On the one hand, we are prepared to go to the electorate and to say: Give the Bantu the chance to enjoy their freedom. But we should also be able to say: You yourselves will be safeguarded from partnership. The one principle is the emancipation of the Bantu; the other principle is the safeguarding of the White man. A most important matter of principle is therefore at stake here.

We have now come to the conclusion. The United Party made its choice in the midst of great internal dissension. The National Party made its choice with only one dissenting point of view in its ranks. The United Party has, therefore, submitted itself to the judgment of the people, and so has the National Party. The United Party will again have to ask the people whether they support a multi-racial fatherland with the extension of the franchise for the Bantu to the north and with all the implications at the end of

that road which I have already described in my speech, and along which the United Party will have to carry the country further and further because it will not be able to stop, even though it might not like to proceed on that road of integration. The United Party must, therefore, ask the people whether they are prepared to face the future even if it would mean eventual non-White supremacy. The policy of the National Party is to strive for a permanent White South Africa, whatever dangers are threatening it, whilst being prepared to develop the areas where the Bantu control may be extended under the leadership of the White man as the guardian, and on the understanding that even if it should lead to Bantu independence, it would be ensured by wise statesmanship; that that development takes place in such a spirit and in such a way that friendship will remain possible although the White man will never be under any form of Bantu control, whether in federal form or in the form of Union. That is the choice.

Broadcast Speech on the Occasion of Union Day, May 31, 1959

This Union Day, 1959, may be looked upon as a forerunner of the celebrations to be held in 1960. The fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of a constitutional experiment, which raised great expectations, lies close ahead.

Undoubtedly, all South Africans will not approach the Union Day Festival of 1960 with the same feelings or the same degree of exhilaration. Fifty years is too short a time in the life of a nation, beset by so many diverse problems, and itself born out of different nations not yet fully welded together, for all to rejoice with one accord. Nevertheless, much more progress has been made towards the desired unity and the solution of major problems than is generally realized. When one considers the stresses and strains, sometimes even the clashes of the past fifty years, the degree of co-operation, mutual good feeling and similarity of outlook existing today, is truly remarkable. One realizes that the present generation which has either forgotten what bitter strife there has been, or has never experienced it because of a relative youth, is apt to exaggerate the importance of the conflicts and emotional differences of today. Actually, in spite of most important differences in the political field, there is much more co-operation nowadays in the everyday life of the community, in the economic field, and with regard to what constitutes the sentimental bonds of a nation, than in the past.

Union between the provinces was entered upon with great hopes. These were possibly over-inflated due to the proximity of the unhappy era of war in South Africa against the two Republics only ten years before. Indeed, there was a keen desire to heal the wounds of the past. If a breathing space of ten or twenty years with few economic problems and no source of sharp political differences had been allowed the young state, the process of growing together naturally might have come up to the eager expectations. But it was not to be.

The much desired first decade of peace became a decade of war, world war, into which the young Union was drawn. Participa-

tion in war in parts of Africa and in Europe, armed protest and civil strife, deepening into rifts in connection with the acknowledgement of one another's language, educational policy and the achievement of economic independence coupled later with the desire for greater political independence by some and closer Empire bonds by others, made the first decade of Union, and to a large extent the second decade, periods of struggle and bitterness and even hatred. A labour struggle, sharp differences on matters such as constitutional development and a flag for the Union, could not, however, prevent a certain degree of national consolidation — more particularly towards the end of the second decade. In spite of everything which tore asunder, forces of nation-building were inevitably at work.

A third decade followed — but not yet one of peace. Political strife on other planes developed, which partly united former foes and partly separated former friends. Great bitterness was again experienced and yet to some this was a period wherein from their point of view the unifying forces seemed triumphant. When towards the end of that third decade a new world war struck suddenly and mercilessly, the people of the Union were, however, no one doubts this, divided in their feelings as sharply as ever before. There was a difference, however, if compared with the first decade in that the essential unity of the Union itself was never questioned, though the population found itself in two camps, over such a major matter as war or neutrality.

Peace during the fourth decade brought no rest to the troubled land. Problems such as the racial problems on which all South Africans had formerly been near unanimity, but which had become accentuated by the wars through the influx of the Bantu in to the urban areas, now formed the basis for great differences of opinion.

Although this sometimes catches the eye to such an extent that the growth of greater acquiescence on other matters becomes obscured from sight, there are times during this very fifth decade when the partial triumph of Union cannot be denied, nor its even greater promise for the future. This was the case when one flag and one national anthem were accepted by the greater part of the population in a manner perfectly impossible only two decades before.

The greater acceptance of the ideal of economic independence is another example of the gradual disappearance of what was once a most important bone of contention. The fuller acceptance of both languages as the proud possession and heritage of all of us is becoming another unifying factor. Friendship and co-operation

in social life, even where politics divide, is a further proof that the spirit is triumphing in spite of all that hampers. The sense of neighbourliness and sympathy, which brings together opposing factions, particularly when death strikes; for example, when a leader passes away, or when disaster befalls a part of the country such as during the recent floods, discloses a unity of spirit which brooks no denial.

And so, on this day of Union, the encouraging message can be brought that, despite all, we are progressing together towards the fulfilment of the ideal of a South African nation. We cannot, however, evade facing the fact that great differences still exist, and that some are growing bigger. It would, however, be equally foolish and unfair to allow ourselves to be so blinded by these differences that we cannot realize the further truth that many points of struggle have fallen away and that, however slowly and painfully, nationhood with undivided loyalty to South Africa, is being gradually achieved by the Afrikaans and English-speaking people of the Union.

Fifty years is after all a short time, and especially so when filled with such momentous events as have changed the course of nations in recent times. South Africa has been blessed in that she has neither fallen by the way, nor been stopped in her miraculous development. Since Union her progress has never ceased. May the Almighty guide us further, so that South Africa may become truly united, and great among nations.

**Speech on the Occasion of the Inauguration of the Sunday
School Buildings,
at Bloemfontein, October 1, 1959**

On 1st October, 1959 the Sunday School Buildings of the five federated Dutch Reformed Churches were inaugurated during a Sunday School Congress at Bloemfontein. More than 1,600 delegates, representing 27,000 Sunday School children, represented the 816 Dutch Reformed Congregations of the Republic, South-West Africa, the Rhodesias and Kenya. In the centre of the building above the ground floor, a monument was erected depicting a boy and a girl hoisting the national flag. Four panels depicting epic scenes from the nation's past, concerning children, were placed on each side of the monument, along the entire breadth of the building. The central group of figures was unveiled that evening at twenty minutes past seven by the Prime Minister. Immediately afterwards he addressed the congress delegates and other interested persons in the City Hall on "The meaning of the child to the Church and the Nation."

The representation of the monument which we unveiled this afternoon will always remind us of this memorable day and the memorable function which we attended. This monument is quite uniquely distinguished from the usual. It is not only a monument which pays tribute to the children of the present, but one which will make the children of each generation realize that they are the nation of the future.

Before I begin on the subject commissioned me, there is something else in connection with the unveiling of the monument which I would like to touch on. I do not wish this monument to be regarded with any suspicion whatsoever. Yesterday I experienced something which forces me to clear up this likelihood in advance. Namely, I was requested by the English-speaking section not to preside at the unveiling, because it would not be suitable for the head of the Government to unveil something which might disturb race relations. Naturally I cannot accede to such a request, as it is my conviction that what this monument represents is not in-

tended to foster a hostile spirit, now, or ever. But should I say openly how I feel about the monument, doubt about such a beautiful piece of work, built with such good intentions, may perhaps be dispelled. I suspect that the unrest is based on two assumptions. Firstly, that it is a monument to the Afrikaner child, and secondly, that the panels which are a reminder of the courage of children were illustrative of the struggle in our past. I would like to emphasize that neither of these two assumptions ought to give rise to any misunderstanding. The church of the Afrikaner set its children to the task of building this monument — the church which is concerned with its own children, the children of the people to whom it belongs. The church and all of us will welcome it, should the other section of the population pay tribute in a similar way to its children, who serve it and are members of its society.

We would like to acknowledge the part played by the English-speaking population, the constructive role they played and the courage they displayed. It is, however, not necessarily the task of the Afrikaner to honour the children of both sections with such a monument. It is the task of each section to pay tribute to its own. Neither is it the task of the Afrikaner people (over and above fighting for the preservation, the continued existence and the development of our language and paying tribute to our part in the history of the nation) to have to fight for the English language, for its accomplishments and the recognition of its history. It is the task of the English-speaking people to do this. The same holds true for paying tribute to the child and his place in history, his task and his work in the future. It is the duty of each section of the population to bring its own to the fore in the life of the community. This is the first point which I would like to emphasize to avoid misunderstanding. The rightful recognition of the child in his church and national life is taking place here. This is what we are here for today. We would welcome similar action on the part of the other section of the population, because all our children of both language groups, are the people of future South Africa.

Regarding the second point, I would like to say that my honouring the courage displayed during the Second Anglo-Boer War, when our ancestors of the two language groups fought against one another, was not intended as a provocation. Courage, religious conviction and patriotism may be honoured both in friend and enemy. Whoever displays this trait is great, because it is unselfish. Anybody, if he displays religious conviction or national loyalty, whether he fought by your side or against you, deserves to be honoured, as in one of the panels where an enemy officer pays

tribute to a young hero. For this reason nobody in South Africa need be in doubt about this monument. It is a monument to the child — the Afrikaner child — but it is a monument without reproach, it is, as I have mentioned, a monument of hope, because on the child rests our entire future.

After these introductory remarks, I would like to confine myself to the subject to which I have been commissioned, namely the meaning of the child to the church and the nation. I would like to begin by asking you to imagine a world or country without children. It is worthwhile to pose this question at the start of the discussion, because it is a fact that generation upon generation gives meaning and incentive to everything which is accomplished. Because of the child, nations and the human race as a whole, have been unaffected by the tide of the centuries. For this reason I would like to pose the question: can you imagine a world without children? If this were the case what sort of situation would then arise? One without hope or progress in any field of endeavour. We would have a nation or world without initiative. There would be no reason whatsoever for any exertion, there would be no need for research in the search for knowledge, there would be no reason to create anything — for whom, for what reason should we do this? What would be the use of it all? Progress, hard work, initiative, creativity and research, where would they all lead, if there were nobody to inherit and to follow? Why should we create anything if the fruit of our minds and our labour cannot be left to anybody? What good are riches to us, what use the conveniences which we have thought out and created for ourselves, what good is art, what good are any spiritual riches which have been brought into being by the human mind, if there is nobody to inherit or enjoy them? Why should one do anything beyond selfishly ensuring that one lives as comfortably as possible before dying. The creative urge in us, the progress of the human race through thousands of years was based on the fact that there are children. If a nation has no children, what incentive is there for the noblest urges to be fulfilled, what incentive is there for one human to love another? What inducement is there towards patriotism, if we cannot leave this to somebody else? Why should we value morality if the nation dies out with us, or when the present generation ends? Why should we value a colour bar and why should we fight for the preservation of our nation or of our white civilization? Nothing which has meaning in our present existence or which spurs us on from day to day, whether it is the driving force in the private life of the average man or the driving

force which spurs the national leader on, has any worth if there should be no following generation. Literally everything which comes into being or which is ordered, only exists because man looks ahead. Throughout the centuries humanity has been building the world of the future. It has seldom been concerned with the present. Man is a rational and creative being because he looks ahead.

If I should seem to exaggerate, in your opinion, it is to emphasize that the propagation of each generation and the child in our ranks give meaning to our lives. The child is of the greatest importance both to the state and the church. The child is the incentive to the highest degree of effort. The effort of a father and mother in their daily lives is governed by the fact that they have children. How often has it not happened that a father or mother have had to use all their savings put aside for a comfortable old age for the sake of restoring the health of a needy, sick child? What sacrifices are not made for the sake of education? It is characteristic of rich and poor to work hard so that their children may enjoy more benefits than they themselves. This is the incentive to the highest degree of effort of which man is capable. Almost nothing, not even selfish ambition, or the desire for prestige or for money can lead to so much effort, as the love for a child. The parent will not only sacrifice for the sake of his health and education, but also for his happiness and comfort, for his food and clothing. In other words for the ideal as well as the material things of life. In just this way the parent is often prepared to sacrifice and to exert himself to win prestige and honour, in order to transmit them to his child and share them with him. There are many people whose search for honour and prestige are not as selfish as they may seem. The desire for prestige may be selfish, but it may be altruistic and often is. I am taking into consideration the effort which a parent may regard as necessary even when he knows that it may affect his health or even cause his death, in order to leave his child a legacy that he may be better able to begin life, equipped with more knowledge or material possessions than the parent enjoyed.

The future of the children is an incentive to effort not only in the home, but also for the nation and the state. A country's wish for progress is partially merely mechanical. Every government tries to bring greater prosperity to the country. But behind it all lies a terrific driving force. The desire to leave a better and more prosperous country to the next generation, than you yourself inherited, is inspired in the state as in the home, by the fact that

there are children, that there is a nation of the future. The aspiration of some nations to extend their borders is often coupled with national pride. But it is coupled also with a desire to provide a solution for the increasing numbers of the population. Many a war has been waged to extend the area of a country not only to be able to be proud of a larger country, but also to provide a livelihood for the growing population. The aspiration for power is therefore, also connected with the care of the child. It may be selfish, but is connected with patriotism. If a nation sees a future by holding sway over other nations and if this nation believes that a larger country and greater power will be left to his children in this way, it will do so even at the cost of shedding the blood of the present generation which is prepared to shed it.

But also in other fields of activity, for example, the extension of knowledge, the state is only providing for the child in whatever it does. The good living conditions which are desired, the things people need or think they need, the increased number of facilities to lead an easier life, which are the results of research and study are all done for the sake of the child. These facts affirm that not only in the home but in the community and the state, the driving force behind all efforts is the presence of the child.

The same applies to church life. Why does the church make such a tremendous amount of effort for education? Why is it prepared to give so much attention to the child, apart from its evangelical work, to education, to the school and the aspiration to preserve high moral demands? It is because the child is dear to the church and sees its future in the child. Why does the church concern itself with family life? Because only a healthy family can produce a healthy child and it is extremely susceptible to the church's labour on his behalf in the service of the Almighty. The child is the incentive to the highest degree of effort. But the child is also a source of inspiration. Not only intellectual effort, not only spiritual and physical effort spring from the presence of the child, but also the emotional factors which are the driving force of man. The child provides, through the love connected with him through parents, people and the church, the background to the sacrifice of humanity. Love of a child destroys selfishness. It gives resistance to pain and fatigue. Consider the poor man who labours from day to day, or of the widow suffering pain and sorrow, who labours through the night, tired and run down, week after week, month after month, for the sake of the education of her child who is her source of inspiration. Love and the emotional drive are part of her being.

But the child does not only provide the emotional incentive to intense effort. He is also the source of all or almost all idealism. The adult often experiences difficulty in placing an ideal above material interest. Not so the child. His is spontaneous idealism. When one finds this in a young person or an adult it is often a continuation of the childish characteristic — a continuation of the idealism which is the basis for the building of nations, of the love of fellowmen, especially of the love of the nation, and especially of the love of the valued things of life. Unselfish sacrifice, idealism and unreserved faith in the nation, and the abandonment of self-interest is characteristic of youth and the average person is inspired thereby. For this reason the young make the best soldiers. Some say that the young have not sufficient sense of responsibility and act recklessly. It is not always recklessness. They may be afraid like anyone, but are often so permeated with the ideal for which their nation is fighting that they are able, as the soldiers of their people, to ignore the threat of death, even in the midst of fear. For this reason reformers of society are often young people, but not always since the characteristic of youth may be carried deep into adulthood. But the idealism of youth is the stuff of the reformer, recreating the world and often bringing into being a new outlook on the future.

There is also another reason for the inspiration which emanates from the child and that is his childish confidence in people and things, and his ability to have religious conviction undisturbed by doubt. By his religious conviction and childlike trust, he often sets an example for older people to follow. Nothing is so beautiful to the Christian as this childlike trust and the religious conviction often found in young people; it makes one feel ashamed to see how completely the young are able to sacrifice themselves. In this way the Church is strengthened and this is especially so because so many find strength by seeing what an innocent child is capable of believing. But the inspiration which emanates from the child also takes place in another way indirectly. As educators of the young, it is our task to transmit knowledge to them. But when we educate and try to transmit knowledge, we are not satisfied with merely delivering knowledge, but always wish to know more ourselves. When the child asks what we the teachers cannot answer, we are forced to go to the research institute. His thirst for knowledge is an incentive to us and the teacher often becomes the research worker.

For this reason I say that the child often serves as inspiration in connection with our thirst for knowledge. I said that the enthusiasm

or inspiration resulting from the child is very important. One can test this by thinking of the opposite. What discourages a parent most of all, when is he most uninspired, as it were? What hurts the pride of a nation most? What crushes the Church's honour most? Is it not when the child becomes estranged morally from parents, nation or Church? Is it not when he perpetrates crimes, becomes a juvenile delinquent, ducktail or whatever you may like to call it? Is it not when he abandons his people or even worse, when he betrays his people? Is it not when he derides his faith? In this way we may see how important it is for the nation and the Church that the child should be educated correctly, that he should be inspired with ideals, that he should lead a clean life, that he should develop the strongest characteristics and that he should found his life on faith. I emphasized inspiration, but I would like further to emphasize that the presence of the child, his existence in our midst, his ability to creep into our hearts, his interest in our future, are also responsible for the cancellation of certain ugly traits in man. Where there are children anti-social traits such as selfishness and fear of people do not exist. The family, nation and the Church learn to live for their children, they learn to look to the future. The comforts of daily life, do not count very much any more, and clashes with society fall away, reproaches at the leaders become unimportant because aspirations in the interest of the child becomes all-important. The unselfish, the most beautiful characteristics of man, come to the fore when he deals with children, the best characteristics of a nation make their appearance when it is thinking of its children.

I spoke of parental love where the family is placed before the parent who does not place some or other self-interest supreme. He will even go without food to give it to the child. But not only for one child, he thinks of the family unit, man, wife and children, all together, come first. Parental love makes the individual subordinate, and the family comes first. Out of this comes patriotism, the broad form of love, which lets the nation take a first position in preference to the family. Everyone will sacrifice himself for his family, but when the nation calls and national ideals are in the balance, he will pass the family by to listen to the voice of his country, even if it should mean that by laying the gift of life on the altar, the family will be neglected. But love has yet another form. It also takes the form of worship and faith. This is the love of God and is primary. It has precedence to nation and fatherland, wife and child.

It is the presence of the child which begets this love, love which

is moulded in many forms, and which in its highest form, is all-sacrificing. It places faith above all else. Sacrifice, readiness to set an example, to suffer so that others may have a better life! If we in South Africa look to the future fearfully and are troubled about the colour problem in our midst, it is because we think of our children and their children's children. If we were merely to see to it that there is no trouble in our times, we would not have to trouble, we would merely accept the fact that things cannot deteriorate much more. However, we are troubled by the future. Our willingness to make sacrifices and our striving to find solutions spring from the realization that our children may live in a time of trouble if we do not take precautions in time. We wish to create a future and a country where there will be no clashes, not for our own sakes, but for the sake of our children's future. By this means selfishness is conquered. The child's interest is all-important, it is love that is supreme from which the sacrifice comes.

But the child also serves as a link, he does not only stimulate one to action. He does not only inspire us, he does not only lead us away from selfishness. He is the unifying factor in our life. I have hardly to say how binding a factor he is in the life of a family because we all know it, each one of us, whether as parent or from our experience as children in the home of our parents. We know what it means to the relationship between man and wife, between parents and children and the creation of a unifying bond when there are children. This is nothing new, but is also something which we need not ever stop saying because where there are vices in family life and when the Church or the state have to fight against these, it must be done bearing in mind that the child is a more binding factor than many others. But the child is not only a unifying force in a family. The child is a unifying factor, even if one does not usually realize it, in the life of the community as a whole, he is a unifying force in the life of a nation. I spoke a few moments ago of how a nation or a state has goals and may strive to have policies with a view to the future, more than to the present. This is one of the unifying factors. But the fact that a nation has its children to care for, even brings about, as I said in the beginning, that the nation will become more united and will even fight to the death with other nations. This is because the bond, the child and the desire to care for him are so strong. But in lighter activities this bond may also be seen.

Can you imagine national songs, the national anthem which moves us deeply and strengthens the ties between us, without the voice of youth? Is it not the melodious voices of the young people

in national songs which move us so deeply? Is it not the song of young South Africa which affects us? Is it not when a mass of young people sing the "Stem van Suid-Afrika" that we are more profoundly moved than by anything else? Is it not when the young people joyfully sing out and thus show their national love that we feel what a bond it forms between fellowmen? And it is when the young speak of future national ideals and what they wish the nation to be, that one is most deeply moved. Can one imagine folk dances and national festivals without the participation of the young people, without them forming practically the main part of the programme? National festivals without the participation of the young people would be dead because they would merely be a monument to the past, instead of the foundation of the future. In any national activity it is the young people who are the unifying force and who bring about the unity which makes one feel it is worthwhile to be one of the nation.

The child is also a unifying force in the Church and between people and their Church. The desire to have a child is one of the greatest urges in mankind, to love him and to take care of him. And when the child comes, gratitude fills our hearts and is directed as in moments of crisis, Above. Gratitude that you too have a child strengthens the bond with the Church, which is the bearer of your faith. The Church's action towards your child, the christening, its co-operation in the education and the forming of character in your child, towards something beautiful, not only makes one grateful but makes the bond with the Church even stronger. Should you be inclined to neglect Church attendance, if you think what it can mean to the child to have your support in what you believe to be of the greatest value in his life, you will leave comfort and ease and sacrifice your selfishness and thus make the bond with the Church closer, through the child.

One accepts the Church as spiritual father and also as the spiritual father of one's child. One is also interested in the eternal welfare of one's child and these factors all create bonds which are indestructible, bonds which may never be broken.

But besides the fact that children move us so deeply and lead us in so many ways to action, they also make one proud — proud in the best sense of the word. What greater joy can there be for a parent or family than the achievement, the progress and the beautiful character of a child? If your child achieves anything in his work, in his studies or in sport, what pleasure does it not give? The mother who knows nothing about football, is nevertheless proud of her child's achievement. The parent who visits a

gymnasium where his child is being trained, for police service or for the army, is proud of what he has achieved in that group. Something which is completely alien to his experience becomes a source of joy and happiness when it concerns his child's achievement. And especially when your son grows up and you see beautiful characteristics such as unselfishness in him, especially when he has children of his own and displays fatherly love towards them, or your daughter who could never understand why her parents used to be so concerned with all her brothers and sisters but who now gives all her labours and her life and her energy to her little group of children, how much does that not mean to you? The highest joy which anyone may experience, is the pride in the achievements of one's children, whatever they may be, and in their beauty of character.

But what pride wells up more strongly in a people than to see children standing by the nation. Just as it hurts a nation to lose its children, just as proud is it when they are faithful. There is nothing which gives a national leader such a sense of pride as the tribute paid by its young people. Not because they pay tribute to him, but because it is a manifestation of patriotism, to take pleasure in anything which leads to the progress of the nation. Patriotism cannot go deeper than the joy which youth can give. And when one looks at the Church, one may ask oneself on what occasion does the churchman bow deeper in gratitude to his Lord, than when he sees deep religious conviction in the children of his people, the children of his Church. There is no nobler pride than the visible experience that the Church's work was not in vain, that faith is not fading from the face of the earth, because it is anchored in the children. What greater pleasure can there be for the Church? This afternoon when I saw the immense crowd of children here I wondered if there is anything which gives the Church leaders so much peace of mind and joy than to see this mass of children, representative of the greatest portion of the children of South Africa, gathered together in their Church to honour something connected with it.

Love is perhaps the greatest of all emotions. Not without reason it was said, faith, hope and love, these three, but the greatest is love. I am thinking firstly of love of Church and people of which the child may be seen as a symbol, because the child is the greatest creator of love. Who brings out love so deeply and strongly as the child? Only think of all-sacrificing mother-love. Not even the love of a man towards a woman or a woman towards a man is so all-sacrificing as mother-love. It is as though the child has anchored himself in the mother's heart and these anchors cannot

be removed without tearing and causing pain leaving everlasting scars. So deep is the love of a mother that she will willingly sacrifice her comfort, her beauty, the food out of her mouth, even her life when it is demanded. And if it is best for him, her overwhelming love will make her capable of giving her child up in death, despite her own great sorrow. Consider also the all-protecting love of a father. Fatherly love may not be despised. It is customary to place all the emphasis on mother-love and rightly so. But in conjunction and interwoven with it, is the protecting love of a father which cares and provides for the child, making him work his hands to the bone, which may even force him to allow a farm to pass out of his hands so that something good may become of his child. How many bonds have been taken out on farms to cover the education of the child?

But a child is actually the greatest giver of love, and we perhaps do not always think of this. We are inclined to think that the love of a child is selfish. It may be so especially at first, and later again, but there are times when love is never more frank and given more freely than by a child. When he does not ask whether his mother is beautiful or ugly, to him she is beautiful whatever she may look like; when he throws his arms around your neck not for the sake of becoming wealthy or of gaining anything but purely out of love. His youth may pass away, but the experience of all-sacrificing love has the greatest meaning for the parent, the family, the nation and the Church because it is a symbol of the highest love. But also the child's love of the Lord may be taken as a model. Have we not all seen children worshipping so truly and sincerely in such absolute faith, that one might even feel jealous of it? He may not carry this dedication into adulthood, as his all-giving love towards the parent. But while it is there, it serves as a model. It may justly be said that childlike faith, childlike trust and childlike love, are the ideals towards which we adults should strive. And if this is so, then clearly the child is the most important field of endeavour on the part of both state and Church. His care and education must be the primary task. The entire future of the nation and the Church are dependent on it. To neglect the child and his education is practically suicide, the suicide of a nation and a Church. If a nation does not care for its children, if it cannot lead its children to deeper understanding by means of knowledge, and to deeper insight, and should the Church not do this or be unable to do it, then they are both committing suicide, because they are throwing away the future, the future which depends on people not on beautiful Church or state buildings, not on laws of Church or state.

Therefore the nation, the state and the Church must keep its children and therefore, we must be troubled by all kinds of deviations which affect the child. We must be troubled when there is neglect or sickness. We must be troubled when the numbers of children in the population decreases. For this reason we must do everything to discover the means of saving the lives of the children from their earliest years. For this reason we should be troubled by manifestations of crime or immorality in the community. We must be troubled and we must guard and fight against them with all the strength at the disposal of state and Church. For this reason a nation and its government can never regard the education of its children as not being its task and delegate it to somebody else. The state must see to it that the education of its people's children should be led along the correct paths. It may not be done with selfish motives, e.g. party political motives. It may not strive to lead the children in narrow paths to suit some or other temporary purpose. It must have a broad outlook in the interest of the entire nation and for the whole of the future. It must accept the responsibility and see to it that everyone who has to deal with education bases it on sound principles. The Church may also not neglect its children. To the Church the children of the nation are, as it were, its first mission. It also brings to the child, as a novice in the faith, the eternal word of God. If it neglects this primary mission and the children do not receive primary and full attention, what hope does it have later for a mission to the heathens? If a farmer pays too much attention to his irrigated lands a long way below the fountain neglecting the source of his water, what will the irrigated lands be worth later, should the fountain dry up? What use is it to the Church if its children, the fountain and the source of its strength in the future, should be neglected for the sake of a far-flung field of activity? Therefore, I repeat, that for both the state and the Church, our children are the most important field of endeavour.

I come now to my final point and that is that the child not only has significance for the nation and the Church in many ways, but that the Church and the people also are of great significance to the child. About this I have already said a few words. It must educate him and build up his character daily. But it has not only meaning for the child now, but more particularly in what he will become as an adult. It therefore means a great deal to the child later in life. And this is self-evident, because we all realize that the child of today will become the man and woman of tomorrow. I would like to emphasize one point especially, and this is that although it has always been important to prepare a child for life

through education, it is especially true of our time because we live in a very unique century. I have pointed out on other occasions that the century which lies ahead will make great demands on us. Not so much on us, we pass away quickly enough, but on our children. It will make more and bigger demands on them than ever because knowledge though increased over reasonably long periods in the past, is increasing so swiftly at present that one is scarcely able to stand the pace, particularly the average person who inherits the new knowledge from those who think creatively.

It is said that the human mind does not recognize any obstacles any longer. It is searching for the nature and the origin of life, it wishes to conquer all illness, it wishes to determine the human lifespan. Nature holds no secrets any longer which the human mind does not consider it can unravel. In everything man is seeking full knowledge. He is no longer satisfied to look at the starry firmament through a telescope. He is stretching forth his hand in space and wishes to set foot on the planets. Distance is to be conquered with fantastic speeds. From the one point of the earth to the other he roved, first in years and then in months, later in weeks and now in hours. Shortly it may be minutes. Man literally stops at nothing in his search for knowledge. The atomic age in which man is living will make demands, demands on knowledge, but above all demands on personality. If man does not wish to drift in the ocean of everlasting thirst for knowledge, get lost and perhaps even drown, he must have some anchors. At a university function I said that one of the anchors which can assure man's education is the anchor of his people. If a person can remain aware of his nation in the midst of everything, if he is still filled with love of his fellowmen, of those who are closest to him in his community and amongst his people, then he has an anchor which can prevent him from drifting in the ocean of knowledge and ensure his safety.

At a Church function, I emphasized that the Church also must be an anchor. A person's link with the Church may save him in the jungle of the future. Formerly there were dark ages of ignorance after which each couple of centuries brought with them great developments. However, now things are happening so fast that man can scarcely keep the pace if he does not have anchors. I wish to add a third point to what I said previously, and that is that we must educate our children of today to be good adults and prepared for the time to come. We are busy giving them knowledge in our schools, but are we also providing them with resistance, are we equipping them with strong characters? This must be our aim.

And the Church must also bear this in mind. For the Church which is conservative, knowledge must not be a source of worry, danger and a form of sin. Why should the extension of human knowledge now suddenly be regarded something terrible? Why should we think of it as something about which we should hesitate? Why should we think that it will strengthen disbelief? Is the knowledge which we have today not far more than that of two thousand years ago, and has our knowledge of man, nature and the forces, which have been developed during the centuries become a reason for disbelief, or have they given us a greater reason for respect and even greater adoration for the omnipotence of the Creator? Is this not the way in which our Church should approach the matter at present? Since the atomic age is at hand and our children are to experience it, should they not realize now that all knowledge which may emanate from the moon and the stars and the planets only emphasizes the wonder and the magnitude, the endless greatness of the Creator and the Creation?

And lastly. The child is our most precious jewel. We cannot hide him. We must show him off. We must not let him be stolen from us, we must keep him. The child is our future, the future of our people, the future of our Church. We cannot lose him. We must not only dedicate a monument to the child of today and the child of the future. We must not only give him love. We must not only think of his past and his present. Each generation must realize that the child is its continuation. It must dedicate all its thoughts and energy to those who are to follow. Our nation and our Church must help to create the future for our children. The future of the people is forward and the future of the church is upward!

**Festival Speech on the Occasion of Kruger Day in the
Amphitheatre, Union Buildings, Pretoria,
October 10, 1959**

We commemorate our heroes. This actually means nothing else but that we pay tribute to those who wanted to give all to their country and their people. It is a tribute to the unselfish national leaders of the whole period of our young history!

When we stand in the arid desert of our everyday life, we sometimes wish to look beyond to the promise of a future built on the ideals that have been bequeathed to us by our ancestors. Then it is as if we see between our desert and that land of hope a mountain range beyond which we do not only want to look, but climb in due course. The mountain range symbolizes the line of our heroes. There in the far distance we see, partly veiled by the haze, peaks of a mountain range jutting out which we can still recognize. They are the heroes of long ago: the founders of our country, the planters of our nation. Through the mists we see the peaks of achievement of those who trekked inland — the foremost pioneers and — nearer, but also veiled — the actual Voortrekkers who followed after them! In those high summits we see not only those who led as statesmen, but also the heroes of faith of our past, those who educated our people, those who led on the battle-field — to open up a country, to clean out a country, to make a country free, to make a country great!

Close at hand we see the blue mountains standing in clear perspective while in the distance the rugged ravines have already become invisible. These are the heroes of not so long ago: the heroes who lived in a time of trouble and struggle and who among themselves likewise experienced difficulties such as we do among ourselves today. And between those blue mountains and those summits a mountain peak stands out, the highest top, the beacon by which we align ourselves, by which this nation will align itself until its remotest future. That is Paul Kruger! Like the highest peak, snow-clad because of the height into which he reaches, he stands there for our nation.

But nearer we see mountains with ravines and fissures in their cliffs which, because we still stand close by, cannot be seen quite in perspective. These mountains near us, but nevertheless mountains, symbolize General Hertzog, Dr. Malan, Adv. Strijdom! This evening we commemorate especially the two who were nearest, who passed away most recently.

Through the life of every nation runs a golden thread that indicates where it comes from and where it is going to. It is a golden thread that can also be seen in our national life. It extends from very early in our history when we just began to be a nation. From there it was carried by an idea of what should come about at the southern point of Africa: a white nation, a Christian nation which should perhaps be and remain at the forefront, even in the most difficult times of the white nation, with its mission in the world. Such a golden thread, which represents the national idea of a people, runs especially through the lives of the men called to leadership. Now we see the golden thread continued in the life of a Paul Kruger and a President Steyn and a General De Wet and a General Hertzog and a Dr. Malan and an Adv. Strijdom, and others you may add in your own heart. Not only the statesmen are strung on this golden thread. There are also the men of faith, the educators, the researchers and all the builders of the nation. But I have mentioned these men to indicate thereby that there are leaders, sometimes of great stature, who cannot or do not want to be co-bearers of that national idea. They are like detached mountains — not forming part of the mountain range. They are persons through whose life the golden thread does not run. They are forgotten in the national life because only that which was by nature deeply attached to it sticks in the national mind. So we must also see our own national life and own national history: they should help us to know how to conduct ourselves in the future. We should measure ourselves by the standard of those men with whom we want to be associated and tethered in times to come.

If we want to test our lives, then he whom I have called the snow-capped peak in our range of great men has given us the standard: . . . "Seek in the past that which is good and fine, mould your ideal according to that and try — try at least — to accomplish it." What do we see now of the fine and the good in our past?

Some of the primary fine things in our national history were surely our national pride and our national loyalty. National pride is to be glad with your whole heart and soul about the achieve-

ments of your nation! — knowing that it is small in the comity of nations, yet loving it above all else and not yearning to belong to any other nation! And national pride is coupled with national loyalty; for one is also loyal to that which one is proud of, that which one loves in weal and woe — in whose prosperity one wishes to share and whose adversity one will be resigned to.

Another virtue of the past was perseverance. Did not our forefathers have to persevere in order to bequeath to us this country which we have inherited? Greater perserverance than the earliest pioneers, the creators of our state, had to exercise, can hardly be required of human beings. Perseverance in the struggle was one of the features that were so fine and good in that past and it was certainly also a feature of the leaders we laid to rest recently — Dr. Malan and Adv. Strijdom. Could we not also measure our national pride and our national loyalty against their lives, and endeavour to emulate them? Would we not bestow upon our nation the perseverance these two bestowed upon their nation during their lives? — the one in a long life, the other in a life, alas, cut short so soon!

Progressiveness was a third of the great features of that past. I know that it was said that Paul Kruger was a conservative old "Boer" who did not want to let his state be developed; but I know also that history has proved that allegation to be untrue. It is true that he opposed particular forms of expressing progressiveness. But that we know today also. It sometimes passes by the name of liberalism and in his time also the abandonment of one's own good, the abandonment of one's own nationhood, were regarded as progressive. One could be highly esteemed in the ranks of the nations by surrendering one's freedom and one's respect, by not wanting to be only a small nation but a part of a greater whole. That form of progressiveness was as unwelcome to him as to us today. But he wanted to develop his country. He wanted to give his country an access to the sea. He wanted to educate his children for the new era that was to come. He was progressive! He was progressive as patriot, as the father of his people, as the creator of his nation's future within its own country. And in this way we also want to be progressive but not otherwise.

And he coupled with that unity. In his last message, read to you again this evening, he placed unity foremost as a grand ideal, as the aim of a nation that wants to survive and to continue building up — "Unity is Strength" — the motto which our nation never should forsake.

And now, looking back again at the two leaders who passed away so recently, progressive and seeking unity, was that not also their motto? Was it not more than a motto with them? Was it not the endeavour of their lives? Both of them, Dr. Malan and Adv. Strijdom, threw in all they could for the growth of our country, for its prosperity in all spheres. They were prepared to give up everything else for the sake of unifying the people.

"Bring together that which belongs together" — the well-known motto which Dr. Malan gave to South Africa, will also in our life ahead be a virtue of the past that is fine and good. And let me add — "bring together that which belongs together" — could perhaps up to now be implemented only in limited circles, but if our national life grows, if our endeavour for liberty is accomplished, then that motto will also extend beyond the language boundaries in our country. Then there would be much more to bring together, and they would all belong together because they all belong to South Africa.

"My people must be a free people," Paul Kruger said, and thereby left us a fine and beautiful ideal from the past. He strove for a free people and a free state. He began the building up thereof when there was nothing. As young man he helped to break up the fallow land; as an old man he had to surrender that freedom; but his life was devoted thereto. And was this not also the aim of our two leaders, recently passed away? They were not allowed to inherit it — let us then try to achieve it in our lifetime. But freedom is not only something dearly bought, is not only something requiring sacrifices, it is something that has to be accepted with the heart and the mind and that cannot be left to your leaders only. Your people will have to appropriate it!

But then Paul Kruger also referred to something else that is fine and good. He said: "My people must be a Christian people." He lived in faith; he ruled by means of his faith. The Bible was his guide and he longed for it also to be the directing principle of his people! Was it not also the directing principle of the lives of the two leaders who have gone on before us? The one was a churchman before he became a statesman — the other a lover of his Church, as deep as one can hope to find in one's life. Both wanted to serve, but made their service to their people subordinate to their service to their God.

Friends, I have tried to state to you a few of the fine and beautiful things from the past, especially in the life-time of Presidents Kruger and Steyn and as projected into the recent past which we especially commemorate tonight. But now I have to

draw a lesson from that. You know that the Judges of Israel were not only to rule, but also had to warn and admonish. And now it is fitting for us, and especially on days like these, also to receive warnings in order that we may make of our future that which our past held out as a promise.

I just want to say a few words to you regarding two of these good and fine things in order to derive instruction therefrom. I said that Paul Kruger wanted his people to be a free people and that the life endeavour of Dr. Malan and Adv. Strijdom was to help to make us a free people in the fuller sense of the word, although in political respect we are already that to a large extent and perhaps nearly to the fullest extent. But to be a free people does not only mean that the leaders or the Government must take the nation politically independent. If the nation inwardly does not deserve it, is not disciplined, not ready to exert itself and ardently to devote itself, if it is prepared to reject those who call it to exertion in order to make its freedom something worthy and complete, then that nation does not deserve its freedom. Mere political independence in republican form is not the end of our endeavour. The country must also be independent economically to the fullest extent that a nation can be independent in the present world order. It is essential that we should make the freedom that we want; make it fruitful by the work of our hands and the diligence of our minds; that by seeking after knowledge and by unselfish service to our state, we should show that we deserve to be called republicans.

But I also want to mention a second example. We have said that South Africa must be White. Our will and our whole political endeavour are directed towards ensuring that fairness and justice be done to White and non-White, but that we want to manage our White area alone. It is, however, not enough if our political leaders obtain that for us. We must, and that the political leader cannot do and no law can accomplish in the long run, we must, everyone must, keep our nation White. And if with admiration we look back at the way the forefathers by the purity of their lives left us a White nation, then we have to realize that it is our task also by a pure, decorous life to maintain a White nation here. Great is the pain and suffering of any family and any friend when this highest law has been infringed. But greater still is the pain and the damage to a nation when some of its children have sinned against its blood.

New Year Message to the People of South Africa on December 31, 1959

Never before in our history did so many great, and above all shocking events, take place in the short period of one year, as in 1960. The great events of the year were gravely ushered in by the Prime Minister on the 20th January, when he announced that a referendum concerning the question of a republic would be held. The following day the greatest mine disaster in our history took place in the Free State in the Clydesdale mine. On the 24th January nine policemen, including four young Europeans, were murdered at Cato Manor, Durban. On the 27th January, the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan, arrived at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts airport on a short visit to South Africa. On the 29th February a boycott of South African goods was started in London. On the 5th March the fiftieth anniversary celebrations of the Union were officially opened by the Governor-General.

After that, on the 21st March, events took a serious turn for the worse when riots broke out at different places in our country and a police unit was compelled to shoot at Sharpeville near Vereeniging, Langa near Cape Town, and at Vanderbijlpark. Four days later unauthorized meetings were prohibited — a day before the greatest political rally in our history took place at Meyerton. On the 28th March Bantu who had been organized beforehand, burnt their pass books, resulting in the proclamation of a state of emergency in 80 magisterial districts. On the 9th April the most shocking event in our history took place when an attempt was made to assassinate the Prime Minister. On the same day, the A.N.C. (African National Congress) and the P.A.C. (Pan Africanist Congress) were proclaimed unlawful organizations.

Although there was a strained atmosphere for a considerable time, the tide began to turn and the magnificent Union celebrations were held in Bloemfontein on the 31st May. On the 31st August, the state of emergency was altogether repealed. On the 1st October, the jet plane epoch in South Africa was ushered in with an initiation flight between Jan Smuts airport and London. On the 5th October the referendum took place and the majority of

the electorate voted in favour of a republican form of government.

The year which lies ahead is of special significance to South Africa. The festival celebrating fifty years of Union is to be held in 1960. In spite of differences of opinion as to precisely what people expected of Union, very few would contend seriously today that Union should never have been brought about. It will be generally acknowledged that the degree of unity already attained — politically, economically and culturally — no matter what problems the new state has had to face from time to time, or how imperfect the consolidation into one nation may still be, is far preferable to diversification in all fields of endeavour and the clashes in policy which would have resulted had the four or five territories each developed on their own. While admitting the differences that still exist, we can all therefore feel justified in looking back with satisfaction during the coming year on the creation of Union. May I, on the eve of 1960, and with particular reference to the festivities, call upon everyone to set aside such differences and to join in thanksgiving for what has been achieved.

When everything is taken into consideration, the past fifty years must be recognized as a period of remarkable development. Europeans belonging to two language groups and of different national origins, had to participate in the government of a new state, although scarcely ten years before they had been enemies on the battle-field. Republics and colonies had to be welded together. Two wars intervened which evoked different emotions in the respective population groups. At the outset the people had divergent professional and economic interests, were of different cultural and political heritage and outlook, and had other Church affiliations and historical backgrounds. Yet they had to find common grounds, or at least learn to bear with each other. This had to be achieved in a country afflicted with unparalleled racial problems due to the presence of three non-European population groups and the numerical preponderance of the least civilized one. The differences of policy which resulted from this situation, had to be faced, even though everything was made more difficult still by an uninformed and highly emotional world opinion.

It is no less than a miracle that, taking all this into consideration, the Union of South Africa could after only fifty years reach that degree of co-operation, harmony and adaptability which is the case, as well as such a high standard of development and prosperity. There has always been such balance and stability in the control of its social, economic and political life in spite of every-

thing which threatened the sound development of the Union, that it rightly deserves the admiration and respect of that portion of the world community which is still capable of contemplating without prejudice, what happens in another country. We too should not allow ourselves to be blinded by the differences which exist among us, but should rather be proud of the greater wonder of that measure of understanding, growing together and progress which is already ours. Let us commence the New Year in this spirit of sober evaluation of achievement, and celebrate Union in this frame of mind.

South Africa is like a diamond with many facets. If one looks at one face only, the diamond may appear dull and lifeless. Should light, however, be made to fall on facet after facet, its brilliance and lustre, beauty and colour become fully revealed. During the past years, but particularly during 1959, only one facet of South African life drew the attention of the world at large, namely that of racial relations. In our own country we too became guilty of such one-sidedness. Unnecessarily the country and its future seemed dim. Unnecessarily, observers became despondent. May everybody view the Union of South Africa quite differently during 1960. We must begin with the new approach ourselves and trust that the world may follow suit, namely to let the light fall on all the facets of South Africa and South African life. Then it will shine brightly for all to see, as should the jewel which is South Africa. If the Press, and public of South Africa and world organizations could be induced to look at our country from all angles and not interest themselves passionately only in our colour problems day and night, then the atmosphere internally and externally would change completely.

Here are a few facets:

South Africa is beautiful. Exquisite is her natural scenery. Blue is her sky. Majestic are her mountains. Deep is the sea, abounding with fish. White are her beaches. Vast are the plains. Plentiful and full of variety is her wild life. Green are the forests and ravines. Let visitors come to enjoy her beauty and learn to love South Africa.

South Africa is rich. Numerous are her minerals, hidden deep in the bosom of her earth, but uncovered by the spirit of adventure and diligence of her children. Ever on the increase are her industries, comprehensive and of great variety; well distributed and well managed, giving a livelihood to all portions of the population. The cultivation of her soil and the care of her stock enjoy the most devoted attention. Agriculture, gardening, animal

husbandry, flourish in as many forms as any country can offer. Highveld, Lowveld, Karoo, dry land farming, and irrigation farming in profusion, and in all forms, deliver the agricultural produce of the country. Let the world become our guests, and admire our economic achievement.

South Africa is progressive. She has become the foremost industrial country in Africa within scarcely fifty years. Her products can with justifiable pride be exhibited throughout the world and be a credit to merchants at home and abroad. She has become a country with a high standard of living, and a high level of education and research. She is a bearer of civilization. To Africa she can give — and does so willingly — the benefit of her knowledge, her scientific advancement and her experience. She can provide, better than any other, assistance to the developing new states because she best knows the conditions existing in this continent.

South Africa is honest. Her problems are faced squarely. It might be easier to hide them behind more popular and theoretical solutions and concessions to sentiment — on paper only — as is done elsewhere, and so satisfy the outside world by apparently conforming to its wishes although actually nothing is solved thereby. South Africans, however, do not bluff themselves or others in this way. Candidly they state their problems and suggest real solutions, even the different plans of those who differ greatly. This intrinsic honesty too is one of the facets which should shine brightly in eyes that do not wish to look only through darkened glasses.

South Africa is pious. Those who imagine that there is lack of goodwill towards any population group or in the approach to any problem, have no real understanding of the country or its people. South Africa need not yield to any country in her missionary zeal, in her desire to have justice done to everybody or in her realization that the Supreme Judge will ultimately pass judgment on both deeds and motives. A deep regard for what is pure, righteous and of a high moral standard and a genuine attempt to satisfy the highest demands follow from the religious character of her people. Others may be satisfied with the appearance of "doing good". Not so South Africa. She seeks a real solution to her problems even though she must pay the price of being misunderstood and as a result abused.

South Africa remains true to the duty laid up the white man. During past centuries the white man developed and spread Western civilization from Europe throughout the world. He may not relinquish this task now. Nevertheless the leading white nations are

in danger of sacrificing their position and their fundamental duty for the sake of temporary objectives which seem important during the present period of the liberation of nations and the struggle for power between the major states, each of whom attempts to obtain at all costs the support of the smaller and backward ones. Such white nations feel so safe in their own homogeneous countries, that they do not realize the extent of the retrogression of the white man's position in the world and the consequent gradual undoing of his civilizing influence. The Union of South Africa fills a strategic position as a white state at the southern tip of Africa. As such it must by its conduct be the bearer of this warning, as well as the discoverer of the method by which White and Black can live in peace and mutual support beside each other, and therefore without the white man disappearing as a major civilizing influence in a multi-racial country or a multi-racial world. As soon as this is understood by the world at large, it will also be a facet which will shed lustre upon South Africa.

Nineteen-sixty is upon us. Let the past bury the past — all the confusion, controversy and unpleasantness. Man must always look and strive towards the future and in this find inspiration and strength. No South African can set himself higher ideals than to seek the triumph of right and justice for his beloved country so that she may be seen in the right light — bright and beautiful, a diamond amongst the nations of the earth.

Reply to the Motion of No Confidence of the Leader of the Opposition, on January 20, 1960

On the 20th January, 1960 the Prime Minister announced in the House of Assembly that the Government had decided to hold a referendum on the establishment of a republic. He did it during the no-confidence debate. Before making this announcement he briefly replied to the arguments of the Leader of the Opposition who insinuated that the National Party had actually lost ground in the Provincial election of the previous year, because there was a drop in the number of votes in comparison with the Parliamentary election. To indicate that the United Party had no right to hand in a motion of no-confidence, the Prime Minister analysed the results in different constituencies and proved how great the drop in the number of votes for the United Party actually was. In the Transvaal for example, the National Party increased its number of seats in the Provincial Council by three, making a total of 48, while those of the United Party decreased from 23 to 20 seats. The Prime Minister said that the highest number of seats ever taken by a party was 114, this during the Coalition period of General Hertzog and General Smuts. The second highest was now, namely 110.

The next problem which now comes within the realm of practical politics is the attainment of a republic in South Africa. It is therefore my intention on this occasion to ask for the confidence of the people of South Africa, as well as the confidence of this House, for the continuation of the application of that policy. With that end in view, I want to express certain opinions now in respect of our republican aim in the immediate future. I hope to make a very clear statement in that regard. In my opinion it is absolutely essential *inter alia* because there are all sorts of rumours in the English-language Press in South Africa as well as in other quarters in this country as to our alleged intentions. It has been alleged for example — I read it in yesterday's *Cape Times* — that it is our intention to hold a surprise election in regard to the republican issue in the second half of this year. In other words,

certain allegations are being made with regard to the form in which the electorate will be asked to decide, as well as in regard to the time factor. The Opposition, with great self-complacency, have also been telling the people, even from public platforms, of the great dissension and uncertainty which are alleged to exist in the ranks of the National Party, in its caucus and in the Cabinet with regard to this matter. The United Party has been pinning its hopes on that. It has built its hopes on a foundation of sand.

I want to say in advance today that everything I propose to say here has the unanimous support of my Cabinet and the unanimous support of my caucus, and I will, I have no doubt, also receive the full support of the National Party in this country. I want to add that I believe that it will also receive the full support of our other republican supporters in this country.

One of the problems with which one has to deal when one feels that the time for the realization of this ideal is approaching, as I am convinced is the case, is this question in the first place: In what way should the electorate of South Africa be asked to take its stand in this regard? I want to say unequivocally that I do not believe that the decision should be obtained by means of an election. I want to announce therefore that this issue will be put to the electorate by way of referendum. The reason for selecting this method is that this concerns an issue on which the nation should be able to decide the future unhampered by other complications. We do not want the casting of a vote to be determined on party lines. I do not want to bind members of my party who do not wish to vote for a republic to do so. I do not know whether the hon. the Leader of the Opposition is going to try to make a party propagandistic matter out of this. I do not know whether the leader of the Progressive Party is going to try to make a party issue out of it. The Government, however, is going to have this issue put to the people of South Africa and, just as we do in this House when we leave something to the free vote of the House, the people will decide on their future, freely and genuinely. I do not believe, therefore, that an election in which the parties inevitably oppose each other, and in which the personalities of members (candidates) and of leaders play a role, is the right course. In making such a decision those factors ought not to play a role. I do not even want the question of confidence or no-confidence in a Government to be linked up with it. The Government is in power and will remain in power, so that nobody who votes a particular way need be afraid that in doing so he is throwing out his Government, and nobody who is not anxious to vote for the

Government, need have the feeling that he cannot vote for the republic, although his love and his inclinations and his desires dictate that he should do so. The voting will therefore take place not by way of an election, but by way of a referendum.

There are various ways in which a referendum can be held. One possible method is to vote for a representative pro-republican in a large area or in a combined group of smaller areas, or for a group of pro-republicans in a province or in the country, or for an anti-republican or a group of anti-republicans. We reject that method because it also introduces the personal factor. We have chosen the method of a direct decision on this matter of principle: for or against a republic.

I hope therefore, that this is clear: The referendum will be on the straightforward question whether "For" or "Against" a republic. In order to permit of the organizational work in this connection, legislation will be introduced in this Session in order to make the ordinary election machinery available for such a referendum. Hon. members will recall that in the case of Natal, when the issue of Union was decided at the time, a special ordinance was also passed to permit of the use of the election machinery. That will therefore be essential. In order to be able to use this organization in its present form, the referendum will have to be organized and the votes will have to be counted according to constituencies in the way in which elections are arranged at present. No persons and personalities and parties will be involved in the matter, however. The choice will be on the question: For or against the republic? I do not know whether in connection with the referendum, there is any other matter in regard to which there is still uncertainty.

The figures in respect of every constituency will be made available, but the decision (in accordance with my Party's constitution and in terms of the assurances which have always been given by my predecessors and by myself), will depend on whether there is a majority of White voters in favour of the establishment of a republic. Majority will mean a bare majority, even if it is one vote. In other words, if there is a majority of one in favour, then Parliament will have to take the necessary legislative action to establish the republic. If there is a majority of one against the republic, Parliament will not be entitled to take that step.

There is only one point in connection with the referendum which I think I should state equally clearly and that concerns the position of South West Africa in connection with such a referendum. There is a special relationship between the Union, consisting of its four

provinces and South West Africa, but South West Africa is not a fifth province of the Union. The special relationship is between the independent monarchical state of South Africa and South West Africa and that relationship remains the same, irrespective of whether the independent state of South Africa is a republic or a monarchy. In other words, the relationship of South West Africa to the Union as far as the outside world is concerned is affected in no way whether we are a republic or a monarchy. It also means that the inhabitants, the voters of South West Africa, will not be able to take part in this referendum, however much we should like to have their majority of votes for the republic. I want to add in the most explicit language that this independent state of South Africa, whether it is and remains a monarchy or whether it becomes a republic, will not relinquish South West Africa. The link we have will remain or be extended, but as far as the voting with regard to a republic is concerned, I must say clearly that because of our constitutional relationship it is not possible to ask the inhabitants of South West Africa to take part in it, however much we should have liked to do so. It is in their own interests that this decision has been taken.

The next question is when the referendum will be held. This concerns the timing of the referendum. I have already stated publicly and very clearly that it will not take place on or before May 31, 1960. In other words, this issue will not be confused in any way with our Union festivities. But at the same time I stated, and I repeat, that I do not consider myself bound and the Government does not consider itself bound in connection with any subsequent date. In saying that I am not suggesting that it will be held in the second half of 1960, nor am I suggesting that it will be in 1961 or 1962. The Government will choose what it considers in the interests of South Africa to be the best time to put this question to the electorate. It will, however, notify everybody timeously of the date on which the referendum will take place so as to give them an opportunity to think over the matter, although voters would be well advised at this stage to begin to consider the principle of this matter. The undertaking which I give here, therefore, is that the date will not be before May 31. I make no announcement as to any subsequent date and no insinuations and no inferences will be justified. I do promise, however, that when the Government considers the time proper and right, it will give timeous notice to the people of South Africa as to when the referendum will be held.

The next question that one should deal with at this stage, is

what the nature of the presidency will be. I do know that it is on this very point that hon. members of the Opposition, for propaganda purposes, have tried to sow the seeds of dissension or have made allegations with regard to dissension. Perhaps they found some grounds for that in the well-known fact that many republicans are personally attached to the old republican system and to the venerable position which the presidents of the Free State and the Transvaal occupied, including the method of their election. It is a well-known fact that there is a very strong feeling in our country for tradition and that also applies to that particular tradition. But at the same time it is the duty of all of us, when we have to take a decision on the destiny of our country, as it has developed hitherto, to look not only at traditions in connection with forms of government. It is also our duty to decide which form of government will be best under present-day circumstances. I think everybody realizes that this country as it is today, with a much more heterogeneous population, with greatly increased State activities, with a much bigger and more widely distributed population, cannot simply accept the system of the republics of President Kruger and President Steyn as far as the presidency is concerned. In other words, the system under which the people elect a president who at the same time is head of the state and head of the government, is not suitable in these circumstances for the modern republic which South Africa would want to be. There would have to be a separation between the head of the state and the head of the government. Let me mention one argument which is of great importance, of greater importance even than the question as to whether the electorate should choose its President directly or indirectly. More important than that question is this question: How can the electorate retain its authority, its sovereignty?

It has always been our attitude — a great struggle was waged in this regard not many years ago — that subject to the authority of the Almighty, the electorate must govern in that the electorate hands over this sovereignty to its representatives who exercise that authority for a certain period. Hence the reference to the sovereignty of Parliament. This basic principle of the sovereignty of Parliament exercised on behalf of the electorate is more important than any tradition, than any method of election, because in that way the electorate retains the power in its hands.

When one introduces the other system under which the chief executive officer is at the same time President and Prime Minister, if I may put it in that way, it would be possible for this person to be chosen by the electorate in a certain way (that is to say,

so that every vote has the same value) while Parliament is also chosen by the same electorate but in a different way (namely according to constituencies). Then there is always the possibility of a clash between the executive authority and the legislative authority because, as a result of the method of election, they may represent different trends. In that case there must be some means of resolving that clash and, as is the case in the United States, the tendency usually is that the decision falls into the hands of the judiciary. When that happens there is either divided sovereignty or the supreme authority is placed in the hands of the arbitrator, but the electorate itself has become incapable of making its wishes heard unambiguously and being carried out. Therefore, for the sake of the maintenance of this basic principle of the sovereignty of the electorate, as exercised by its representatives in Parliament, we undoubtedly prefer the method whereby the head of the state and the head of the government are two persons.

Then I want to add this: There were some people from time to time who believed that in order to obviate this possibility of a clash, the President could be nominated in some other way rather than directly by the people by means of a poll; that is to say, that he could be chosen according to the same method whereby a Prime Minister is chosen at the moment in this country. In other words, the Presidency could only be linked with the Prime Ministership. Against this possible method, however, there is something of fundamental importance to be said. In the first place it is a fact that the President will have to perform a special function. That function is to be the unifying factor in the national life, whatever the differences in the political sphere may be. This is an important function, an exacting function, a task which makes great demands upon the Presidency and upon the President's personality. No person, however good, however great, however strong, will be able in this South Africa of ours, as we know it today, to wage the political struggle on the one hand which the Prime Minister necessarily has to wage here and at the same time be able to serve as a unifying symbol and factor in the national life! In our country with its composition and problems as they are today that is simply impossible. Because of the significance of the Presidency, its unifying value in the life of the future united nation which we all desire so much, it is essential therefore that the President should be outside the political arena.

In addition to that the Prime Minister's roots must remain in this Parliament. Not only must he appear here from time to time to defend executive policy, but he is continually accountable to

Parliament. He must always be able to state his standpoint here; he must be able to give a lead here to his Government, and here he must always remain fully responsible to the electorate. No President, having other duties also and if chosen differently, would be able to comply with these demands. That is another reason why the separation between the head of the State and the head of the Government is unavoidable, and that is why we have come to this decision.

But there are also other reasons for it. One of them is this. The Prime Minister must necessarily make decisions, even when there are appeals from citizens against Ministerial decisions in regard to matters of a personal nature. The Prime Minister is the chief executive officer. He must necessarily sacrifice a certain amount of popularity now and then for Government decisions and refusals and he must be prepared to do so. But the Presidency cannot be exposed to the risk of having to sacrifice its unifying influence and esteem, just as little as the monarchy is exposed to it, by having to take this sort of decision which is the function of the executive authority. Consequently it is not desirable that the presidency and the Prime Ministership should be linked, whatever the method of election may be. May I add this? The scope of the activities and obligations of a modern head of state and head of government are such that one can no longer expect all this from one person. We have the example of the United States where despite the most powerful support that one can get from an official corps and from co-executive officers, the task is such that the President is called upon to delegate executive powers to such an extent that he has very little or no connection with it. In terms of working capacity it is no longer possible in a modern state to cope alone in the main with everything.

The question may now be put to me: if the object of the Presidency is to perform a unifying task, if it is necessary that he should be held in high esteem, that he should remain outside the political arena, why not retain the monarchy then? My reply to that is the following: It is inherent in the monarchies of the Commonwealth that this person, however good and honourable he might be, is bound by bonds of birth to a different country. The fact that such a person is called the monarch of South Africa does indeed stress South Africa's independence as a completely independent state, but that does not take away the fact that the sovereign of South Africa, in terms of the monarchies of the Commonwealth, is always chosen from the heirs of the Royal family in another state, Britain. It is not possible in a country

with a population like ours (however much one may respect the sovereign of that other country, and however much one might honour him and fulfil the obligations as long as that person is also king of one's own country) to get away from the fact that this unifying effect is not there — particularly here where more than 50 per cent of the population have a different heritage from those stemming from the country having that sovereign. Such a person cannot have the same unifying effect as a man coming from the midst even of a heterogeneous people can have. The sovereign can and does have that effect in Britain, but the same person cannot fill that role for the whole of South Africa. The monarchy will always be the background for division. If we want to develop a common national sentiment we must have a head of state who comes from our own midst and whom we respect. Now it would of course be ridiculous to select somebody from our midst and to make him a monarch. The presidency is the obvious and logical fulfilment of the desire for national unity of the South African nation, under a head of state born in this country. Therefore I say that this unified nation we all desire to have can be obtained in one way only, namely through the kind of presidency I have just mentioned.

Furthermore, I just want to say a few words about the status of the President, because here I wish to be very frank and I want to stress that I do not want to belittle the change and ostensibly facilitate the implementation of the function. I do not wish to bluff anybody by saying: "Oh, it is only the Governor-General called by a different title." Of course that is not so. It would be a mistake for people to say that becoming a republic merely means that the Governor-General is now called the President. What happens in fact is that a person is appointed who in respect of our state will enjoy the same high regard, as the head of the state, as that enjoyed by the presidents, heads of states or monarchs of other states. It is, if one may put it that way, the disappearance of the Governor-Generalship as the representative of a monarch, and the substitution for the monarch by a president with all the privileges a monarch enjoys. It is the monarchy which is being replaced by a republic. The monarch is replaced by the president. In other words, the status is not only high, but the functions also. He will enjoy not only the privileges which the Governor-General enjoys today in terms of the Union legislation, or which he has in the name of the Queen, but he will also enjoy the privileges which the Queen always enjoys, in addition to such extra privileges as the State may invest him with. Therefore I say that we

are creating a position of high status and value. It may become a bond which will make it possible for us to become one nation and to set aside the division we had in the past. It is for that reason that I am today making an appeal, in all seriousness and with the greatest sense of responsibility, to everybody to co-operate and to achieve something which will put an end to the 150 years' struggle between South African nationalism and what is to some extent a foreign nationalism.

The next question is: How is the President to be appointed? The reply to that is that this is one of the details. On that point Parliament will later have to deliberate and decide, but I am prepared to indicate what the possibilities are. One of the possibilities is that the Government will appoint that person. That creates certain problems — as the other methods also do — and certain objections will be raised. A second possibility is that he may be appointed by an electoral college consisting of the members of the House of Assembly and of the Senate — in other words, by the representatives of the people. A third possibility is an even larger electoral college consisting of members of this House, the Senate and the four Provincial Councils. What Parliament in its wisdom will decide in this respect and what it will do in detail in implementing the decision given by the people, I do not want to anticipate now. I just want to indicate that it is my ambition to ensure that the President will enjoy the highest possible measure of acceptability and the highest possible status. Whichever method is decided upon, it should not be a method which makes the President personally the subject of dispute, but one which will really give satisfaction and which will most easily console those whose choice is not successful.

That brings me to the next question: What will the constitution of the republic be? We have already said that it will be a Christian republic, in the same way that today we strive to be a Christian state. In addition it has already been clearly stated that it will be a democratic republic. It has also been clearly stated already that it will be a republic in which the language and other rights of English-speaking friends as well as of the Afrikaans-speaking people will be fully protected. Therefore the general principles have already been stated clearly. We have also stated very clearly that we will retain the parliamentary form of government. In order to give hon. members an even clearer picture of how we see the road ahead, I however wish to add the following. The development of the Union of South Africa hitherto has been a continual changing of our original constitutional and other

legislation in the direction of a republic. Right from the beginning we said that we were following the road adopted by Ireland. By that we meant that we were following the road of gradual development. The gradual development throughout the years since 1910 — and particularly when the National Party was in power to direct matters — was one of endless amendments and changes, each approaching more closely to a republic. Hon. members know that this was so in regard to our Status Acts. They know what happened in regard to our Flag Act. They know what we did in regard to abolishing appeals to the Privy Council. They also know what happened in regard to practices which were changed, for example in regard to our National Anthem. They know what happened in connection with our Citizenship Act. We never tried to conceal it. They were all steps towards a republic. One might almost say that our present constitutional composition, our present Union legislation even though it is sometimes in the form of various bits of amending legislation, already form a republican constitution, except in so far as the changeover from a monarchy to a republic has not been done yet.

Therefore I say very clearly that I and my party regard our Union legislation, as we have it now, as almost completely amounting to republican constitutional legislation. When the people decide that the Union is to become a republic, certain changes will of course be necessary, including changes of a legislative nature, and in the new republican constitution all these changes that have been made over the years will have to be consolidated. In practice, however, many more of these changes will be required in administrative practices and formulae. In other words, what I want to say is that there will be no radical changes in our parliamentary institutions or constitutional practices; that will not be necessary. All that will be necessary is the ordinary continuation of constitutional development which has always taken place on our road to freedom, which has always been the guiding principle of the National Party, and which is the only sober, realistic method of constitutional development for a decent nation which stems from Western civilization. I therefore say that I see no reason why we cannot and should not ask for the full support of all people calling themselves republicans, including those who do so under the pro-republican clause in the constitution of the United Party.

There is a further question I have to discuss. It is whether the republic will or will not be a member of the Commonwealth. Hon. members know that the programme of principles of the National

Party is very clear on this point. The programme of principles states the proposition that membership of the Commonwealth and the changeover from a monarchy to a republic are two separate matters, and that separate replies have to be given to these two questions. I have given a clear reply as to our intention to change the monarchy to a republic in South Africa. Now I am asked: What about the second question? Everybody should realize that one can give a reply to this question only shortly before that referendum is held. The reply one would give today, if one had to give it today, is not necessarily the same reply one would give in two or three years' time if in the meantime the situation were to change radically. For that reason it is clear that in terms of the constitution of my party I am not justified, nor would it be wise to do so, to give a reply on this point now. But I will make one promise, and it is a clear and unequivocal promise, namely that before this referendum is held the country will be told whether it will be the policy of the Government to remain a member of the Commonwealth, or not to remain a member.

I want to enlarge on this a little so that I may be clearly understood. It is the custom in many parts of the world today for nations to stand together to protect their mutual interests. We know of various groups of countries in Europe who have made alliances with each other, economically and in other respects. Each state joins such a group for the sake of its own interests. In other words, each of them becomes a member of such a group of states with a view to its own interests. Not one of them is concerned with history (e.g. former conflicts) when deciding to take this step; it is not concerned now with anything else but the present interests of its country. At the moment, by being a member of the Commonwealth, we are also a member of a group in this way. This group really has just one characteristic differentiating it from the other groups, viz. that the Queen of England is called the Head of the Commonwealth for historical reasons, and without attaching any meaning to it. It is a symbol. The others have no nominal head or any symbol. One should in fact keep this difference in mind, but at the same time one should not exaggerate this difference. When the time for holding a referendum draws near enough to make an announcement necessary, we will review the situation soberly, with particular reference to three decisive questions.

The first is what the position is in the countries of our partners in the group or club or society of nations, whatever one wants to call it. We shall particularly look at what the position is in Britain, because of its leading role in this alliance. Let me say

this frankly, as being my personal standpoint: If the Labour Party in Britain were to come into power and were to form a socialist government revealing all the characteristics which it now reveals in opposition (viz. wanting to interfere in our domestic colour policy, opposing us economically — to boycott us and even to talk about kicking us out), I would seriously have considered taking the lead in no longer allowing South Africa to remain a member of the Commonwealth, because then the benefits of such membership as well as the friendly relations would have disappeared. I do not know whether such a state of affairs can be repeated there. We cannot see into the future. But that is an example of why I say that we must take into consideration particularly the position in Britain.

Secondly, at that stage we will have to take into consideration the position within the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth itself is still developing steadily; amongst other things it is obtaining new members. I do not know what the nature of the Commonwealth will be in a few years' time. Nor do I know how the other members of the Commonwealth will influence its nature, to our benefit or to our detriment. But I do know one thing, viz. that it will be in the interests of South Africa to remain friends with Britain and also with the other countries in Africa. If a situation were to develop in which we can best retain our friendship with both of them by not being a member, but by negotiating with each of them on a suitable basis without quarrelling with anybody around one table, we would have to decide to do that. If on the other hand the contrary were to be the position, we would have to bear that in mind also. In other words, I am again merely giving an example without giving any indication and from which no inferences are to be drawn, of a second factor which will play a role in our deliberations at the appropriate time.

A third factor is the basic one of the interests of South Africa. There may be other considerations than those I have just mentioned which may make it better for South Africa to be a member or not to be a member. Therefore all I am saying now is that before the referendum takes place we will announce what our conclusion is then, so that when somebody votes for or against becoming a republic he will know what action the Government is considering in this regard if it should receive the mandate.

The final point can be dealt with very briefly. It is the question of how the establishment of a republic will affect our relations with Britain. My reply to that is this. Our policy is one of friendship with Britain and all other nations, but I particularly mention

Britain because that is the country about which there will be the most argument. I further stress that our friendship with Britain — the good relations between our two countries which at the moment are fortunately very satisfactory and to our mutual benefit — can only be strengthened if in our country we can eliminate anything which irritates and which is the result of our history. I believe that a republic of South Africa and the United Kingdom will be good friends and co-operate smoothly in the economic and other spheres. Yes, I believe that they will be able to understand each other better, that they will be able to approach each other more easily, and even speak more intimately to each other, if there is no more suspicion in our country and if no more suspicion can be sown. Nationalist Governments in the past have always had the experience that when they tried to create good relations, the Opposition, which really desires to have such good relations, grasped at the opportunity to make political capital out of it by making it suspect in the eyes of its followers merely in order to put it out of power. That sort of behaviour will be something of the past in a republic.

The visit to South Africa of Mr. Macmillan in the near future stresses, as I have already said outside this House — and I said it with only the best intentions — how great the friendship can be between a potentially republican Government, and therefore later also between the Republic of South Africa, and Britain. Mr. Macmillan is under no illusions as to our republicanism. He was under no illusions, when he paid a friendly visit to Ghana, as to what they were thinking in regard to their republic. He is under no illusion as to what we have in mind in regard to friendship, although we are republicans, because I informed him along these lines. Therefore I say that I appreciate his decision to visit us all the more as being one of the greatest gestures of friendship and goodwill he is making to our country on behalf of Britain.

Our aspirations are inspired only by the hope that eventually we will at least see the end of the disputes in regard to our constitutional future between the two language groups, so that we can become one united nation; and that in the economic sphere there will not always be the danger of the effects of these disturbing factors and the sowing of suspicion which we so often experience to the detriment of South Africa. In putting this question to the people, our endeavour will be to gain their confidence for everything we do, and above all, to give them a republic in which unity and the peaceful existence of our White population will be the main feature.

**Speech of Thanks Addressed to Mr. Harold Macmillan,
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, on
February 3, 1960**

On the 5th January, 1960 the British Prime Minister, accompanied by his wife, Lady Dorothy, left London on an extensive tour of Africa. They concluded their journey with a short visit to South Africa, arriving at Jan Smuts airport on the 27th January. During his stay in Pretoria the British Prime Minister paid a visit to Meadowlands, where he was heartily welcomed by thousands of Bantu. A fleeting visit to Pietersburg and the Northern Transvaal was also added to his itinerary. In this region he was welcomed with shouts of "Pula!" (rain), and with a leopard skin hung around his shoulders by Chief Frank Maserumula, he was symbolically declared chief of all the tribes of the Northern Transvaal. It was on this occasion that chief Chuene said to him: "Now you see for yourself — we do not live in chains!"

On the 2nd February the British Prime Minister and his party arrived at Cape Town's D. F. Malan airport, where he was welcomed by the Prime Minister personally. On the following day a historic event took place when the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom addressed a joint assembly of the two Houses of Parliament in the parliamentary dining-hall. This was the occasion on which he made his "winds-of-change" speech — a speech for which he was thanked by Dr. Verwoerd despite Dr. Verwoerd not having received, as is customary, a copy of Mr. Macmillan's speech beforehand.

Mr. Prime Minister, you have set me a considerable task. We have problems enough in South Africa without your coming to add to them by making such an important statement and expecting me to thank you in a few brief words.

There are two ways in which one can approach a motion of thanks, as you very well know. The first is practically to repeat and endorse every statement that you made. But that, of course, presupposes that one can endorse all you said, which I cannot do in all instances, but it also presupposes a somewhat boring

repetition and that I do not wish to inflict on you. A second possible method is to comment on every point you put before us. That would be worse still. It would mean a debate between you and myself on this occasion, which is certainly not suited to that. Therefore I will not inflict that upon you either.

All that I wish to do is to thank your very heartily for coming to South Africa and putting before us here your point of view — your philosophy, as you see it — as that philosophy may be applicable particularly to the areas for which you are responsible. I am glad you were frank. We are a people who are capable of listening with great pleasure to what others have to say even though they differ from us. I think it is an attribute of civilization that one should be capable of discussing matters with friends with great frankness and even in spite of differences, great or small, remain friends after that and be able to co-operate in all that remains of mutual interest.

May I say that we can understand your outlook on the picture of the world and on the picture of Africa in that world. I also do not find fault with the major object you have in view. South Africa has the same objects: peace, to which you have made a very considerable contribution and for which I also wish to thank you to-day. The survival of Western ideas, of Western civilization; throwing in your weight on the side of the Western nations in this possibly increasing division which exists in the world to-day — we are with you there. Seeing Africa as making possible balance between the two world groupings, and hoping to develop the mind of man as it exists in Africa in the above-mentioned direction — that too can be of the greatest value in your search for goodwill between all men and for peace and prosperity on earth. It is only a matter of how that can best be achieved. How can Africa be won? There we do not see eye to eye very often.

You believe, as I gather, that policies which we deem not only advisable for South Africa but which we believe, if rightly understood, should make an impact upon Africa and upon the world, are not to the advantage of those very ideals for which you strive and we strive too! If our policies were rightly understood, we believe, however, that it would be seen that what we are attempting to do is not at variance with a new direction in Africa but is in the fullest accord with it. We never presume to criticize the application of other policies in the areas for which you are responsible, but when on an occasion such as this, on which we are perfectly frank, we look at them critically, then we see, differing from you, that there may be great dangers inherent in

those policies. The very object at which you are aiming may be defeated by them.

The tendency in Africa for nations to become independent and, at the same time, the need to do justice to all, does not only mean being just to the black man of Africa but also being just to the white man of Africa. We call ourselves Europeans but actually we represent the white men of Africa. They are the people, not only in the Union but throughout major portions of Africa, who brought civilization here, who made possible the present development of black nationalism by bringing the natives education, by showing them the Western way of life, by bringing to Africa industry and development, by inspiring them with the ideals which Western civilization has developed for itself. The white man who came to Africa, perhaps to trade, and in some cases, perhaps to bring the Gospel, has remained and we particularly, in this southernmost portion of Africa, have such a stake here that this has become our only motherland. We have nowhere else to go. We settled a country which was bare. The Bantu too came to this country and settled certain portions for themselves. It is in line with thinking on Africa to grant them there, those fullest rights which we with you, admit all people should have. We believe in providing those rights for those people in the fullest degree in that part of Southern Africa which their forefathers found for themselves and settled in. But we also believe in balance. We believe in allowing exactly those same full opportunities to remain within the grasp of the white man in the areas he settled, the white man who has made all this possible.

We also see ourselves as a part of the Western world, a true white state in Africa, notwithstanding the possibility of granting a full future to the black men in our midst. We look upon ourselves as indispensable to the white world. If there is to be a division in the future, how can South Africa best play its part? It should both co-operate with the white nations of the world and, at the same time, make friends with the black states of Africa in such a way that they will provide strength to the arm of those who fight for the civilization in which we believe. We are the link. We are white, but we are in Africa. We have links with both and that lays upon us a special duty and we realize that.

I do not wish to pursue this matter any further but do wish to assure you that in the Christian philosophy which you endorse, we find a philosophy which we too wish to follow. If our methods should be different, let us try to understand one another and may we at least find in the world at large that trust in our sincerity

which must be the basis of all goodwill and true understanding.

I wish to thank you for coming to South Africa, not in order to commit yourself to our policies, not in order to become either the mediator or the judge in our problems or between the various racial groups which we have in this country. We thank you for coming to see us simply because that shows that you wish to be our friend, as we wish to be yours. It also shows quite clearly that between us and Great Britain there exists now, and should, and I hope will exist in the future, the best co-operation on those many matters in which we can co-operate. You mentioned the economic relations which exist between our two countries. We know they are very good; we know they go very far. We, members of the present Government, would be the last to wish to deduct in the slightest from that. We wish to increase our prosperity and yours by good co-operation, and I can truly endorse the wise words you uttered when you said: "Nothing can be gained by trying to harm each other economically, in the political or theoretical fields".

Here, at least, we have a sphere of activity in which we not only think fully alike, but in which we are equally interested: the economic world, the prosperity of South Africa, the prosperity of Great Britain, the prosperity of Africa. I pledge myself and my Government to the fullest co-operation in seeking that prosperity and happiness for all.

If you have done no more by coming here than to make it possible for that principle to penetrate everywhere: that no one can do any good by trying to hurt somebody with whose point of view he differs, but that only good can come from trying to do good to others, then your journey so far southwards will have been very well rewarded.

I thank you from the depth of my heart for your presence in South Africa. I bid you on behalf of the Parliament of South Africa Godspeed on your return. May you find in Great Britain less problems to deal with than we, unfortunately, have here.

Statement of Policy in the House of Assembly, March 9, 1960

The resumption of the debate on the Budget vote of the Minister of Finance to which amendments were proposed by Mr. Waterson, Mr. Williams and Mrs. Ballinger, presented the Prime Minister with the opportunity of analysing thoroughly several important aspects of the Government's policy. Commencing this speech, which can be considered as one of the most important in Dr. Verwoerd's career, he elucidated Government policy on several important issues, including the economic aspect of separate development, television and the part played by South West Africa in the republican referendum. Then he put forward very strongly the case of the White man in Africa, and here continued to build on his short, unprepared answer to the British Prime Minister on the 3rd February, 1960. In doing this, he clearly indicated the great difference between the native policies of the National and United Parties. Sir De Villiers Graaff referred to this last aspect of Dr. Verwoerd's speech as "his political philosophy and belief in respect of the future relations between Whites and non-Whites on the continent of Africa and more particularly in the Union of South Africa."

Mr. Speaker, there are a few matters of general interest that I want to go into, and this is the best opportunity for me to do so, but before doing so I want to deal in passing with what is apparently the main point in the United Party's propaganda campaign at the moment. It has been clear from the beginning of this Session that the Opposition want to create the impression that the entire economy of the country is going to be destroyed by the policy of apartheid. They persist in making this accusation notwithstanding the fact that everyone of the points raised by them has been replied to clearly in the past.

I want to mention just a few examples of these absurdities. The first allegation made by hon. members is that apartheid leads to economic stagnation. Let us test that. When foreign investors wish to invest money in South Africa, the first question they ask

is whether the Government of the country is stable and reliable. On every occasion — and I have had dealings with many of them personally — the evidence has been that as long as a government such as this, which ensures a White regime, shows at election after election that it is a stable government, they will be prepared and pleased to invest their money in South Africa. In other words, the stability which is brought about by an apartheid Government, together with the fact that people feel that they need not fear the danger that a partnership Government or a Black Government will come into being in South Africa, is one of the bases of the prosperity that has been built up here throughout the years. Hon. members opposite need not try to suggest that the fact that a world recession has also affected us partially, proves the opposite. I say with the greatest assurance that it is for the very reason that we have a Government here which through its policy stands for the supremacy of the White and for a White South Africa, that our economic prosperity is assured. That is the first test.

Let me take another test. Has the policy of apartheid not resulted in huge works which have brought a great deal of money into circulation? Of course. Not only has the whole of the housing construction and railway construction programme, which go hand in hand with Native residential areas, provided employment on a large scale, and therefore brought money into circulation, but it has also resulted on a large scale in the purchase of material of various kinds, which has been of the utmost importance to the industries concerned, particularly during this period of recession. As a result of this enormous programme of housing construction for Natives and the consequential programme of railway construction, prosperity has been assured in this country not only by bringing money into circulation but also by maintaining various industries, and that has brought about balance and stability which South Africa would not have had otherwise.

That is a second example. Let me mention a third example to see whether there is stagnation. Hon. members on the other side are continually saying that the Bantu should be given a higher income, that that will make them better purchasers; that in that way they will obtain a higher standard of living and that that will make an important contribution to the prosperity of industry and commerce in this country. How do they want to bring that about? By adding a few shillings to the ordinary wage structure throughout the country? On the contrary, is it not a fact that higher incomes are brought about when we create a new group of Bantu, a group rendering services to their own people in all

sorts of professional and other spheres, thus bringing them into a higher income group? That is the only way in which this aim can be achieved. As a result of the policy of apartheid the number of teachers increases; sub-inspectors of education are appointed; all sorts of professional groups come into being; Bantu officials are appointed in the Post Office and in the Railway Service, all of them serving their own people. In other words, in this way we create a large group of Bantu in the higher income groups who consequently become consumers of the goods which hon. members on the other side are so anxious to sell to the Bantu. In other words, out of the policy of apartheid, by placing persons in the service of their own people in various spheres, we create the very source of increased purchasing power for which the Opposition yearns so much but which in their blindness they refuse to recognize. That is happening both in the reserves and in the Native residential areas around the cities.

I want to mention a fourth example. Hon. members opposite are always complaining that we are being cruel in applying influx control. Influx control ensures that there will be no redundant pool of labour in the cities with consequential unemployment and low wages. Steps are being taken by means of influx control to see that the amount of labour while sufficient is sufficiently limited so that there can be competition for that labour, competition which is basic to the building up of any wage structure. In other words, it is this very aspect of the policy of apartheid, influx control, which brings about what hon. members on the other side want to bring about by mechanical means, and that is to build up the purchasing power of the Bantu workers in the cities. It is a direct consequence of apartheid, in accordance with their wishes, but in their blindness they are unable to recognize it or they refuse to recognize it. I say again therefore that far from bringing about economic stagnation, apartheid is the fountain-head of the economic prosperity of South Africa.

Let me now deal with a second aspect of the questions of a general nature raised by the hon. members opposite. They often adopt the attitude that Bantu development is proving a failure because the Government refuses to give an estimate of the full cost, because the Government fails to give a full picture of everything that has to be done in connection with the building up of the Native areas and because the Government does not make provision annually, from the beginning, in its Budgets for the average cost of this development in the future. The Opposition comes along with the accusation that because we do not give the

House a complete plan of the whole of the future development, because we do not give a full detailed estimate of what it is going to cost to implement that plan, and because we do not annually provide large amounts on the Estimates, from the very beginning, it proves that we are not sincere in the development of the Bantu areas or that we are unable to develop them. Sir, one cannot imagine a more nonsensical argument and a more nonsensical request than that.

Let us examine how all developments have come about and how the costs have been met. Let us take the example of the Union itself. Who would have been able in 1910, in connection with the development of the Union, to give the entire picture 50 years ahead as to how the Union would develop and what industries we would have, what their scope would be, what they would cost, and what portion of the cost would be borne by these undertakings themselves so that the cost would be no burden to the State. Who would have dared to demand all this; would anybody even have dreamt of asking for it? But to-day we are expected, in connection with this future development, to provide information which, as comparisons will show, obviously cannot be provided, and the request for this information is absurd. We are told by hon. members opposite that this new development is artificial.

Is it more artificial than the implementation of the policy of the National Party from 1910 to the 'twenties when the National Party specifically stood for a policy of industrial development; for the policy that South Africa should become independent industrially. At that time the predecessors of the Opposition jeered at this policy just as they are trying to-day to jeer at the policy of Bantu development and as they jeer at the development of the border industries. At that time they scoffed in the same stupid way at the possibility of building up industries in South Africa. And what did we find at that time? Did the National Party come forward with a complete picture as to where all sorts of industries would develop and what they would be — whether there would be Iscors and Sasols and Escoms, etc.? Was anybody so ridiculous as to ask that such a picture should be given together with a detailed estimate of the costs? Of course not. What happened, however? The driving force of an ideal, the driving force of an aim, induced South Africa to exploit step by step every possibility as it presented itself. The aim of this country to become economically independent, the aim to build up industry and to protect it by means of all these artificial measures — yes, even measures such as protection — resulted in industry being built up

in every possible direction — that industry of which hon. members on the other side are as proud to-day as we are. In the same way the driving force of our present aim will be viewed in 50 years' time as one of the greatest incentives to development — and that development will have been achieved without complying with the nonsensical request to provide plans and estimates in advance.

Let me mention another example. Take our universities. When Stellenbosch, Cape Town or the Witwatersrand University or any of our other universities were started, did anybody think of asking for blueprints for the next twenty or 50 years and for a detailed estimate of the cost? Everyone of these different universities started on a small scale. They were started with high ideals of future expansion. But nobody could foresee how the numbers would grow. Nobody could foresee what facilities would be added. Nobody could foresee what the cost would be, particularly not in a world of continually changing prices. But those universities have nevertheless been built up and have developed into full-fledged and proud universities such as we know them to-day!

Let us take the case of our cities. Were Cape Town, Bloemfontein and Johannesburg able, in their initial stages of development to draw up estimates as to what the costs would be over the next 30, 40 or 50 years to build up those cities! Of course not.

Did those hon. members who are so fond of associating themselves with the industrial world, some of whom have themselves built up industries from scratch or who have had a share in the building up of those industries, have a complete picture at the outset of the future development plan? Did they have a detailed estimate as to what it would cost to develop those industries to their present stage of development? Of course not. Take Iscor. Could anyone of us have foreseen how Iscor would develop? The National Party had faith in Iscor's developments, but when we fought for its establishment, could we have foreseen how it would develop? I am not talking about hon. members on the other side who jeered at it and who did not believe in it.

I say therefore that development takes place not on the basis of any mechanical calculations but on this basis that one has a broad idea of what one is aiming at and one then exploits step by step every possibility on the road towards one's ultimate goal. I do not want to say anything else in this regard.

I can give a further example of the ridiculous attack of the United Party on the economic planning of this side. I refer to

the border industries. Six or seven years ago the idea of developing our border industries scarcely existed. We came forward with this idea and within the space of five, six or seven years we have made enormous progress and to-day it is realized throughout the country that if we are to maintain White civilization, if at the same time the Bantu areas are to be properly developed and if fair avenues of employment are to be provided for the Bantu workers, with employment for the men in the vicinity of the area in which they will live on their own property with their families, then this idea of border industries is the solution. This basic idea has come to be accepted to such an extent that the only argument that one hears to-day is the argument that this would be impracticable. The ideal is admitted to-day, but what is more important is that we have reached the stage where inquiries have been instituted on a large scale and where we are on the eve of translating our plans into reality. I readily concede that some people saw an advantage for themselves in this idea and jumped in too soon, before we were entirely ripe for the establishment of some of these industries. I have in mind particularly the clothing industry. I readily admit that there are certain problems that we will have to overcome, but may I remind hon. members of the fact that the co-operative movement in the agricultural sphere, when that was started, had to contend with similar failures and difficulties and problems, although the inherent idea was sound. Once it had passed through those difficult years it developed into an organization which to-day plays the mighty role that the co-operative societies are playing in our economic life. Initial difficulties and initial failures do not justify the condemnation of a system. Let me also say this to hon. members that the problems of the co-ordination of all sorts of factors which play a role in this matter are of course becoming of the greatest importance at this stage — the adjustment of railway rates, the determination of wages in relation to wages in other parts of the country, the provision of certain facilities such as water and electricity, etc. That is of the utmost importance, of course, and hitherto — I want to concede that at once — the machinery to make provision for co-ordination was not adequate. That is one of the reasons why the Government instituted an economic council and appointed in my Department an economic adviser who will also be chairman of that council. One of the first duties imposed on the council was this very task of co-ordinating those factors to ensure that it will be possible to build up the border industries successfully on sound economic foundations.

Let me give hon. members a last example. They ridiculed the Bantu Development Corporation because it was started with a capital of only £500,000. They wanted to know what one could do with such a small amount. Hon. members were informed from the beginning, however, that this was the beginning of great things to come. The Bantu Development Corporation was provided with a nest-egg of £500,000 from Bantu Trust moneys. In other words, in creating investment opportunities for the Bantu on a safe interest-bearing basis, it was realized that this was to be the share capital which was to become the magnet that could draw the millions of pounds of savings available amongst the Bantu. We do not want to allow the Bantu money to be drawn for investment unless they can earn a decent rate of interest with it. Their capital must not be the risk capital. The result is that this sum of £500,000 was made available as a nest-egg, as a magnet, as a beginning, and even if, in building up this scheme and creating these possibilities, it were to be lost as initial risk capital (which might be the fate of any capital invested in a new industry) then no harm would be done to anybody. It would then have been used for the initial process of building up this method of financing Bantu undertakings in the Bantu areas. If it is necessary to supplement this £500,000, then much more money is available and will be available out of the Native Trust Fund. It would be stupid at this stage, however, to transfer unduly large amounts to that corporation while it still has to find its feet. It would be just as ridiculous as to over-capitalize any other business which, to start with, could only use a capital of £500,000, by making available a capital sum of £3,000,000 which it could not use. That is not how things are done. One starts a business with the share capital that it needs for its initial requirements and one supplements that capital from time to time as and when it appears to be necessary. That is all I want to say in that regard.

The campaign which the United Party, in the absence of a positive policy, is conducting in an attempt, by means of destructive criticism, to create the impression in the minds of the people that they are able to make a positive contribution to the prosperity of the country, is one that will not succeed, because their criticism is frivolous, superficial and ignorant.

I want to deal now with another matter which I think is of general interest and in regard to which a great deal of misunderstanding has been caused deliberately. I refer to the question of television. I ascertained that there was a motion on the Order Paper in that connection, but in view of the fact that it will

probably not be possible to allow time for it, I approached Mr. Speaker and was given to understand — and I thank him for it — that it would be permissible to deal with this matter in this debate. I think it is also the desire of the Opposition to learn what the Government's attitude is in this respect. Let me start by saying that all sorts of stories have been spread about our so-called unreasonable attitude. Allegations have been made that pressure is being brought to bear upon the Government to force it to agree to the introduction of television. Business concerns have even been urged to prepare themselves in the meantime because television may perhaps be introduced next year! It has also been alleged that the Government is old-fashioned; that it will never introduce television and that it does not realize the value of new discoveries. Questions asked in Parliament have demonstrated the effect on the state of mind of some people of the idea that they can make use of this question to make anti-Government propaganda. I want to ask hon. members to adopt a sober approach to this whole matter. Let us be realistic; let us see precisely what we are dealing with here. Perhaps I should preface my remarks by saying that I can well understand what it is behind this agitation. The people behind it are the advertisers of certain mass-produced products who see an advantage for themselves in television; the manufacturers and the sellers of television sets and even certain companies who hope to derive great benefit from television as commercial transmitters.

In this connection the Minister of Posts has been treated very unreasonably. He indicated quite correctly that the Government could not or ought not to consider the introduction of television at this stage. He pointed out in passing that the non-introduction of television would not represent a great hardship for this country, firstly because of the harmful aspects which are already being experienced in various countries and secondly because of the additional problems that we would have to contend with as a bilingual country. He was perfectly entitled to point out those things. He did not say that these were the only factors. He did not say that these were the only issues at stake. That statement was attributed to him by wilful persons who refused to view this matter in the correct light. Let me just say that I attribute this campaign to force the Government to introduce television entirely to monetary interests, not to an attempt to give the people something they need. Moreover, I want to say that it is a well-known fact that there are certain firms which have already obtained interests in the hope of benefiting themselves. Amongst others there are various

newspaper companies. I refer specifically to the *Argus* group which, as is well known, submitted a tender together with other firms to obtain control over Rhodesian television and who hoped to obtain the same control in South Africa.

Let me state certain principles to which the Government subscribes in this matter. The first principle is this: No Government can or will lightly say that it is going to keep any invention permanently out of its borders, nor have we ever done so. It is true that where a physical danger threatens a country, the Government of that country will try to keep such an invention permanently out of the country. That applies to poison gas, for example; it applies to the atom bomb for example. It does not say then that it is a "modern invention" and that it must be modern and that it must possess and use poison gas and the atom bomb. No, however wonderful and modern the invention may be, the physical danger attached to it makes it perfectly clear that you cannot use it. A similar attitude must be adopted when there are spiritual dangers or when there is a possibility of harm to the community's social life. The Government has to give its attention not only to the destruction of man's body but also to the destruction of his mind. In this case the attitude should be adopted that when a new discovery entails a danger, one should rather be careful and refrain from introducing that discovery until such time as the necessary knowledge is available on how the harmful consequences of that modern discovery can be warded off. And that is the gist of what has been said so far of the Government. Let me say clearly that if television were introduced on a commercial basis only, under the pretext that it would then involve the State in no direct expense, we can be perfectly sure that cheap and puerile programmes would be imported from overseas, programmes which would consist only of cheap and old films. That is all they would be able to do if it is to be a paying proposition for a particular private body. The effect on our cultural life, particularly of the influences which are largely American and which would go hand in hand with it, is not a matter that one can treat lightly. Then there is also the following consideration: National products of a high standard would cost an enormous amount and even there one must be careful, for other reasons as well. If one wants to broadcast certain popular "live" items one must also think of the effect that it may have, for example, on sport and various kinds of entertainment. Take the case of boxing or wrestling bouts. These would certainly be popular on television, but if such bouts were televised one would be faced with the dilemma that television

would probably kill that sport. The population of our country is not sufficiently large to have a public following for both; in other words, there would not be sufficient spectators on the one hand to support such a bout at the place where it is held and on the other hand to view the bout on television. For a country such as ours it has been calculated that £25,000 will have to be paid for an evening programme to enable the promoters of boxing or wrestling to maintain that sport if these bouts are going to be televised. In other words, it is not such a simple matter as some people think to televize this type of local programme.

It is said that in the initial stages — some people say for as long as five years — husband, wife and child become such slaves to television that homework, school work and family relationships all suffer. Hon. members may laugh if they like; I am quoting what prominent educationists in the United States have said as a result of their observations. It is also said that the average American spends at least 20 hours a week in front of the television set — in other words, half the time he devotes to work; about two-thirds of the time that children devote to school attendance and of course about 20 times as much as is devoted to church attendance. It is also alleged in the United States that the standard of the programmes there has been deteriorating more and more since the introduction of television and that for 20 hours a day some of these stations put over the biggest rubbish. It is said that after ten years of experimentation American television has had to fall back upon old-fashioned Hollywood pictures. These are phenomena which have been noticed there and which have been described in technical and other magazines dealing with this subject, and this Government would be foolish if it did not pay attention to those aspects. In other words, there is a great danger, knowing as we do how often the Press tends to develop into a yellow Press, that television may develop even sooner and to a worse degree into a yellow television, as it has already done. The result is that one gets a good deal of critical comment from most countries where they have television to-day. People from overseas who have come here have told me personally that if South Africa wants to retain her attractiveness, including the benefit of her wonderful climate and the initiative and originality of her people and her progressiveness, then we should keep television away from this country as long as possible.

Some of the immigrants who have come to our country even describe it as a pestilence or a plague. In other words, although I am quite prepared to accept that it cannot be kept out of South

Africa for ever, it is quite clear that we must take these problems into account and that when television can and must be introduced into this country, we shall be equipped to ensure that, insofar as control is possible, its introduction will not have similar consequences for this country. This standpoint also has bearing on the way in which television will have to be introduced when that time comes. This is the first principle: Television cannot be kept out permanently, but its introduction must wait until we are able to counter any of the possible evils which are being experienced elsewhere.

There is a second principle. It is that no Government, particularly that of a small country, will import a new discovery which provides a non-essential service, before other countries have borne the experimental costs. If, however, it is something essential, then all countries must indeed play a part in developing it. We too must, for example, experiment and devote funds to the development of uranium which is an essential commodity of the future. When one is dealing with a non-essential service, or an article which is simply an entertainment medium or something similar, one can safely leave it to other countries to bear the experimental costs. Just as we are not sharing in the development of the atomic bomb, so also is it unnecessary for us to participate in the experiments in connection with the development of television. In addition, it is of the utmost importance that we do not import television until it is clear that certain basic developments have been completed. Of course, one cannot keep any new discovery out of one's country for ever because further improvements may be effected, as every new discovery is continually undergoing changes. However, there are certain basic requirements with which a discovery such as this must first comply before it can be introduced. Two or perhaps three very specific aspects of television are on the brink of further development.

The one is the possibility of the transmission of colour pictures. This is the same development as the cinema has undergone and we know that to an ever increasing extent black-white pictures are going out of fashion. The same process took place in the field of photography. This same development is taking place at the moment in television — and it will probably come very rapidly — and it would be a foolish country which, at tremendous expense, imported television on the basis of black-white transmissions, while within a few months or a year or two the service might have to be replaced either wholly or partially or certain adjustments might have to be made so that the expenditure involved in its introduc-

tion has to be written off either wholly or partly because the perfection of colour television has rendered the present methods obsolete.

Then there is the second aspect, namely the question of distances. At the moment the reliable radius is more or less 60 miles and consequently only certain areas of this country could be covered. We are not a small compact country like Britain, the Netherlands or Belgium. South Africa is a country which tries to ensure the fair treatment of all its citizens. Seeing that it is quite clear that the television experts are working on transmissions over increased distances and seeing that success is already around the corner, as is claimed in technical journals, we shall therefore be sensible if we hasten slowly. Of course, I do not expect much sense from the Opposition; that is why they laugh so much. But it is sensible of any Government and any nation to wait for these possible developments.

I have said that there is a third aspect. This also involves a question of technical development. Britain and France for example are already very sorry that they established their television service on a certain wavelength, I think it is 600 or thereabouts. They would much rather have their service on the wavelengths which are used in other European countries, but the cost of conversion to obtain the more effective medium is too high. Why should we introduce one or other system to-day while we can see all these potential changes in these richer countries and while we can avoid large-scale additional expenditure merely by being patient?

Having said that, I want to point out at the same time that while undue haste is unwise for technical reasons, there is also the question of cost. This is not child's play, and I am not referring to the possible cost to the State. The private individual who buys a television set and then finds within a year or two that his set is obsolete and useless, will have wasted £100 or £120, or whatever he may have spent, because the State allowed a certain system to be introduced and did not have the foresight to realize that its citizens would be wasting their money because within a year or two they would have to buy different sets. Such persons would have justifiable reproach against the State. I therefore say that in this instance patience is both called for and wise. I would add that one can of course not overlook the fact that television will be accompanied by an increase in the cost of living in another respect too. This will happen not merely because our citizens will have to buy sets, with the expenditure that that involves, which one will feel obliged to do for the sake of one's prestige simply

because the Joneses also have it, but the cost of living will also be increased in another way, namely through the cost of advertising. The advertisements are so expensive that it has been found that the prices of various products to the consumers have had to be increased considerably to cover the increased advertising costs. It is said that in the United States there are products whose prices have been increased by as much as 25 per cent to cover the increased advertising costs. This is another reason why it is in the interests of our country that we should act cautiously, particularly during a period such as we have just experienced. Of course, I realize that the dealers and those who represent them, or those who hope to benefit by the introduction of television, would like to have a double market and do not care how they exploit the consumers, but the Government will bear the interests of the consumers in mind.

I now want to give certain figures which will show hon. members what is at stake in this matter. Transmission stations cost a great deal, but manufacturers will be prepared to make considerable concessions and to reduce cost of establishing such stations with a view to the regular profit which they can derive from the sale of receiving sets, because the set costs from £80 to £120 and even as much as £220 each. Now it has been said from time to time that a television station can be erected for the Rand and Pretoria at a cost of £150,000, with running costs of £50,000 to £150,000 per annum. These figures, which seem to be reasonable, appear on closer examination, however, to be completely unrealistic. They only represent part of the propaganda being made because, as a journalist who worked for British television for some years has said, the calculations should rather be on the following lines: The capital costs involved in establishing just one station on the Rand would be at least £1,500,000, and the running costs would be £350,000 per annum. If stations were also to be erected for Cape Town and Durban, the total for these few densely populated areas would come to £4,000,000 in capital expenditure, and at least £500,000 per annum in running costs.

In addition it is quite clear that we must proceed from the standpoint that we must have a national service or no service at all. I now want to give the House certain calculations relating to such a service which are based on Canada's experience. These calculations show that a television service covering our whole country (if one takes into account the buildings, the technical equipment and the micro-wave network) would cost approximately £20,000,000 with running costs of approximately £9,000,000 per annum. If it

is not going to be a commercial service, in other words, a service which will try to recover its costs exclusively through advertisements, then it means that each licenceholder would have to pay £12 per annum for his licence, together with a £20 levy on every receiving set sold. If on the other hand a commercial service should be established so as to reduce costs, there is, as I have said, the danger that it is the baser emotions which will be appealed to. Furthermore it is quite clear that an exclusively commercial service would not be suitable for our country. If television must come to our country, there will definitely have to be State control. There are other figures which indicate what the final cost may be. A half-hour programme in white and black costs between £7,000 and £20,000 in the United States. A live television drama in colour costs plus/minus £180,000 for a 1½ hour programme. It is for this reason that so many canned programmes are used. I also have here a 1956 report which emanated from the British Independent T.V. Authority and containing figures relating to the losses incurred, presumably during its initial stages. It appears that at one time they had an advertisement revenue of approximately £9,000 and were losing approximately £12,000 per day. In other words, the potential losses on occasion also reach astronomical figures, and no sensible Government would blindly involve itself in such losses.

I should further like to quote from the *Argus* of January 15, 1958 to show what Canada's experience has been. A report from Canada has indicated that the Canadian Television Corporation requires approximately £42,000,000 per annum, and that a commission which investigated what it will cost to finance development and meet losses over the next six years, put the figure at approximately £470,000,000. These are figures which have been arrived at after official investigations in countries which also cover large areas. If hon. members opposite want to adopt a flippant attitude towards these figures, they can do so, but no responsible Government would act in such a way. The next point is also interesting. If we accept that in the course of the next ten years there will only be 154,000 licenceholders in South Africa, that the purchase tax on receiving sets will be £20 per set, and if we take a lower licence fee than the one I have just mentioned, namely £8 per annum, then a revenue of £2,000,000 per annum would be yielded by these sources, but the remaining £4,000,000 to £7,000,000 per annum would have to be obtained from advertisements and a Government subsidy. As regards advertising, it must also be remembered that the only firms which will be able

to advertise will be the rich and powerful ones — the smaller ones will be endangered. In other words, to a certain extent this medium will be of assistance to the big capitalist to the detriment of interests of the great mass of dealers. Technical reasons and considerations of cost therefore warn us to be cautious and patient.

The third principle adopted by the Government, which I am now going to discuss, is one which I mention as a warning against false speculation, and to counteract the creation of unnecessary pressure groups. The warning is this: When television is introduced, it will not be placed in the hands of private companies, but will either be controlled by the existing Broadcasting Corporation or by a similar special utility company. Which it will be can best be judged at the appropriate time. Furthermore the service will not primarily be an advertising service, even if as a result reception will be more expensive to the viewer. Control is required for three reasons. The first is that we do not, by favouring other areas, want to be unfair to certain parts of the country, and particularly isolated areas. If the making of profits is to be the main motive, that will happen. Secondly, we want to take proper action to counteract the social and educational problems to which I have referred, and this can only be done if control is entrusted to a utility organization. Thirdly, we want to ensure that the problem of the fair treatment of the various language groups will be taken into account, which will not happen if a commercial service or one which is not under proper control is established.

The conclusion to which we have therefore come is that at this point the State must decide against the introduction of television. It is not a question of condemning this new technique. It is not a question of being old-fashioned. We are adopting this attitude *inter alia* because of a realistic approach towards the cost problem, and our attitude takes into account the fact that in the meantime the country, without suffering any harm, can get along very well without television. In reality television provides very little which the cinema, the radio and the press together do not provide. Consequently: The time is not ripe for the introduction of television, whether from a scientific, economic or social-educational point of view. And even if, as has been said by way of interjection, there are large or younger countries which are trying to introduce television (whether for the sake of being modern, or because they are prepared to allow private undertakings to introduce television on a commercial basis for profit motives), we are not prepared to imitate such countries. The Union will follow the sensible course of safeguarding itself against the evils and the problems which

are making themselves evident elsewhere and it will take into account the special problems presented by the conditions in this country. Furthermore, South Africa will adopt a sensible attitude towards the expenditure involved.

I now want to discuss another matter which I consider to be of general importance. I refer to the reactions which followed upon my statement of January 20, regarding a referendum on the question of a republic. On that occasion I said that South West Africa would not take part in that referendum. It will be remembered that I made three points. In the first place my attitude was that a special relationship existed between the Union and South-West Africa (which are of course administered as one state) and that South West Africa was not yet a fifth province. In the second place I pointed out that the relationship (and the method of administration as one state) would therefore not be affected whether the Union became a republic or remained a monarchy; that the outside world therefore had nothing to do with the matter; and that the Union would not abandon South West Africa as a result of any change, but that the links between us would remain and would even be extended; Thirdly, I said that however much we might like to have the majority of votes in favour of the republic which we believe can be found in South West Africa, we decided in their own interest, as we saw their interests, that in view of the constitutional situation it was not possible for us to ask them to take part in the referendum. I think hon. members will admit that this is a fair summary of what I said then.

On that occasion I went into the reasons more deeply as to why the Union Government had decided not to ask the voters in South West Africa to take part in the referendum, and now want to deal with that matter.

There were two main reasons. The first was that due to the constitutional situation, coupled with which is the fact that the position of South West Africa is sometimes described as being uncertain from the international point of view, as long as it is not incorporated in the Union, and also because South West is very susceptible to criticism from abroad, we thought that we should keep the voters out of this struggle which in the first place affects the constitutional form of the Union itself. In other words, we wanted to save them from having further trouble or suspicion cast upon them. We realized that accusations would, quite unjustly, be hurled at them and we felt that this would probably be done from abroad. That is the first reason why we adopted the standpoint on behalf of the Government, viz. to save the voters

of South West unpleasantness, seeing that they have often had to endure such unpleasantness. There was also a second reason. Because of the aforementioned constitutional relationship, we expected the Opposition in the Union to make a fuss if that territory, which is not yet a fifth province, voted in the referendum. We expected the United Party again to come along with their well-known words "fraud" and "they do not believe that they have a majority in the Union and therefore they now include South West in the referendum". We expected that to be the reaction of hon. members opposite. Now I frankly admit that I was wrong there and that the United Party adopted a different attitude. But I still wonder what would have happened if I had adopted the opposite attitude. However, I am now prepared to accept that the hon. the Leader of the Opposition stated very clearly on behalf of the Opposition that their fundamental standpoint is that they think that the voters in South West should definitely take part; in other words, that there can be no reproaches if they take part and vote for a republic.

It is therefore quite clear that our reasons were, firstly, to safeguard the people in South West from these continuous attacks and accusations, and secondly not to allow any suspicion to be aroused in regard to the referendum. Those were the two main reasons. Hon. members will see from this that the Government deliberately, to safeguard from unpleasantness a long-suffering community in a territory which has often been criticized, took the attitude that it would not ask them to assist us in the matter.

Hon. members will remember that in 1956 my predecessor, Adv. J. G. Strijdom, in reply to a question by the hon. member for South Coast said quite clearly, when he was asked whether South West would be consulted about the republic, that all the White voters would vote, and that because South West is administered as part of the Union, the voters there would be treated in the same way. It is only because in 1960 the atmosphere became so much more unpleasant, particularly overseas, that we decided to depart from what was always quite clearly our attitude. We wanted to do so for the sake of peace and quiet, particularly in the minds of the people of South West.

There were three reactions to my attitude. The first reaction was that of the United Party of South West. They said they were glad that the voters were not being asked to vote, because they regarded that as proof of the correctness of their political standpoint, viz. that South West Africa was still a mandated territory and that it was becoming or should become more loosely connected

with South Africa. Let me say very clearly that this interpretation, or this inference, is quite wrong in my opinion, because in spite of what the International Court said, it is our emphatic standpoint, which we still maintain, that the mandate does not exist any longer. Nor was it ever the intention behind the decision taken by the Government that it would mean what the United Party in South West perversely tried to read into it. I repeat that the Government only wanted to safeguard the voters from being exposed to unnecessary agitation, suspicion and unpleasantness both inside and outside the country; but it steadfastly maintains that South West should be administered as an integral part of the Union, and that it is exclusively a matter for the Union and for South West Africa as to how their relations will develop further. In that regard nobody else has any say. In other words, I reject the standpoint and the inferences of the United Party of South West *in toto*, and its support for our decision, which they interpret to be in support of their own quite different standpoint, is not to be reconciled with anything we have said.

The next reaction was that of the Leader of the Opposition in the Union. I have already said I admit that he surprised me, but I accept that that is his standpoint and that of his party and his supporters in the country, viz. that the voters of South West should definitely vote on the question of a republic. He wants them to be asked to vote because, as he said, it affects their fate and he added to that: "Assume that the republic will not be a member of the Commonwealth." As a further argument, he mentioned certain anomalies which he considered would arise if the voters of South West do not participate in the referendum, whilst the Members of Parliament representing South West can vote on a republican Constitution or the election of a President. Now I want to say frankly that I do not think there is much substance in the argument of the hon. member in regard to anomalies, because an independent State can ask anyone to do anything affecting that State; it can give any person the right to help to decide its fate as a State. In fact, we already have this anomaly in the existing position that the South West members vote on the Union's Budget and the Union's taxation, whilst these things are not applicable to South West. General Smuts himself, as the Leader of the United Party, was instrumental in bringing about that position. We already have this type of anomaly and therefore I say that this argument is not a very strong one. I could advance even better arguments in support of the standpoint adopted by the hon. the Leader. I could, e.g., use the following stronger arguments, which

I want to mention here for the sake of clarity. The first is that the voters of South West are Union citizens and, that being so, one could argue strongly that they should be allowed to vote in all elections, including the referendum on the republic. I can mention a second argument which the Leader of the Opposition might have used. It is that the Union is sovereign and can give anybody the right to vote on anything affecting the Union; and because it has already done so in connection with other matters, like representation in Parliament — countries overseas said nothing about it, nor could they say anything — we can simply decide to allow the people in South West to vote. The third argument is that it might be said that not taking part in the referendum would create the impression that the administrative unity existing between the Union and South West could be doubted. People outside who are not acquainted with the position might gain such a wrong impression. These are arguments one could advance in favour of participation. We are not quarrelling about that. That was not the basis of our difference of opinion. The basis of the difference was a very simple one, namely that we wanted to safeguard from these dual attacks I have already mentioned those people whom we knew were entitled to vote both morally and on other grounds.

But there was also a third reaction and that is very interesting and important. It is the reaction of the voters of South West themselves. Let me tell hon. members that in spite of the tremendous difference of opinion to which I have already referred between the United Party in South West and the United Party in South Africa on this matter, this particular reaction came from both the Nationalists and the United Party supporters in South West. It is that whilst being very appreciative of the anxiety expressed by the Government about their mental peace and comfort and its desire to protect them from attack . . . (Laughter.) I shall be very glad if hon. members would postpone this laughter, through which they are expressing their discomfort, because I will give them even more reason for laughter — on the wrong side of their faces. Whilst they appreciated it, the voters of South West said they preferred to exercise their right to demonstrate the unity they have with the Union of South Africa. They further said that they wanted to relieve the Government of any responsibility which it may evince towards them through its goodwill. This reaction is very clear to me. It came from enough sources to be authoritative and general, in my opinion. I must say I find it to be a nice attitude; it is an impressive attitude.

It really means that the Government is now faced with this

position: It took a decision not to ask the voters of South West to participate in the referendum, in spite of what it regarded as an undoubtedly reasonable and moral right they have, and it did so firstly to protect them against attacks and unpleasantness. Secondly, we did so in order that it could not be reproached by the Opposition in the Union that the assistance of South West had to be called in in order to obtain a republic. The first-mentioned reason falls away because the people in South West prefer to endure these attacks and criticism and therefore they asked the Government to protect them against their will. They claim their right to vote as citizens. Therefore the first reason falls away. The second object we had in mind, viz. to have no doubt about the establishment of the republic, with consequent reproaches, also falls away because the Opposition itself recognizes the right of the voters of South West to vote, and clearly states that those citizens should assist in determining whether the Union shall become a republic or whether it should remain a monarchy. In other words, it is quite clear that their participation cannot become a source of reproach.

In those circumstances, the reasons for this sacrifice by the Government, by which they would have lost thousands of votes in favour of a republic, falls away. Therefore I want to state here that in spite of what I said on January 20, I now have the singular privilege of taking great pleasure in associating myself with the attitude adopted by the Leader of the Opposition. In doing so, I am following the sound example set by my noted predecessor, Dr. Malan, when he also agreed with Gen. Smuts on a matter affecting South West Africa. I am therefore stating now that expression will be given to the wishes of the people in South West Africa that the voters of that territory should participate in the referendum on a republic. They will now take part in the referendum, in spite of what I said on January 20.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I want to deal with a final point. I regard it as a very serious matter, not only for the White people in South Africa but for the Whites in the whole of Africa and in fact for White people throughout the world. So much attention is being devoted to-day to the role of the Black man and of the Coloured nations of Asia and Africa that it seems to me that somebody should throw a different light on a different aspect of the matter, namely the role of the White man and the danger to him as well as to the non-White if the Whites should abdicate from their role and from the position of domination by the White man, to which he is entitled. Therefore I want to adopt a very defi-

nite standpoint here to-day. I shall be glad if the hon. members will not treat it with levity. I am not trying to talk politics. I want to discuss a matter of the utmost importance in world politics. May I just say that I do not intend analysing and discussing the speech made by Mr. Macmillan, as I have been urged to do. I realize that one could criticize it. In fact, this has already been done in the Press and also very gently and kind-heartedly by my colleague, the hon. the Minister of External Affairs. He very justifiably pointed to certain aspects of it and he did so in most moderate language. I therefore do not consider it necessary to deal with that speech, but I mention it merely because what I have to say must be seen against the background of the broad outlook from which that speech emanated. Right at the beginning I want to ask that the inference should please not be drawn that we do not want to grant the Black man his rights or his own states, or that we do not grant the Black masses their freedom in their own states. On the contrary, it is our policy that we grant them those rights in their own states.

I feel that the role of the White man in the world is not receiving sufficient attention. It appears that a world psychosis has arisen of thinking only of the rights and privileges and freedoms of the non-Whites, whilst in fact the White man is responsible for everything the Black man has in the way of ideals, ambitions and opportunities. I therefore consider it essential to emphasize that when one talks about merits one is not concerned only with the merits of persons, of individuals, but sometimes also with the merits of nations, communities and national groups. I shall have more to say in that regard.

Let us first look at the position of the White man in the world to-day. Forget the role he played in past centuries. In the world of to-day, in this atomic age, who is responsible for the developments and inventions, the discoveries and their application in various spheres? How much of this, in proportion to their numbers, comes from the non-White nations? How much of this, taken by itself, emanates from the non-White nations of Asia or Africa? Is it to-day not the White man who by his initiative and his brain power, by his organizations, by the states which he has developed, by his economic power — is it not he who not only gives the lead in everything, but creates just about everything used in our civilization to-day? Is it not a fact that the non-White nations are essentially imitative, that they imitate and make use of things, but do not create anything? Therefore I say that in the world to-day the role of the White man, even though the Whites are fewer in

number than the non-Whites, is of tremendous importance. The White man is in fact the leader and the creator.

If we look at Africa, one would think that where Black nationalism in Africa demands a certain role, demands certain rights — demands to be independent — that while the Western nations support it morally and practically, those people should be able to take and develop what they desire to have. In other words, one would think that they should be fully able, if they want freedom and independence, to govern the state and to see to the economic development of their countries. But do they? What are the true facts? The truth is that it is an illusion that they are making use of the independence they have obtained and that they are completely responsible for what happens in their states. Take the White man away from almost every one of these states which are being established, take away the official and the entrepreneur, and what remains of those States? Can the Blacks govern such a state themselves, and can they maintain their economy? They cannot. In other words, the role of the Whites in the so-called independent states of Africa is of vital importance. The Black leaders frankly admit it. Therefore in everything which people think and say . . . (Interjections.) I shall be glad if hon. members will stop politicking now. I am not discussing a political struggle. I am making a plea for the rights of the Whites. I ask further: What would happen to those states if the White countries, the Western nations, were to withdraw their support? Therefore we should not allow the psychosis of minimizing the importance of the Whites and recognizing the Black man who would only dominate us. Do not let anybody suffer from the psychosis that the White man in Africa can just be swept aside in order to satisfy world opinion.

I now put this question: Can the Western nations win these Black states for the West by offering them everything — their presence, their authority, their advice, and their money. Will they in that way get the so-called uncommitted states to ally themselves with the Western nations against Communism or against the Eastern countries? The competition from the East remains there; the competition by Communism remains there. This is simply a bidding competition at a sale. Everyone tries to offer more than the other, more degradation for himself by making himself despicable; more abandonment of authority; more money; more services. In this auction between the Western nations and the East or Communism, the spirit is cultivated in Africa of standing, just for the moment, by the one who offers most, or to take from both sides everything which these African states can get, always to ask

for more and to make bigger demands and always to sit on the fence and in the end boast that they are neutral. In this struggle between the East and the West, the Western nations are evidently prepared to abandon all the White people in Africa to achieve one object. That object is to get the so-called uncommitted states to stand on their side. I want to put this question: Will the Western nations manage to do so in this auction sale? I say that they will not get the support in that way. I allege that what is going on here is a process which in the British world is very well known under the concept of "appeasement".

It can be translated as conciliation, lacking any other word which has all the nuances of the English word. When one thinks back to the circumstances in which this word received its meaning, we know that the British people still look back with abhorrence to the time when their Prime Minister went to a German leader before the last World War to try to obtain peace by seeking goodwill, by acceding to certain demands even when it was felt that those demands were not morally justifiable. These demands meant abandoning a small nation in Europe, something which was not morally right and was realized to be an abandonment of friends. It is realized that the attempt to obtain sympathy and support in that way, and to keep the peace, not only did not succeed but encouraged even greater demands and finally it resulted in great dangers threatening the world, from which the world still suffers to-day and will still suffer for many years. It was afterwards realized that such a policy of conciliation was not a wise one and that it did not achieve beneficial results. Now I want to apply that to Africa and say why what is happening here reminds me of that. What is happening here is that the Western nations go to the Black masses with open hands and offer them everything they desire, and every time they make further concessions, which in the end leads even to the loss of respect for the Whites, and to the domination of the Whites, and finally to the Whites losing their country. That is the new direction adopted. That is the price they are willing to pay for what they expect will lead to peace in the world, but I say that it will not lead to that, as I will try to explain. It is appeasement at the sacrifice of the White man in Africa, but the result will lead to even greater dangers. Therefore I say that I would like Britain, the U.S.A. and the other Western nations seriously to ponder that they will lose the only staunch friends they have — the Whites in Africa — if the White man in Africa is swamped by the Black masses, and in exchange they will not be rewarded by what they hope to receive: the gratitude

and the alliance of all the African states, and the economic privileges granted to them by those states.

The question may be asked: What does the White man in Africa say will be the result of all this competition in handing over presents and all this overhasty granting of independence? What do we say about it? I want to give a few replies. The first is that no peaceful, co-operative, prosperous communities will be established, which these benefactors hope will happen and which they consider will compensate them by rich benefits. I think there will rather be chaos between competing states in Africa, born out of conflicting ambitions. I foresee many states in Africa, but the idea which some people have that there will be an African unity, is growing dim. I foresee smaller groups which give their support now to one side and then to another, some to the West and some to the Communists or to Eastern countries, but I do not foresee one unified peaceful country developing as the result of the methods now being adopted, as contrasted with the methods we would like to see adopted. I foresee, at least in the beginning, only the chaos of competing states, as we had in Europe.

Secondly, the White man in Africa does not see peace and stability resulting from a satisfied nationalism which joins the Western nations, but he sees only the development of national self-interest on the part of each of them, as is natural in the case of every nation. He sees the development of self-interest which will now support the one side and then the other side. This self-interest will shy from that struggle between West and East against which the Western nations are taking precautions.

Thirdly, I see no diminution in world unrest. The White man in Africa sees no diminution in world unrest as the result of what is happening here now. I want to explain it in this way. We rather see a United Nations which will be totally disrupted by these new members, who are people without much experience of government, of the solution of international problems. These new members might even give rise to such a state of confusion or uncertainty and clashes that the Western nations will finally become so discouraged that they might feel themselves compelled to withdraw. Then the United Nations will of course fall to pieces, because the real supporters of the UN are these very nations who will gradually have the minority of votes there. If they have to withdraw to make a new start in the hope of leading the world to peace, their task will not be facilitated by what is now happening in Africa and in the world. The unrest in the world is not being reduced by all this magnanimity; it is being increased.

Fourthly, I do not see, and I do not think the average White man in Africa sees, in what is happening now a means of saving the Black masses from domination. What we see developing is Black dictatorships. The Black masses which did not find their burdens very onerous under White democratic domination or under careful White leadership will perhaps in future find things much more difficult and will receive less under the dictatorships which may develop, than they enjoyed under the civilizing and Christianizing influence of the Whites. Let me also add this and make it very clear that the political nationalism which imbues Africa has not penetrated to the Black masses in Africa. Those masses are not really interested in politics. Those masses are not interested in ideologies. There is a relatively small number of individuals who have made use of the masses to climb to the top. The Western nations, because they want to compete with Communism, and because they were under the wrong impression about this mass nationalism, overhastily started negotiations in order to give those minorities power, instead of patiently waiting to give true freedom to Africa.

In the fifth place, I want to say this: I cannot see that what is happening now will strengthen Christianity, even though many churches have posed as the champions of these liberalistic ideas. In what is happening I rather see more opportunities granted for going back to heathenism, or for strengthening Mohammedanism as against Christianity. What safety does that afford to the Western nations, for the White man or for the world? Are they not all losing instead of gaining as the result of what they are doing now? The very opposite of what they intended is happening.

In the sixth place, the White man here sees an abdication of the White guardian nations and an abandonment of the White people in Africa, and particularly of the policy they have hitherto been following and the work they have done. By following that policy they were able for hundreds of years to maintain everything they built up, to improve what they had and to make available everything they had evolved for the benefit of the Black nations. Now I may be asked this question: What then does the White man in Africa suggest? My reply is we suggest the continuation of the principles and methods we have adopted thus far. We say that there should be no intermingling anywhere — no intermingling in the political sphere nor the swallowing up of the White man by the Black masses in any other sphere of life. Neither human intermingling nor political intermingling, but a permanent co-existence should be our aim. Wherever suitable, as in the Union,

a White state should be established or should remain in existence, from which will emanate the influence which will lead to the gradual development of neighbouring Black states. In the first place therefore one accepts that Black neighbour states must come into being, but the permanent co-existence of the White man and of a White state, where it properly belongs, such as we are trying to bring about at the southern tip of Africa in terms of policy, is essential. Secondly, we envisage that the development of the Black neighbour states, of the Black man on the road towards nationhood, must take place from the bottom upwards and that it must take place gradually at the speed at which he is capable of advancing. It must not take place, as is happening to-day in other countries, from the top to the bottom but from the bottom to the top, as in this area where the Union is the guardian. One must first make the masses ripe for their participation in government — politically, culturally and economically. That is what we are trying to do in our Bantu homelands. We are trying to make the masses ripe for greater responsibility in every sphere of life, and when the time comes where they have reached full emancipation, the masses will then be democratically organized and experienced and not only a group of leaders. That is why the White man in Africa sees the development of his Black neighbour as something which he must guide from the bottom to the top instead of only giving privileges at the top while those at the bottom are still unripe for this new dispensation. That could lead to oppression and to dictatorship.

Thirdly, when the Black state has reached independence which is truly based on the masses and is able to take its place alongside the White democratic state, then suitable links must be created. I mentioned one possible method when I spoke about a commonwealth link in the South Africa of the future. Actually a commonwealth link could come into being in Africa between more states on the basis that we contemplate here at the southern tip of the continent between neighbour and neighbour, the one White and the other Black, a commonwealth in which no state will lord it over another state. That offers a hope of peace and does away with the danger of the submergence or disappearance of the White man. Permanent common interests can be built up by means of economic links, provided the national groups are emancipated systematically — not in one fell swoop, but gradually as they become ripe for it. Basically we do not believe in conciliation or appeasement or enticement by means of gifts. We believe in training by means of self-help and towards self-help in every sphere, so that truly

independent groups and states will come into existence and not merely sham independent states. The independence of every state depends on whether all its citizens are ripe for it and not on whether certain individuals are ripe for it.

The White man in Africa refuses to believe that only numbers count. We are being told that we have only 3,000,000 Whites here, and in other states the Whites are told that they only number 5,000 or 10,000 or 50,000. But the White man in Africa knows from centuries of experience that it is not only numbers that count. As a matter of fact, during the past 400 years the Whites in the world have always been in the minority, but they have, nevertheless, played a dominant role, as they are still doing to-day, by virtue of their inherent qualities. It is his character, his initiative and his other inherent qualities in the form of creative urge and intellectual capacity which have made the White man great. It is not only numbers that count. Britain herself set the example in other directions. With her 40, 50 or 60,000,000 people at various times — even fewer — she has ruled hundreds of millions of people over a period of hundreds of years. How was she able to do so? It was possible by virtue of intellectual powers and because she refused to abdicate from her duty and from her status. She did not allow numbers to count. Let me mention another example: Would England, because of her smaller population, yield to Russia with her bigger population if there is a clash of interests and if she has to struggle to the bitter end? Would England give way to a friendly state with a bigger population or would she continue to try to maintain herself? Naturally she would try to compete. It is not numbers alone that count. The White man of Africa is not going to be told that, because he is outnumbered by the Black peoples, he must allow his rights to be swallowed up and be prepared to lose his say. Just as other nations maintain themselves against one another and just as the White man maintains himself in this preponderantly non-White world, so the White man in Africa wants to maintain himself where he is to-day. I say again that the merit which counts is not only the merit of the individual — even though one recognizes such merit in its proper place — because that would make it possible for the most capable groups to be outvoted if they were numerically weaker. The merits of races and groups must also count. We who are White will stand, fight and win in Africa on the merits of our White community viewed as an entity, but at the same time we shall also give this right to the Black man whose fate has also been entrusted to us.

In this connection I want to add that there are some people who are urging that we should offer a home in South Africa to the Whites in other parts of Africa. To that my reply is as follows: Those who feel that they should clear out from other parts of Africa would be cordially welcomed in South Africa because, with their knowledge of the problems of this continent, they could become some of our finest immigrants. (Hear, hear!). They would be welcome here. I want to say with even greater emphasis, however, that we are not going to throw in the towel on their behalf; we do not want to encourage them to leave the countries which they have made their homes as though the battle has already been lost. We do not want to say to them: "Come here; flee from those countries where you are to-day." We prefer to encourage them to stand firmly there too, as we propose to do here, as long as possible, and to continue to fight for their rights, even though they may have to exercise their rights differently there. The White man must maintain himself wherever he is for as long as possible. Perhaps world opinion may still change in time to save them there and to enable them to maintain themselves as White people with appropriate rights in the country concerned. Let me add this by way of consolidation: I think the attitude that we and other Whites are adopting in Africa is causing the wheel of world opinion to turn.

As far as South Africa is concerned, our problem remains the problem of ensuring the survival of the White race here and at the same time doing justice to the non-Whites in their sphere. It was made very clear to South Africa recently that neither our membership of the Commonwealth nor the fact that we are a monarchy will ensure for us the support of Britain at the present time in this struggle for our own existence. Here I should like to emphasize one point very strongly. It was not the Republic of South Africa that was told "We are not going to support you in this respect," those words were addressed to the monarchy of South Africa, and yet we have the same monarch as this person from Britain who addressed these remarks to us. It was a warning therefore that was given to all of us, English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking, republican and anti-republican. It was made clear to all of us that as far as these matters are concerned, we shall have to stand on our own feet. I agree with what the hon. member for South Coast stated so clearly in this connection. I do not agree with his solution, but I agree with his statement that the White man, even if he stands alone, is not going to clear out. I say therefore that we do not accept for

the Union the present policy that is accepted by countries such as Britain for their African territories, namely that the White inhabitants must be satisfied as a minority in a multi-racial country to compete with the Black masses on an equal basis, which in the long run can only mean a Black government. I hope that we shall be able to persuade them to change their opinion, at least in respect of certain territories, and I wish we could co-operate in this respect with the Opposition — not the Progressive Party section of the Opposition but the United Party section — to convince Britain that the supremacy of the White man in the Union is not only in the White man's interest but also in Britain's interest. In the meantime, the White man of Africa has been left to look after himself. It does not behove us to come along with vague statements. We must be explicit and candid. The sentiment of a commonwealth or of a monarchy, the idea that we shall be protected and defended, does not apply. It may still apply in other respects; it may apply in the sphere of economic benefits and it may apply in the event of a great struggle, for example between the West and Communism. When it comes, however, to a struggle on the colour issue and with regard to the maintenance of the White man's position (whether as we say, according to the policy of apartheid or, whether as the Leader of the Opposition says, on the basis that the Whites must retain the leadership — it does not depend on what your policy is) we stand on our own feet. Everyone of us and every party will therefore be *forced* to reply to the following question: What are we going to do to maintain the White race and to retain White supremacy in South Africa? I know what the answer of the Liberal Party and of the Progressive Party is. They say that in the long run the White man cannot or must not maintain himself. The Opposition knows what our attitude is. We say that we are going to maintain White supremacy in the White area — and we have said how we are going to do it. My question to the United Party is this: If they really mean what they sometimes say, namely that they are going to maintain White supremacy, how are they going to do so? I ask the United Party to consider more carefully than it has ever done before the logical consequences of its reply to this question as to how they propose to do it. They have said no more than that they leave the future to look after itself. Nobody can leave the reply to this question to the future. If we did so we would be lost.

My main object in making this statement — and I conclude on this note — is to make the White man in South Africa and in Africa

realize what he has to contend with. The wheel may turn towards support for the Union; the wheel may also turn as far as world opinion on the colour problem is concerned and with regard to the attitude of the Western nations, but then it will be our task to convey the right idea to them. We shall have to convince them, however difficult it may be. We shall have to give them the other side of the picture, because up to the present they have been given only one side of the picture. I notice a change in the United States already; I notice a change in public opinion in Britain already, just as there is a changed attitude in the Union of South Africa on the part of people who formerly held different views. It was to promote these phenomena and to emphasize in all fairness the role of the misjudged White man that I felt called upon to say what I have said here. May the White man, may the White nations of the world, including Britain, never lose their hold, intellectually and otherwise. If they try to abdicate and to surrender on our behalf, then in the long run the flood of colour will not only overwhelm us but will reach their country in the years to come and eventually overwhelm them as well.

**Address on the Occasion of the Opening of the
Extramural Building of the University of Pretoria,
March 25, 1960**

Since its inception the Transvaal University College made provision for extramural training in Jurisprudence. In course of time new divisions were added and the number of students increased to such an extent that effective accommodation became a problem. Even a convenient building which was erected in Vermeulen Street in 1926 eventually became too small, in spite of subsequent additions. To solve the problem once and for all the University Council in 1956 bought a number of conveniently situated stands in Proes Street and erected a suitable building also for future expansion. This building was opened by the Prime Minister on 25th March, 1960.

Mr. Chancellor, Mr. Chairman of the Council, Mr. Rector, esteemed friends, I want to thank you very much for the kind words addressed to us all here on behalf of the University. I want to thank you also that by the nature of the gathering outside you created for us the illusion that extramural students do sometimes get out of doors. I think that we probably always felt it strange to hear that extramural students, just like all students, do study under proper supervision intramurally.

When one is so surrounded here by these mighty shiny walls, one comes to the realization that an extramural student is actually only a student like us all when we prepare ourselves at the university for our own and for our share in our nation's future. When I look at this tremendous building it is quite clear that what you here in Pretoria call a division of Pretoria University is something which in our younger days would have been equal to a whole university.

It is a large and a grand institution which you have created here. We also realize that it has not just come about but that it has grown. Everything that is of significance grows from the bottom up to the top. Nothing that is permanent and valuable is large from its inception, nothing which will endure for many years is born mature.

I have perused the figures of this institution. I have seen therein a symbol of the kind of growth which South Africa has experienced during the past thirty years. I see that from 1926 to 1948 the student enrolment just about doubled, practically doubled! But from 1948 to 1960, a little more than half of the previous period, the enrolment more than trebled. The growth curve which at first inclined slowly upwards, has risen during the past ten years at the fastest rate imaginable.

Thus it is with everything in South Africa. Thus we grow, thus our institutions grow, thus also our problems grow. Hence this institution which we open here today in all its grandeur is also a symbol of our nation and its growth. Here a need is supplied: the need of the working student, or to put it better perhaps, of the worker who is also a student.

Actually we should realize that life is a study from beginning to end. You never have too much knowledge. You are never mature enough for the tasks awaiting you. It is not the privilege only of youth to study and gather knowledge. All have this right — to the end.

But a special duty rests on youth, not only on the young people whose parents can send them to university for full-time study, but also on the young man and young woman who stand on their own legs. They have a duty to themselves and a duty to their nation to make sure of gaining that knowledge which forever increases, which makes life more useful and supplements the practical life, and of making it their own, also for the sake of others.

Here in South Africa especially we should realize this. South Africa is the most developed state in this dark continent, previously darkest Africa, now an Africa over which the sun is beginning to rise, but which is still in the half-light of the dawn. The sun has been shining on us for quite a while and hence we have a duty to work. Much of the future has been given into our hands.

Measured according to the numerical strength of our people we are a small nation. Can we nevertheless, be great in all things in which a small nation can be great? The answer to that question we shall not give in words; only our deeds can bring the answer. And for a small nation to be great means to achieve by its character and its skill. He who knows, can accomplish much. In the sphere of research, even when it is not individual work but team-work, individuals and small groups of persons can climb to the top. It also does not always and in all spheres require the power and the money of the millions to produce something which enriches world knowledge. We may be small but we can achieve greatly if we can

endeavour to contribute towards the very knowledge which perhaps is to be found in South Africa.

But we can also become great in the comprehensiveness of our knowledge. We can gather and learn what the world already knows. It will cost effort — in a certain sense more than elsewhere, where the knowledge is presented on a salver whereas we here, a bit isolated, sometimes have to go in search thereof. But knowledge laboriously gained, is knowledge deeply imprinted. Therein we can also be great though small. But even though we are small in numbers compared with the masses of Africa, we can stand out large above these countries because we can impart to them the civilization in which we have participated so much longer.

We also have to bear in mind that we are not only a small nation, but a nation whose problems are growing daily. We have here in our midst large numbers of non-whites. One of their characteristics is the yearning for knowledge, the struggle to obtain it and the spirit of sacrifice with which they are prepared to compete in the pursuit of this highest good. We are the nucleus of the civilization, the seekers after knowledge in the past and the bearers thereof today. Should we lose the urge to know or should we become overwhelmed by indolence because we think that everything will go well since there are others who work for us and who will guide us, then we should not be able to maintain the position we rightly achieved by settlement and development over 300 years. Here where we have been planted with a purpose, here is to be found our youth, the leaders of the future, imbued with a sense of task and duty, filled with the urge to strive still harder to retain the leadership which their forefathers bequeathed to them.

We are living in a South Africa which is growing tremendously fast. In every sphere progress is being made at such a pace that without knowledge one is hardly able to serve or to work. One can scarcely conceive a sphere of life, however simple it was regarded previously — spheres about which our forefathers thought: "this is for the hands of the children who do not have the intellect to go and study" — without it being today the sphere of the expert; he alone can succeed there in the struggle of life. Hence it is that we all have to devote all that is within us, I would almost say and all that we possess, to the advancement of the knowledge of our nation and everyone who is a member thereof.

We are living in moving times, times which do not allow us to pause and look back. We are living with our problems which accompany us every hour of every day. These problems can be met with courage, belief in the Almighty, strength of character and

knowledge. Much of this has been left to us by our forefathers. Courage belongs to our nation; strength of character is not always attributed to us, but to those who bore us; steadfastness and knowledge can be acquired.

Without knowledge South Africa will not prosper. Without knowledge South Africa will fall from the grasp of the white man together with everything that he has brought to this country which he loves. If we neglect our opportunities, there are not many years before us. Matters come to pass very swiftly in these days. It is the individual not the leader only — the ordinary person, who in everyday life must give every moment of his being to prepare himself for his daily task and his duty to his nation.

We want to survive. We shall survive. But we can survive by courage and knowledge alone; by that which is in us and which we can acquire even if it necessitates the utmost exertion, and we have to burn our candles through the darkness of night and start in the early hours of the morning because the day's work calls us. Then we can dedicate to South Africa our lives and our knowledge — everything we have and everything that we can give.

We live in a difficult age. It is called the atomic age. But it is perhaps better to say that we are living in the age of cataclysms. Not only in the field of one science or another, but in all spheres attributed to us, but to those who bore us; steadfastness and change is the order of the day. Changes previously spread over hundreds of years are taking place within decades — changes so quick and so radical that the human mind sometimes cannot comprehend them.

In these years of change one feels that a nation's learned and skilful people alone do not suffice. In the past, few learned and skilful persons in a nation were sufficient, at a later stage more were required; in our time we need many. But even that is no longer adequate for the future. A nation, especially the small nation of South Africa, may not have its learned and its skilful citizens only; the whole nation must be skilled and learned. Our universities and especially institutions such as this, where the student does not go to the university, but the university comes to the student, must ensure that the whole nation grows in knowledge — useful knowledge, knowledge which will exalt it and make it great.

This is a splendid building — not a building to boast about but a building which must be the symbol of the association of the university with the nation and the nation with the university, an institution which must be symbolic of the conquest of knowledge by the nation for the service of everyone.

Speech at Meyerton, Transvaal, March 26, 1960

After the Prime Minister announced in Parliament on the 20th January, 1960 that a referendum would be held on the Republican question, enthusiasm was evident all over the country. The first republican rally to be addressed by Dr. Verwoerd in the Transvaal was scheduled for the 26th March, 1960 at Meyerton. Two days before the meeting, the Minister of Justice, Adv. F. C. Erasmus, placed a veto on all public gatherings throughout the country in accordance with the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1956. This gathering nevertheless took place and in spite of the temporary uncertainty, proved to be the largest political meeting ever held in South Africa. It was estimated that about 80,000 people attended and traffic was so dense it had to be directed with the aid of a helicopter.

I would like to thank you for this enormous gathering. A gathering which without doubt springs from the heart and out of love for South Africa. We are together here tonight because we all have only one fatherland, because we want only one fatherland and that is the Republic of South Africa. Not a republic which is the enemy of any other country, but a republic which wishes to be the friend of all countries. We have faith in our future and we also believe that people are able to live together if they are prepared to understand one another. We also desire to live in friendship with all the states of the world and all the African states. But we demand for ourselves the right of any free people to possess for ourselves, the symbols of independence.

It has been said that tonight's meeting should not have taken place. This was said with regard to the troubles which have taken place lately. But we are accustomed to trouble. It comes to an end. National ideals never cease. They are fulfilled. And while they are unfulfilled, the fight for fulfilment continues. We could not cancel this meeting. The law which has been applied to forbid meetings is not a law banning all meetings, it is a law to control all meetings. It has been purposely set out in such a way that the magistrate of every district is in control of whether or not a

meeting will be allowed, apart from religious meetings which are automatically continued. This power has been given to him so that he may use it to control those which may lead to riots. I am pleased that the Leader of the Opposition has also interpreted it in this way and will hold his meeting in Krugersdorp next week. The fact that I, although Prime Minister and that he, although Leader of the Opposition, had to obtain permission from the magistrate, shows how law-abiding a people we are in South Africa.

There is yet another reason why this meeting should take place. Not only because it is intended by the law that all meetings should take place normally which do not have anything to do with riots, and not only because of this, but because the postponement of this gathering might be regarded as a triumph for the riotous elements. And we will not allow this in South Africa. We will carry out our duty in an orderly fashion and protect the rights of everyone, both black and white. We will not give the few troublemakers their way by allowing an upheaval in the national life.

It is also necessary that we should use an occasion such as this — and it is the first opportunity which I have had to speak to the nation about this — to encourage one another to a sensible and calm attitude. We are living in difficult times and we realize this. But there is no cause for alarm. It is not the first time that a few people have done something to upset the masses — either in our country or in other countries. For this reason I wish to say to you this evening: the government of South Africa does not want you to lose your sense of perspective of what has happened. Nobody should be at all upset. Nobody should think that law and order cannot be maintained in the country. It is necessary to look calmly at what is happening around us. I would like especially to call upon the whites not to get the wrong impression of the blacks in the Union of South Africa. These troubles are not troubles caused by the black masses. The black masses of South Africa — and I know the Bantu in all parts of the country — are orderly. They are faithful to the government of the country. The masses are beginning to realize that we are also thinking of their interests, that we too can see what they need, that we know and recognize their rights. The groups of people seeking their own gain are small, and they make use of mass psychology at mass gatherings, and by threats or other means are sometimes the cause of trouble. The whites in South Africa must not harbour ill-feeling towards the blacks because

they do not deserve it. They love order just as we do. For this reason I am not going to speak about the recent riots this evening, especially since the events will be subjected to investigation by judicial commissions.

I would like to deal with a few problems in broad outline, amongst others our becoming a republic. Let me stress that we should not only practise self-control ourselves, but also toward the outside world. Those who judge afar off do not always see what the true state of affairs is. It is our task to take care that this knowledge is carried to the outside world by the stableness and soberness of our behaviour. I would like also to direct a few words to the English-speaking republicans who support the Afrikaans-speaking republicans, in my speech this evening, because we are a bilingual country and both languages will be the languages of the Republic.

This is a momentous occasion. We are gathered together in our thousands at a republican rally, not with any feeling of enmity towards anyone, but because we firmly believe that in this South Africa of ours, we all can live together happily and prosperously. But in order to make that possible, it is necessary to remove those factors which at present divide us; this necessitates that we shall have to make certain sacrifices of sentiment. On the one hand there are the English-speaking South Africans with their sentiment for the crown — on the other hand there are the Afrikaans-speaking South Africans with their sentiment for a certain form of republic. Both must bring their sacrifices so that division may fall away. But what none of us will sacrifice is our trust in each other. Let us believe in unity and friendship towards all nations.

I want to say a few words in connection with the opinion of the outside world about our South Africa of today, but before doing that I wish to say something in connection with the recent disturbances that we have experienced to our sorrow. I wish to repeat the request that I made in Afrikaans, which is, that South Africans must not misunderstand the Bantu in our midst. Perhaps some people believe that the recent occurrences showed that there is enmity between white and Bantu. I have had much experience with the Bantu throughout South Africa, and I know that the Bantu masses are orderly and loyal to the government of this country. I have experienced meetings of Bantu as large, and sometimes perhaps larger than this gathering here tonight, which I addressed on the policy in which we believe to be in their interest as much as in our own. This, they fully acclaimed. We

must realize that when mass psychology comes into the picture and some groups or leaders lead the masses astray, we must not allow ourselves to become prejudiced against the masses. We must try and solve those problems by using discretion and goodwill.

We do not intend to be perturbed by what is said in all ignorance in the outside world. We intend to do what we judge to be right as a Christian nation dealing with people and fellow-men in this country of ours. We realize that there is a common basis of humanity. We also realize what the outside world often does not, which is that you not only have to take into consideration the rights of the Bantu, of the black man of Africa, but that there also is a white man of Africa to consider. The white man brought civilization to this country and everything that the Bantu is inheriting today with us, was created by the knowledge and the diligence of the white man. It is true that the black man took part in it, mostly as the labourer. We realize the value of that part and wish to see that he is repaid for what he has done for the country. But if we had not been here or cared for them throughout hundreds of years, they would have perished of hunger or murdered one another and might not have been in existence today.

The white man of South Africa, the farmer on his farm, the father in his home has taken care of the health of the Bantu servant. The State has also made provision for his health as well as his education. In ever so many ways, the white man has been the guardian of the black.

We settled a portion of this country and they settled a portion for themselves in the empty Africa which existed when both of us came here, the black man down the east coast from the north and the white man from the south, from Cape Town. We settled empty country, each a portion for himself. The reason why they still have theirs is because we, the white people, guarded it for them. We could easily have taken possession of it in the course of years. We could have colonized it as other nations have done in so many other parts. But that is not the way of the white man of South Africa. He is prepared to grant to others what is theirs, just as he claims his own for himself.

Now when these difficulties arise, as they do from time to time, we must remember that there is no nation in the world that has not had to face riots and disturbances of its own at some time or other. We in South Africa regret it that there should be others overseas who are considered efficient to condemn without any evidence. Justice is said to be the right of every man. It is also

the right of every nation. We believe that the cultural world should take cognizance of this claim. But I do not take it amiss too much, because I am fully aware of what the position is elsewhere, which is the cause of this. In every country, especially those who are making themselves heard, there is a government and an opposition as well as the liberals and the conservatives, and a great deal of what we read in our newspapers is not the voice of the governments, but the voice of the opposition groups trying to embarrass their governments. We have that in our country as well, and we cannot take it amiss when opposition groups very often make themselves heard very loudly, while those who have attained their commonsense, do not come into the limelight so easily. Those of whom we read so much in the newspapers are the ducktails of the political world. Although actually small in numbers, they are always shouting out loudly and in that way finding their way into the front columns, while the great majority of good people, law-abiding citizens, our good young men who are the builders of the nation of the future, which should be another scene in the news items, are never advertised. Only that which is harmful finds its way to the front pages.

Therefore I can understand, when we hear so much condemnation from the outside world, that a great deal of it comes from these other groups. We realize too that the leaders of the nations are often placed in most difficult positions and are forced to take steps which could be misunderstood in this country, if we did not realize what a vexed position they are in. Therefore, I say that we understand what is happening overseas. But if only one thing were possible, if the world could only understand that all of us in South Africa, all groups of the opposition and government, believe in justice and in right, there would be so much more happiness. We all acknowledge the rights of the black man, and we all seek for him a prosperous future. We only differ in methods. The one sees it by means of which the white man and his influence will gradually disappear, when majority of numbers count and not strength of character and knowledge. The other sees it in allowing each the fullest opportunity amongst his own people, and that is the standpoint of this government. We say: "Let the white man govern the white. Let the black man when he comes to work for the white, submit to that government, but let the black man get his opportunities in those areas which were settled by him and which have been reserved for him. When the white man goes there with the object of enriching himself which the

black man also does when he comes here, then the white man must understand that he is entering black man's country. The same applies to the black man. That is fairness to each and justice to all."

Will it be in the interest of the world at large apart from South Africa, if those who hold South Africa together, the white man who built up its industry, its agriculture, its transport system, its government, were to be governed not by the Bantu masses but by the small number of agitators who would only make use of the numbers of the Bantu masses in order to govern themselves? Don't we see what is happening in other parts of Africa that have been made free? There the white man has to step back while the black man who cannot govern, carries on without the co-operation and assistance of the white man. There you find that freedom does not actually reach down to the masses, but is excised by growing dictatorships. Must we in South Africa sacrifice everything that we have built up in order to allow a few small Bantu groups, by calling upon the support of people of their own colour — and for that reason alone, not by personal merit against the merit of the white man — take away everything that we have built up over a period of three hundred years? Where is the right, where is the fairness in this? We ask the outside world to try to understand us, to believe in our Christian feelings, to be prepared to see that the white man has a case as well as the black; to be prepared to perceive that we see both cases because we have to live with our problems day and night.

But also inside South Africa we find this struggle. We find that those in opposition to the government use and abuse every opportunity to gain strength. Instead of looking far ahead into the future, they are prepared to harm South Africa just for the sake of coming into power.

When there is trouble like at present, they are only silent for a day or so, and then immediately start flinging accusations to the effect that it is the fault of the whites or the government. There is the type who does it in order to come into power, and when he does, will act just like us and there is the second group and this second group is prepared to accept Bantu rule, in time.

Under the circumstances I ask you to place your trust in the Government when unpleasant events take place. We will not act unreasonably. We will not let reason abandon us. Because a leader who has to care for a nation cannot govern if driven by vengeance or emotions. It is our task in this time of difficulties,

to let reason hold sway although it is often the heart which cries out for utterance. Reason and faith. Injustice cannot sway a government founded in the faith of God. Faith and reason do not, however, dictate shabby action which can only result in greater evils. Power is often the best way of getting peace. And for this reason, friends, when you have to deal with opposition in the country, when you are told in difficult times that you must be afraid because the Government is weak or powerless, then you must also use your reason and look at the past, as the situation is at present and at what has happened. Look at events over the past ten years, the growth and development of the country. We inherited a difficult colour problem in 1948. Now we have to deal with individuals who are encouraged by unsensible people inside and outside the country. Because I would like to add, we are aware that white influence is behind much of the insurrection.

There is one important fact to which I would like to draw your attention this evening, namely that there are some people who are unwaveringly opposed to a republic in South Africa and who are trying to use these difficulties to work up opposition for this purpose. They are trying to make a republic seem to be the symbol of the suppression of the black man. To this I wish to say that the Republic will be the protector of the rights of all people just as is the present monarchy of South Africa under a national government.

Why are these people trying to prevent the republic of South Africa? Have they thought what they are trying to achieve by confusing these two problems which have nothing to do with one another? Do they not realize that they are playing into Communist hands? And I am also saying this to the outside world: In the struggle of the Western nations, mainly white Christian people against Communism, they have to deal with one problem and that is that the Communists are striving to make allies of the non-white nations. They are striving to get the black nations of Africa and Asia to stand behind them. The Western nations are also trying to do this. But the Western nations will not achieve this by bidding higher than the Communists. They will only achieve this by offering a sensible and reasonable line of policy. They will especially not achieve this by throwing the whites in Africa to the wolves. Because if the whites of Africa are overwhelmed by the black nations from the north to the south, the western nations will lose their most trustworthy and most sincere ally. It is necessary that we should realize that it suits the Communist agitators if there is unrest in the southern part of Africa and it

also suits Communism if judgment is passed on South Africa by the rest of the world. By these means they make the black man of Africa revolt gradually, not only against the whites in Africa, but also against the whites of the world.

But, friends, I have said that these matters have nothing to do with a monarchy or a republic. And they have not. The development of the colour problem during the past fifty years, took place under a monarchy, in the monarchy of South Africa. All the difficulties and all the trouble which occurred were not prevented by the fact that there was a monarchy. I personally believe that under a republic the difficulties will become fewer as I shall indicate later. I would just like to point out that a republic or a monarchy have nothing to do with the colour problem, although our opponents say so. Because they give the impression that the republic is the oppressor of the Bantu and the monarchy the protector. But this is not true. It is only true that if the United Party or the Progressive Party come into power, whether in a republic or a monarchy, a multi-racial nation will be born with the Bantu ruling eventually, both in a monarchy or a republic. While the National Party is in power these things will be protected.

This brings me to what I want to say about the reasons why we want a republic. Friends, the first point is this. We have been living for many years with division and strife between English and Afrikaans-speaking people. This struggle has been born out of our history. But what is important for the people of South Africa at present is something more than history. We honour our predecessors. The English-speaking person can justly honour his ancestors and we can justly honour ours although they fought against one another. Each may be proud of the deeds of his predecessors. Why should we begrudge one another this? Who of us dare begrudge the other a history of his own? We grant all the nations of the world national pride, and the past from which they have sprung. But besides history there is the present, a present which passes quickly away, and then there is the future. Each generation must work for the future. In that future we see the revolution of Africa and the growing problems of South Africa. For the sake of that future we must stand together as whites. We, both English and Afrikaans-speaking people who believe in a certain colour policy, wish to work together in this direction; we who believe that South Africa must be more prosperous and provide more and more work for our children and children's children, wish to create conditions which

are even more prosperous by ending the mutual strife as South Africans — the strife between brothers. For this reason I say we must have a republic, partially because this will take away the injuries of the past and heal our wounds.

Let us realize that the monarchy does not mean much to the English-speaking South African. I admit they still have sentiment for it, I wish willingly to admit it and I understand it. But the best proof that it is not very deep recently appeared in two English newspapers in Johannesburg. You will remember that when the national election law was published, the question: Are you in favour of a republic "YES" or "NO", appeared on the voting card. When the voting card was published, it gave great relief to the Rand Daily Mail and the Star, because they were very afraid that the words: "Are you in favour of a monarchy or a republic?" would appear on the card. This is very interesting. These newspapers mentioned the reasons for not wanting it that way. They said two things. Firstly: the majority of the public of South Africa are not aware of living in a monarchy, and secondly it is merely a technicality. If one is really closely connected with ties of sentiment to a monarchy, as is understandably the case in a country such as Britain, you would not be afraid to choose between a monarchy and a republic. Because you would realize that your royalist feelings would make you vote for a monarchy, and their republican feelings would make other people vote for a republic. But they did not want to have it this way. They wanted to keep the matter on the basis of an agitation for or against a republic because they do not trust the depths of feeling for a monarchy in their supporters in South Africa. They make matters worse by saying: it is only a technicality, it is only a form.

But they are right. It is so and it is understandable. In Britain where the monarch lives in their midst, is born of the same blood from a family which has been in the public eye for centuries, the monarchy is a symbol which not only manifests itself visibly but which goes far back into the history of the people. It is understandable that this must have great meaning there and must move them deeply. But here, six thousand miles away, can a leader of state carry as much significance for the English-speaking person in his life here, since the monarch is not one of us and has nothing to do with our lives here, excepting to carry on the fight against our countrymen? It cannot, and is not the case. But if we wish to become united, if we wish to become one people — one people with two languages but with one

national anthem, one flag and one country, we must be united by a symbol of honour from our own ranks. This may only be a president who has grown up among us. He does not have to be an Afrikaans or English-speaking president, but a president who has grown up on South African soil, one who will serve both language groups, be honoured by both, and who is outside politics. The president should not, like the Prime Minister, have his roots in the midst of the differences in Parliament. He must be a president, who like the Queen in Britain, is divorced from any party politics. Therefore we take the attitude that we in South Africa need a republic, with a head of state who will be an important figure and who will receive our love and be the central point in our national life.

I cannot be that person. I am too deeply involved in the struggle. I must continue as the Prime Minister to carry out the national duties within the republic. I would not draw forth the English-speaking section's love and trust if I were to be the bringer of the republic. The president-to-be must even be able to have the love of those who were against a republic initially. For this reason it must be someone else. It proves how sincere and honest we are in our republican ideal. Not one of us is working for himself, we are working for the people.

To achieve unity in South Africa there must be a republic. But also to solve our colour problems, there has to be a republic. The reason for this is the following: I am trying to play on your reasoning powers not on your emotions. A republic will mean that all the methods which people are now using to clash with one another, and to put off the republic will automatically lapse. The greatest difference, as between the United and the Progressive Party, is immediately destroyed when they join forces against the republic. But that dividing force which makes them hostile to the republic, divides them too. It cannot bring them together. Each one of them has his own anti-republican fund. Why? Because each one of them wants to build up his own party. The Progressive Party with an anti-republican fund which is completely separate from that of the United Party, is trying to strengthen itself for its liberal policy because their differences are precisely on the colour problem.

If it is true that the monarchy is not even able to bridge the gap between the opposition parties on this point of difference and is unable to bind them together, then it is proof that the test in the political field is not the monarchy, but other policy facets, especially the colour one. I maintain that there are thousands

of members of the United Party, especially English-speaking ones who would be among the ranks of the National Party, if we lived under a republic. They are among the ranks of the other party because they are afraid that if we should bring about a republic, we would suppress them, or because they fear that we shall become the enemies of Britain, as they have been told maliciously. This sad state of affairs must be conquered. Therefore, I say that for the solution of the colour problem, we must have a republic, not because the republic will have another policy concerning it, but because the unnatural way that people are kept apart who actually approve the same policy, must disappear. We will be far more united as whites if we merely have to judge this or that colour policy.

And there is also another reason which I would like to mention here, and that is that South Africa is a country which is growing swiftly, economically speaking. As a country we want peace and rest, in order to keep our work, for the increase of employment possibilities, so that we may increase our wealth as employers and employees. While we are arguing about a republic or a monarchy and about the colour problem, we cannot achieve that congenial atmosphere which can only come with prosperity. Therefore it is imperative to put an end to the things which divide us, so that we may achieve a new state of affairs for the sake of our economic progress. This can be achieved in two ways. The one is by decreasing internal strife and the second by decreasing the amount of bad news carried to the outside world.

How can we bring about the republic which will do all these things for us? There are two possible methods. The one is by holding an election and the other by taking a vote of the people. But if we hold an election we would not be able to announce a republic in Parliament according to the promises of Dr. Malan and Adv. Strijdom, on the basis of seats won, even if it were more than two-thirds, because they promised that this decision would be reached on the broad basis of the will of the people. The intention was very clearly to count heads among the white voters. Since 1936 we have always said the white voters because in the past the non-whites, especially the Coloureds, were used against the nationalists in South Africa by the imperialists. We do not intend giving anyone the chance of making that small number of Coloureds a point of argument between the white groups, when we actually want to make a test of the will of the people. We said this, although the National Party has the usual constitutional right to merely announce a republic in Parliament

with a majority vote, just as the United Party led us to war with a majority vote. We have willingly renounced that right by saying that we will make a test on the basis of the broad will of the people, as determined by the majority of white voters.

I was judged amiss recently when I said that the republican movement which has been growing for years would not give up if it failed the test. We will not stop until we have a republic in South Africa! From this it was deduced that we feared the results. We are not afraid, but I am warning my enemies what I am going to do in advance, as an honest man.

But when I look at you people here, and think of the enthusiasm throughout the country, and if I consider all the letters received from English-speaking people throughout the country, even from England, encouraging us to carry on, then I am confident that we can win. After that we will take the necessary steps as soon as the Government thinks the time is right. Perhaps you would like to know why I do not set a date now? The United Party also asked this question. This is my answer. We would like to take the vote as soon as possible, but as sensible people who are unable to determine what is going to happen in any set month or year either here or in the rest of the world, we cannot tie ourselves down in advance. We shall ask for a national vote, within a reasonable space of time and as soon as possible, who knows, perhaps, this year. But we cannot tie ourselves down to any fixed time. As a sensible Government we will choose that time which we judge to be the correct one for making the test.

I have said that the unity between Afrikaans and English-speaking people which we are striving for, demands a price from both groups. I have mentioned the price which the English-speaking person in South Africa will have to pay, but also said why I think that it will not be a high one. But sacrifices are also demanded of the Afrikaans-speaking people. I am pleased that the people were unanimously, as was shown by their representatives in Parliament, prepared to sacrifice certain ideals for the sake of a republic. In the first place it has long been the intention to have a president who would be elected and who would do his work as in the old Transvaal and Free State Republics. But in the present modern state and especially in our country, with the difficulties which I have mentioned today, and also so that we may end division, and unite what can be united, we were prepared to accept the fact that the head of the government and the head of state, the president and the Prime Minister, should be two

different people. This has been accepted generally and has cleared the road for many who were in doubt. Then there is the second sacrifice. There were many rumours that we did not want a democratic republic. We gave the assurance that the Union which we have, was built up in the course of fifty years on the road to the republic. We have said a long time ago, that we are following in the footsteps of Ireland, by placing republican principles in our constitution little by little. And the fact is that the laws of our country, as they now stand, are very close to a republican constitution. Only the role and the function of the monarch must pass to the president. This is also a grant from the side of the Afrikaans-speaking.

Then there is still another big problem about which we recently had a very strange experience and that is about the question: whether or not we must remain a member of the Commonwealth? This is not a question to which we need attach any sentiment. I would like us to use our reasoning power. Throughout the world there are states who have grouped themselves together according to their common interests. There are the Communist states which are grouped together and co-operate with another. In Europe there is a group of six and another of seven who work together. And thus too the Commonwealth is also a group of states who co-operate for the sake of their own and each other's interests. For this reason Adv. Strijdom, and before him Dr. Malan and myself too, have always said: we will decide this question with one test: This is the test applied by each one of these states who have friends, namely, is this in your own interest? If it is in the interest of South Africa to remain a member — and may I add at this juncture, it is in the interest of South Africa for economic and other reasons — we will not leave the Commonwealth.

Certain newspapers, including the editor of the Rand Daily Mail, gave the United Party the following advice: a republic does not matter so much, if it has certain characteristics which will make everyone happy in it. There must be both giving and receiving. I thought that this was a rather sensible article, something which is rare in the Rand Daily Mail. For this reason I thought of testing Sir de Villiers Graaff in Parliament by posing him the question: if we should become a republic and we consider that the republic should be a member of the Commonwealth, an equal member, a member which is a completely independent state, not subordinate in any way as is the case today — would you then be prepared to accept the republic under those circum-

stances? His answer was: No! Therefore the United Party should realize and members of the United Party who are republicans must also realize that they were kept in the United Party with the promise: you may also work towards a republic, but now that the time of testing has arrived, they are drawing back and saying they are monarchists under all circumstances.

I call upon you in the Transvaal to fight for a republic with all your might. I am not going to ask for a special fund to be published in a newspaper with the donor's name next to the amount, as in the Cape. I ask only one thing. Give your contributions through your constituencies and their funds in the old way which we know so well in the Transvaal. Let every constituency try to double the amount collected in relation to the past. I would like to appeal to you to collect, say £100,000, in the Transvaal before the 30th June, in readiness for the issue. And now I would like to make a guarantee — I would like to predict, and add that I am convinced, that on the 30th June or shortly afterwards, an announcement will appear in a newspaper that £100,000 has been collected as the Transvaal's contribution. I guarantee that we will reach that figure — I believe in the Transvaal and its constituencies.

I would like to appeal to everyone, both English and Afrikaans-speaking to help towards the fulfilment of this ideal. Let us put aside hate and strife. Let us end division. Let us show faith in our country. Let us build up our nation. Let us stand together to end our trouble — the trouble which not only we will have to live with, but also our children and our children's children. Let us create the conditions in which we may become a wealthy country, with opportunity for every worker and opportunities for everyone to flourish.

People of South Africa, you love your country, you would not be here if it were not so. You love your children, some of you already love grandchildren in your ranks. For them, sixty to seventy years lie ahead, for some of us scarcely ten to fifteen years. Are we not all going to fight to have a country so pure and free and so clean and so hard-working and beautiful and so permeated with common idealism, carried by our two languages to the outside world, as an honest and religious people striving towards the highest possible human goals? A country and a people who treat the less privileged in their ranks in such a way as to be of mutual benefit? Will you not fight with us to bring about the republic which can achieve all these things — the Republic of South Africa?

Opening Address on the Occasion of the Union Show, Milner Park, Johannesburg, April 9, 1960

In view of the fiftieth anniversary of Union, 1960 was in many respects a festival year. Consequently a festive mood also prevailed at the annual Easter Show which became the largest ever held in South Africa. The Show, which lasted from 6th to 23rd April, was opened by the Prime Minister at 2.15 p.m. on Saturday, April 9, 1960. After rendering his opening address, Dr. Verwoerd, accompanied by Lt.-Col. G. M. Harrison and other dignitaries, viewed the choice of South Africa's cattle in the arena and shortly afterwards again took their seats. While workmen were busy removing apparatus from the table in front of Dr. Verwoerd, by order of the show authorities, a man approached the enclosure for guests of honour very calmly and sedately, pulled out a revolver on the stairs at the side of the enclosure, drew Dr. Verwoerd's attention and, when he turned, fired a shot in his face. After a moment of silence, the assailant fired a second shot before he was overpowered and handed over to the police.

Mr. President, good friends, all of you who are here today. It is with great pleasure that I perform this duty immediately before I forget, and that is to declare this show open. I know it is customary to do this at the end of a speech but I know of gentlemen who have had to rise again to do so, after being seated, which I am sure you would not wish me to inflict upon you.

I wish to congratulate you and your Society most heartily for this bright and brilliant show. I notice that you have honoured it by giving it a much more exquisite name, but to us ordinary people it just remains a show. But it is the show of South Africa; it is the show-window of our progress. Here we see what life in South Africa can bring to us all.

In the course of the morning I was so impressed by everything that industry has to demonstrate, that I almost thought that the agricultural section had been put into the shade. That industry was swamping agriculture, but now, with the pick of the country's cattle before me, I see that agriculture is holding its own.

Here we see around us what is true of most countries but particularly South Africa, that life does not consist of only one sphere of activity alone, but that all phases of a country's life are closely interlinked. Agriculture, mining and industry cannot exist alone. Each serves the other and each is served by the other. Progress cannot take place in agriculture without affecting the advancement of industry. Industry could not have advanced to the extent that it has in South Africa, without the background that mining and agriculture give it. We are fortunate in South Africa that we are striking an even balance between what each part of our country's people can give to the country and to each other.

Fifty years have passed, fifty years of union and concentrated activity. During these fifty years we have done more than many a nation, much larger than ours, has succeeded in building up in the course of a much longer period of time. I want to ask you to consider what our achievements have been and because I cannot cover that field properly in all respects, I wish to take only one of the forces which had to come into the picture in order to make everything possible.

Three major elements are necessary in order to make all development possible. They are water, power and steel. In South Africa we had to cultivate these forces, we had to inspan them in the country's life in order to be able to produce what we have produced. There could have been no agriculture, mining or industry without water. These major elements in our life are not only closely interlinked, they are also all based on the same foundation.

On this occasion, dear friends, I want to congratulate the Agricultural Society heartily on the wonderful achievements we see around us: the remarkable high level reached by our agriculture, the notable progress made in the industrial sphere, the grand contribution made by mining to our country and, together with that, the collaborator in it all, the successful and mighty commerce which we have built up. I want to congratulate you for being able thus to bring it all together and thus exhibiting it. On these few morgen of land the life of South Africa is today shown in all its greatness. Here we can see what has been built up over generations, but what we see here is only a foundation. The future which lies ahead is still greater than the past behind us.

Nothing that comes in between and sometimes upsets people so much that they think that a phase in our life has come to an end and that there is now retrogression, actually ever works out like that. When we consider history, we find that it consists of one crisis upon another, but out of each crisis greater triumph is born. It is

true of a nation's life and it is also true of its enterprise. Agriculture has had its setbacks, its droughts, its pests. Industries have had their depressions, mining has had its difficult period — think only of the diamond problem a while ago — but from each of them greater vitality was born. Similarly, not defeat, but greater and greater development in each sphere of South African life will follow what we experience today.

I have said that there are three elements on which industry, mining and agriculture all rest, namely water, power and steel, all of which we had at our disposal, together with the initiative to exploit them and make them available. The sign of life is water, because without it there is no life. The sign of power and strength is steel and the sign of driving-force and urging ahead is energy, especially electrical energy which is so important in our life today.

I just want to use the one example of water exploitation to show you what fifty years have brought us. In this connection I want to mention a few statistics, not because I want to trouble you with statistics, but because it gives us a picture of how development took place and what the possibilities are that still lie before us like a closed book ready to be opened.

The quantity of water stored up in dams by the agency of the State amounted to 48,000 morgen feet in 1910. But in 1960, only 50 years later, we are storing up in dams which the State helped to provide no less than 2,100,000 morgen feet water. The area under irrigation in 1910, believe it if you can, was only 270 morgen. Today we have 650,000 morgen under irrigation, with all the significance thereof to agriculture and the provision of a livelihood to numerous families, white and non-white. The boreholes we had in 1910 numbered only 600, but in 1960 there are no less than 600,000. The average water consumption of municipalities and industries in 1910 amounted to 50,000,000 gallons per day; now it is 400,000,000 gallons per day.

These few figures indicate to you how South Africa progressed in the provision of a cardinal commodity: One may say that it is the fountain of life and of all progress in each of the spheres you see represented at the show. But it does not end there. The water of South Africa which we can harness is three times more than we have already harnessed. We possess six times more, but a portion thereof cannot be made useful so easily. We have at the moment no less than three million morgen feet of water harnessed to the service of the nation, and we can increase that to nine million morgen feet of water.

In regard to power supply I would similarly be able to prove

how our country has grown from nothing in 1910 to one of the most remarkable countries in the world in the building of its power media. And the end of our possibilities has not yet been reached, because we are also fortunately endowed with the resources required by the atomic age. I could also present to you a picture of how, by the development of a remarkable quality of our own steel, we have laid a foundation of which the richest nations, in proportion to their population, could be proud. However, I am not going to do so because it is all just as conspicuous as the one example I have mentioned.

Our agriculture, to which this show owes its origin, multifarious as it is today, has grown like a wonder tree, a mustard seed which has spread its roots deep in the earth of our country and has drawn on the strength contained in our soil. By the diligence of man, a life of love has been created for us, because the farmer's life is built on love for his land and love for his animals. He has provided us the assurance that there is food for all who require it. He has laid the foundation for the supply of the food for the much larger growth to come.

I just want to mention a few figures to show how our agriculture has grown during the past fifty years. The gross value of all agricultural products in 1910 was slightly more than £32,000,000; in 1960 the gross value of our agricultural products amounted to more than £370,000,000.

Now I just want to mention a totally different example to show how we progressed with the knowledge which science injected into agriculture. Our combating of disease may be illustrated by the use of vaccines, and I mention this as one example inspired by the fine animals standing here in front of us — the pick of the animals in our agricultural country. In 1908, just a while before 1910, only 112,700 doses of vaccine were administered to animals. In 1958, fifty years later, the figure came to almost 68,000,000 doses.

This is only a small indication of the striking and tremendous growth which we have experienced in the building of our agriculture as a scientific industry.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am trying to stress the role of agriculture, but agriculture does not stand on its feet alone; it is not only the servant but also the client of industry. If you look at the figures indicating what industry does for agriculture, and vice versa, you will see how closely these two are linked together and how fitting it is that an agricultural show should have become the place where industry can best demonstrate what it too has done.

The total value of agricultural produce which has been processed by industry, has reached the enormous figure of £124,000,000 in 1960. Part of industry is only the follow-up of agriculture, it is a product as well as a servant of agriculture, making money not only for itself, but also for the farmer.

Let me take another example, where agriculture is the client of industry. The total value of implements and other necessities for production bought by agriculture was in 1910 less than £10,000,000. In 1960 it is no less than £108,000,000. Imagine what industry would have suffered if it had to do without this most valuable client, if this link had been absent. Or to quote a last figure: The capital invested in agricultural machinery at present is no less than £300,000,000, and while I stress the fact how grateful industry has to be to agriculture in many ways, it also compels me to draw your attention to commerce, to the extent that it also depends upon agricultural success.

Last year when agriculture had to meet troublous times, it was immediately felt throughout the whole life of South Africa. Every shop, every village, every town and every industry immediately felt the effects. Life is one household.

Industry, however, has not reached the top-most stage of its development. In the course of the last 44 years since 1916, the development has been tremendous, from the value of, I believe, roughly £150,000,000 to a figure of £2,000,000,000, but the prospects are that in the next 20 years, in less than half the time, this will have doubled itself once again, that is, we expect that in 20 years' time the value of industry to South Africa will be approximately £4,000,000,000.

This productivity for a country relatively small is most remarkable and should be noted by the outside world. I wish to draw attention to the fact that although in Africa we may not represent 200,000,000 possible consumers of the future, we do represent the most advanced state in Africa and the one of the most value to other countries in this continent of ours. We, on our part, are prepared to serve in Africa and to co-operate with every state in the world, white or black. But we believe that our good fellowship, particularly in industrial life, should be reciprocated.

We see how this Witwatersrand Show has developed from the show piece of the South African nation into what is really today an international show, where others not only come to see what we have to sell, but also to show what they think we should buy from them. On such an occasion I think it is fitting to state that when we buy from other countries, and we do that with the utmost

goodwill, those countries should show towards us and towards our produce, precisely that same goodwill and that same preparedness to purchase from us, that we show towards them.

We are indeed glad that these nations of the western world are showing us what they can produce. Their competition must be our incentive, and not create in us any fear. What they have to sell to us must be a symbol of goodwill, and we are happy to have them in our midst. We wish to congratulate them on all that they have done for their countries and for the world, and we desire only the utmost of good relations with them, because no country in the world today can exist alone, and no country in the world can achieve greater heights for itself by treading on the corpse of a fellow nation. We will not be killed, we will not become anybody's victim. We will fight for our existence and we will survive!

Dear friends, I want to close on this note of good courage with which we can enter the future. For we, who are gathered here today and see the products of the development which the generations before us made possible, can have only courage in viewing them. They began with nothing. Fifty years ago we had a simple agricultural economy. Fifty years ago we had hardly any industry and the enterprising person who at the time advocated the establishment of an industry of our own was derided by everybody and it was said that South Africa was a country that should produce raw materials; it could not provide for itself, let alone manufacture products that have to be exported. But the children of South Africa put the shoulder to the wheel, exerted their minds, were prepared to risk their capital and in 50 years, in spite of all opposition, eventually triumphed. Why should not we, the heirs of men with courage and initiative and mothers who gave the nation pride and confidence, the nation of today, also be able to strive forward and accomplish even greater things? Are we weaker than our forefathers, are we more afraid of the future than they were or is there in us also the strength of pioneer generations, of Voortrekkers and of Settlers, of people who could come to a country to build it up? My faith in the people of South Africa is deep-seated and I believe that all that we inherited by way of intellect and diligence and courage will help us in all spheres represented at this wonderful show to continue building up a grander South Africa in the next fifty years than in the fifty years that are past.

First Speech after attempted Assassination, May 20, 1960

After the attempt on the life of Dr. Verwoerd on the 9th April, 1960 he was taken to the Johannesburg General Hospital and, on the following day was transferred to the General Hospital in Pretoria where he was nursed under the continuous supervision of a team of physicians led by Professor H. W. Snyman. Here he made such good progress that before the end of the month he was able to move about, grant important interviews and for all practical purposes was able to rule the country from his room in the hospital. After he had regained sufficient strength, an operation was performed on the 7th May to remove two bullets from his upper jaw. Although the operation caused him considerable pain and inconvenience, he was able to sit up on the following day and attend to important matters of state. On Saturday, the 14th May, he was able to leave the General Hospital and return to Libertas from where he addressed the nation in a radio broadcast on the 20th May.

On Saturday, the 11th June, a successful graft was done on his right eardrum in the Pretoria General Hospital.

His first public appearance after the attempt on his life, took place on the 27th May when he made a speech at the presentation of diplomas to the first group of nurses who had succeeded in obtaining the B.A. degree in nursing at the University of Pretoria. About 350 guests were invited to this function which took place in the lounge of the nurses' home near the room where Dr. Verwoerd convalesced for approximately five weeks. It is noteworthy that the Prime Minister's first public appearance after April 9th, 1960 was devoted to the representatives of the profession which, during anxious hours, had rendered him so much loving help and assistance.

My return to Libertas has created the opportunity for me to express my heartfelt appreciation as well as that of my family to all throughout the country who in so many ways showed their goodwill towards us during the past weeks. Words of friendship

and support poured in by telegram, letter and personal messages, even from many countries in Africa and overseas. Day by day an abundance of flowers brought beauty and love into our lives.

We were also made aware of how many friends remembered us in their prayers. So overwhelming was the flood of messages that written acknowledgment cannot yet have reached all. We trust that this expression of our gratitude will meanwhile be accepted by everybody.

Doubly encouraging was the fact that these indications of sympathy, friendship and support came from all language and racial groups in our country, since this proves that South Africa is not nearly as divided or filled with hatred as is so often stated. The realization that English and Afrikaans-speaking people are becoming one nation; that we have to face our problems together; that we participate in each others troubles and share sorrow when something happens which does not fit in with our civilized and Christian way of live, has perhaps never been felt so clearly by so many.

The fundamental consciousness of a real South Africanism which overrules everything else, is beginning to predominate over differences of origin, language and outlook. Even though we do not often recognize this so clearly, national or personal distress reveals it to us time and again. This has renewed my personal faith in the future of South Africa, because I believe that when the hour strikes which makes the highest demand on country and people, the world will find a united South Africa internally strong enough to defend, against any opposition, the nobility of her high objectives towards the solutions of her problems.

I can therefore only express my sincerest appreciation and deepest gratitude to all, wherever they may be, who thought kindly of us and who gave us strength in adversity. I wish particularly to address a special word of thanks to the doctors and nurses who contributed so largely to my recovery. There were those who gave immediate aid and those who, at the Johannesburg hospital, attended so willingly to all that was urgently needed. Above all, I must, however, express my deepest appreciation to the team of doctors who for so many weeks provided the most careful treatment in the Pretoria hospital, and to the hospital authorities and the nurses whose faithful and loving care cannot be too highly praised. The provincial authorities who accepted me as their guest can scarcely be adequately thanked.

The fact that non-European organizations and persons — Coloureds, Bantu and Indians — from all over the country, also

sent messages of goodwill, deserves special mention. This too must convey some meaning to a confused and misled world.

It has always been my endeavour to seek justice for all. The fact that the very person whom propaganda would not credit with such motives, should experience so much goodwill from non-whites at such a time, and so much support from them for his aims, proves that South Africa can attain friendship and co-operation between the white and the non-white inhabitants if only she is left alone to work out her own future in her own way. Outside interference and agitation by small groups from within, increase the difficulties of the large masses of both white and non-white, who are busy finding a way, which will be based on mutual goodwill, out of their difficulties. Yet, in spite of these difficulties there are moments, as for instance at the passing away of Prime Minister Strijdom and Governor-General Jansen, when the underlying good feeling towards one another becomes clearly visible.

I do not intend to dwell upon the attack made upon me. In fact, it does not arouse in me feelings of hatred or revenge. Those who created the atmosphere which made such an act possible, have, however, reason to suffer from a guilty conscience.

A person who has suffered, and this is also true of a nation, should rather look to the future and press forward. If one is spared it is in order to fulfil further duties. Similarly, if a nation has been spared for centuries in a land of hardship but also of great promise, it too has a task to fulfil.

The South African nation was not brought into existence here in order to disappear. If that were to be, it could well have disappeared long ago since there is really nothing new in the problems which the country is experiencing internally or in the type of attack from outside. In one form or another, all this has happened before but was overcome. We cannot doubt for a single moment that internally we are busy today solving our problems on a higher plane than was possible before, and that the outside world will again realize that no true general advantage to mankind is born out of false sentimentalism or the selfish views of power politics.

This may be a difficult year for South Africa in many ways: her reputation; her prosperity; her orderliness; her constitution; her leaders, all are under attack. And yet, notwithstanding all this, 1960 is also her year of faith and hope. The Union celebrates her past but this very fact should bring home to her what assets she has built up for the future — tremendous material and spiritual assets. I am convinced that whatever may cause us unhappiness during the coming year, will give birth to a more peaceful

existence and greater prosperity in the future for all sections of the population.

In conclusion, I trust that I will be permitted to testify to my conviction that the protection of Divine Providence was accorded me with a purpose, a purpose which concerns South Africa too. May it be given to me to fulfil that task faithfully.

Speech of the Day on the Occasion of the Union Jubilee, Bloemfontein, May 31, 1960

That the fiftieth anniversary of Union would be celebrated in a magnificent way goes without saying; and that the climax would take place in Bloemfontein, capital of the Free State, was almost a foregone conclusion in view of the venue of previous great festivals.

The Union Festival which was celebrated throughout the country was officially launched by His Excellency the Governor-General, Mr. C. R. Swart, at the base of the statue of Jan van Riebeeck in Cape Town on the 5th March, 1960. After an impressive function in which the Mayor of Cape Town also participated a long-distance runner handed a torch to the Governor-General who lit it with the Flame of Civilization from the Voortrekker Monument. Simultaneously the national anthem was sung, the national flag hoisted and, while four jet fighters carried out a salute flight overhead, the runner with the burning torch set out from the Gateway to South Africa on the long run north.

The festivities reached a climax in Bloemfontein on 31st May. After celebrations lasting a week a programme was presented on the 31st May and 50,000 people witnessed an unforgettable sight. The highlight of this day's proceedings was undoubtedly the address by the Prime Minister who had then just recovered from the attempt on his life on the 9th April.

Dear Friends from all parts of South Africa. To me has been entrusted the task, at the end of this historical day, to look into the future, together with you. We had with us here easily twenty thousand children and probably thirty to forty thousand young people below the age of 35 years. To them all, forty and more years of life on an average lie ahead. We owe it to them to build a secure future. What is that future which we have to ensure for them?

Forty years ahead is but a short time in the life of a nation. Shall we, who today control the future of our state and of our nation, prove so faithful that our children in forty years' time may

inherit and live to see a safe future, or shall we, because of weakness or selfishness or fear of what is trying to obtrude itself upon us, let them down?

During the past 12 years we have been journeying over the plains of prosperity. They were plains, spacious and wide, full of comfort and convenience — so easy that the wagons of our trek have begun to move apart, each to its own destination and according to its own convenience. We scattered so over the plains that we began avoiding communal service. This is no good to any nation. After rest, man, and also the nation, has come to a period of hardship again. There his heart must be steeled. There his selfishness must be broken — there his service to his fellow-man must be developed.

After the journey over the plains one must come to the mountains — the mountains of hardship. On the plains there are no vistas. On the plain the horizon lies shortly ahead of one, and it is but the same comfort or convenience one sees there. It is only when one has climbed the mountains, when one has brought the trek over the crags to the highest summits — even though one had to disassemble the wagons and carry them piece by piece to get there — that one gets a view of the land of promise, where prosperity lies for one's children and grandchildren who would otherwise have perished in poverty on the plains.

Thus it is with our nation today. Our period of rest is behind us while we journeyed over the plains. If we remain there for the sake of our own selfish prosperity, our children will not reach the land of promise where their prosperity lies. But if we who now live and rule the country, are prepared to suffer hardship for the sake of our posterity, to go and stand on the mountaintops to look at the vistas and then again to descend through the ravines to take possession of it, we shall ensure that they who come after us may be just as prosperous as we are because of what our forefathers did and suffered for us.

This Union Festival is a state festival. When we look back today, we must look with an open eye at the controversies of the past but also notice the happiness and the prosperity of the past. We must look at what has happened in every sphere of life: the political sphere, the industrial life, the sphere of science, art and culture. We shall notice that in every sphere there has been conflict and difficulty — in many respects greater difficulties than anything we experience today. There were times of utter despair when it seemed that the nation and the state could no longer continue to exist. There were times of fraternal feuds when it seemed that

unity or even friendship could never be restored. Yet from it all greater unity was born than one can imagine.

When I now, together with you, want to look at the vista of the future, then it must necessarily be with regard to the spheres in which many of us today differ. I do not do so with the intent of seeking dissension, but for the very reason of having unity born or growing therein.

There are four questions one may ask oneself when one wants to assess the future, when one asks: South Africa, whither are you going? The first question is whether the South Africa of the future will be a rich and prosperous country. Are the assertions of those who lose courage so easily, namely that the pressure of the outside world and the internal strife will cause us only impoverishment, correct? When one looks at the potentialities of our country, at the ingenuity of our people, and at the driving-force still existing in this young South Africa, then there can be no other future than a great and prosperous one. Hence I see on the horizon a prosperous South Africa — a South Africa whose present prosperity is nothing in comparison with what is still to come! But we shall not obtain it without effort. We shall have to comply with two requirements and these are that the white man must continue to rule South Africa and that the white man must be prepared to work and to work hard.

From the answer to the first question, the first vista, whether we shall experience prosperity, flows very clearly the answer to the second question — whether South Africa will be able to solve its racial problems. Shall we be able to maintain the relationship between white and black here in such a manner that there will be happiness and prosperity for the non-white, but in such a way that the white man will yet continue to rule the country? My reply to this question is a plain "yes". I know as well as you all that in the outside world there are many people who have not experienced these problems with us, who want to give a different answer. Although there are many who want to overwhelm us with advice, the only solution for sound co-existence without any conflict and strife, must be sought on the basis of neighbourship — the policy, not of the present generation in South Africa, but of South Africa throughout its existence. That is also the policy of the future.

But the answer to the question whether South Africa will be able to solve its colour problem, is again linked with a question that should precede it. And that is whether the white language groups will learn to form a unity with each other.

Would the Afrikaans- and the English-speaking sections be able to become one nation in this country in order to tackle its problems with combined strength? When we look at the history of the Union we notice how a growing unity has been born out of all difficulties and dissensions. At the beginning of these proceedings you had the evidence of how near to one another we stand in the midst of all our disputes, when the Leader of the Opposition expressed his gladness that I, his opponent, can be here in your midst and deliver an address.

There are many deeper powers at work in South Africa than one would deduce from the daily press. Human unity in the midst of political dispute is characteristic of other countries and peoples, why not of us also? I am convinced that closer union, which is essential to the solution of our other problems, is also possible.

Another question remains to be answered and that is whether the political development of the Union of South Africa will progress to such an extent that a basis for greater unity may be found therein. Will South Africa be able to have its own constitutional system, with its own head of state, whereby the whole white nation may be one, one in its loyalty, one in its patriotism, one in all things amidst differences? In other words, will South Africa become a Republic of "Good Hope?" I believe that this should be the base of our thinking. If the state which we established fifty years ago and has since developed in that direction, will achieve that fulfilment in the coming years, then all the other vistas will also be fulfilled. I firmly believe that this is the path ahead of South Africa. It can happen in an easy way to which I shall still refer. A more difficult path may also lie ahead, but whichever of the ways is followed, the political end — not a party-political aim, but the natural consummation of the political development of the preceding fifty years, as is actually already been generally recognized, must be realized. The Union will become the South African Republic!

I have been asked to address you on the question: Whither South Africa? What is our future? And I want to make quite sure that I shall not be misunderstood. I am not using this occasion as a platform for putting forward ideas other than those which I hope will help to bring unity, prosperity and happiness to South Africa.

Are we, after fifty years of Union, after half-a-century of storm and strife, of construction and reconstruction, of the painful birth of a nation, of difficult growth through youth towards

maturity, on the way to that greater prosperity which is justified by the possibilities of our country, and the initiative of our people? Can we solve our racial problems which seem to bedevil the present times? Will the English and the Afrikaans-speaking sections of our people progress more rapidly on the road to unity which we have been following for the past 50 years, but at a pace too slow to our liking?

Will the state, whose birth and growth towards independence we are celebrating, advance still further towards the fulfilment, with a separate head of state, thereby following the examples of the great republics of the world? These questions on the future of South Africa, its prosperity, the solution of our racial problems, the unification of our language groups, and on the constitutional development, must be replied to in reverse order.

It seems to me that, in looking forward after the review we have had today of the historical development so far, out of our union can follow, yes, must follow, a great white nation flanked by satisfied, prosperous black neighbours set up by us and aided by us on their road towards development. On the horizon I see our Republic, the Republic of the English and Afrikaans-speaking sections alike, one united white nation governing what is the heritage of white South Africa, joined together as one by the very task set before them at this time, and through this unity co-operating in solving its special problem of race relations so totally different from problems anywhere else in the world, and thereby grasping that prosperity which is within reach. Quite candidly I feel that the process must begin with the early fulfilment of the republican ideal, not as a challenge, not as a party political object, but as the attainment of an almost generally accepted inescapable constitutional end to what has gone before.

After half a century of co-operation, difficult, very difficult at times, a stage has now been reached when both groups are faced as never before by a challenge to bury the past, to let it become the joint history of a unified people. We are faced today with threats to the future of our civilization, to our prosperity, to the contribution of the white man of Africa, to the struggle of the white man of Europe and America to retain his sway in the world. To the triumph of Christianity also, sacrifices must be made by each of us, and Christianity is threatened in Africa more than anywhere else. Sacrifices of sentiment are demanded of each of us. There should not only be a union of provinces in South Africa. There should be a union of hearts.

For years many English-speaking South Africans opposed the

idea of a republic, conforming to the lines of the old republican constitutions, but at the same time declared themselves willing to accept a republic based on the concepts of the constitution to which the Union and its development has accustomed us all, and based on friendship and co-operation with Great Britain and the members of the Commonwealth. Less than a year ago these concessions seemed impossible to many Afrikaans-speaking people, particularly from the northern provinces, in view of their past history. Suddenly during this past year as the result of many developments, the atmosphere has totally changed and the Afrikaans-speaking people of South Africa have stretched out the hand of friendship to their English-speaking fellow citizens, accepting these conditions, to aid in the fulfilment of the dearest ideal of the Afrikaner people of South Africa, which is the only way in which full and real unity, which means strength to us all, can be brought about. All that was demanded from the one side, all that was demanded from the Afrikaans-speaking side, is being offered. Now the great chance is there for our English-speaking citizens to throw in their weight to reconstruct the Union into the Republic, the kind of republic which they formerly accepted. If this were to happen, there would be such rejoicing, such deep feeling of unity and common nationhood, that the result in all spheres of life would be immeasurable. Clashes of the past would fade into the midst of history. Friendship with Great Britain would become as natural for the Afrikaans-speaking as for the English-speaking South Africans. It would be the friendship towards another neighbouring country, with whom we have great common economic interests. For the English-speaking citizens the true friendship and goodwill should surely outweigh formal monarchical connections and forms.

If the republic could be brought about by co-operation between the two sections instead of just by the majority of the people and without any parties making compromises on their general policies, which we do not seek, I have no doubt that with the constitutional struggle fading into the past, English and Afrikaans-speaking people will in future again participate together in the government of the country.

I feel sure that once the constitutional issue has been settled in this manner, we shall find ourselves in far greater agreement on matters of racial and economic policies, than is apparent today. I firmly believe that the constitutional issue is obscuring general agreement on most of the problems that we have to deal with, and that we lack unity and strength because of this one obstruction

which need not last much longer. It is not as a result of compromise of policies or principles that the people will unite or that they will participate in the government, but because those who belong together in principle not only from one language group but from both, will unite as a result of a natural desire to co-operate and gain their aims.

I therefore make this appeal to the English-speaking section to do what the Afrikaans-speaking section is prepared to do, namely to create a republic on the lines acceptable to all according to the process of give and take. I must say that if the republic does not come into being, the major agreement on outlook between the two language groups will remain obscure. The political clashes will then continue; the co-operation on achieving sound black-white relations will remain in abeyance, with perhaps fatal results to all of us and the generations to come. Economic progress which we all seek, may be stifled or become more difficult. This will surely happen if, as in other parts of Africa, black domination results, either by economic pressure from without or from within. That is the danger, but not the future as I see it, because I believe that the republicans, mainly Afrikaans-speaking, but with many more English-speaking citizens among them than is generally realized, will bring about that republic in any case. Therefore, I see a prosperous future ahead.

But I am appealing for the achievement of the republic on a much nobler scale. I seek the co-operation of the greater part of this growing nation in achieving that which must inevitably come, because if this fulfilment takes place with the assistance of all of us, then unity is assured beyond doubt. So far, I have asked what is to become of white South Africa? I wish to add the question: what about black South Africa? What is its future? Should multi-racial government succeed in South Africa, then I see no hope for the black masses nor do I see hope for the whites or the Coloureds or the Indians. Out of multi-racial government inevitably will follow the struggle for domination, as elsewhere, which will mean Bantu domination. This will not mean the rule of the Bantu masses — but, as we have seen elsewhere, the development of an autocracy. I see no happiness and no prosperity for the Bantu in this, but I do not see that development taking place. There is something else which will take place, and that is: while the white man as in the past, will remain the ruler of white South Africa, he, as the guardian of the black man, will see to it that his development takes place in such a fashion that the black masses, as they become free, do really become free.

We shall not force independence on them from outside. We shall build up their democratic freedom from the bottom upwards, so that as freedom is obtained, the masses will be ripe for it. In this way too, the economic prosperity will not be stolen from the masses of the Bantu. Again it will be built from the bottom upwards and as they progress, and are ripe to receive and achieve, their future will be one to which one can look with as great assurance as to the future of the white man of South Africa.

I have tried to let you see a vista only in respect of a few points, but therefrom flow all the others also. In the white Republic of South Africa, with its friendly non-white neighbours, there will be progress not only in the business sphere. I also see a grand future in the cultural, scientific and all other spheres. We do not, however, obtain it as a matter of course. Effort and hard work will be necessary therefore and effort presupposes readiness to go through times of hardship without sighing and without love of ease and without selfishness. In the long run it is the man that counts. One may possess the best weapons, but if the carrier thereof is weak or is afraid, or is selfish, he will not be able to handle those good weapons. And thus it will also be with us. If we now at this time, when the storms sometimes want to break over us, become depressed, or selfish in our desire to retain material advantages, if we are not prepared to do what our forefathers did, to sacrifice everything rather than lose our freedom, then we as a white nation will lose out here. We must have, in the midst of everything, the will to resist. We must be prepared for the sake of the ideals I have just held up before you, to make the sacrifices that may be necessary. We must be courageous and strong. But a nation's will to resist is related to the type of leadership it chooses for itself. If it has the will to resist, it seeks strong leadership for itself and not weak leadership. If you want to be victorious, you must be ready to follow leaders who are not prepared to give way. If you are not prepared to fight for the things I have mentioned, you must get rid of leaders who are not prepared to sacrifice their nation on the altar of selfishness.

And now, friends, I have chiefly brought one message — and that was the message that the republic must come, but if it can come through us all together, it will be our greatest strength for the solution of all our problems and for the attainment of speedy prosperity.

And with that I then bring you a last clarion call and this is that we must enter the future full of courage and full of faith with the eye directed above, to Him who planted us here with

a purpose. Let us believe that we are here to continue to exist and let us be ready with all the strength of our hearts, with all the strength of our minds, with all the power of our bodies, with all we possess, to offer whatever South Africa asks of us.

Broadcast Speech on August 3, 1960 Announcing the Referendum

"An announcement was made in the Press this afternoon by the Government that the generally expected referendum on the creation of a republic in South Africa will take place on October 5 this year. Notice of at least two months is therefore given as promised in Parliament. It is the firm conviction of the Government that easing of racial tensions and continuance of economic progress can be expected only when the constitutional issue has been settled. The sooner the referendum can take place, and the greater the majority, the better for all."

It would not be fitting for me to argue the case for the republic now since I only wish to make certain factual announcements. I shall, however, request the South African Broadcasting Corporation to provide an opportunity, shortly before the date of the referendum, for me to state the case for the republic and for the Leader of the official Opposition to state the case for the monarchy in South Africa, since he has already appeared as the main spokesman for this point of view.

Much speculation has taken place on whether the Government would favour South Africa retaining membership of the Commonwealth or not. Quite unambiguously the statement has announced that approval for the retention of membership will be sought in accordance with past practice, if a majority votes in favour of a republic. The Government is convinced that consent will be given as has always been customary whenever such constitutional changes have taken place, and even when most extensive differences of opinion and policy have existed. Naturally no assurances or undertakings have now been given in advance, by any member, since that might prove tantamount to interference in what must be the uninfluenced decision of the South African voters to be consulted.

The Commonwealth is based on co-operation in matters of common concern, has always set its face against the slightest interference in the domestic affairs of members, and has never

worried too much about differences and even clashes between them. It relies on the political maturity of member-states to achieve vitally important common ideals, particularly resistance to Communism. It cannot be accepted that the genuine willingness of South Africa to co-operate loyally and sincerely within the Commonwealth for mutual benefit (in spite of what she has had and still has to suffer from some fellow-members) will be rejected. Consequently the Government has no hesitation in asking voters to vote for a republic which will seek to retain its membership of the Commonwealth. On the other hand the announcement is equally clear in the event of continued membership being refused. Then the ideal will not be relinquished, but the republic will be established without membership of the Commonwealth. Since the fault will, without any doubt, not lie with the United Kingdom and other friendly disposed Commonwealth countries, the present policy of maintaining cordial relations and co-operation by AGREEMENT in many matters, such as economics and defence, will be continued.

An adverse decision would indicate an important change in the character of the Commonwealth. It would mean interference in the domestic policies of member countries, which in this instance would actually be aimed at the right of the white man in this country to retain control over what he has built up for himself. It would also mean that younger non-white member countries would be exercising a predominating influence in this matter. Such a change of character would prove a threat to South Africa and her white citizens even if she remained a monarchy. Continued interference would prove most embarrassing, especially at meetings, to her older friends in the Commonwealth, and could lead to estrangement from them as well. Under such circumstances a republic outside the Commonwealth might have a better chance of retaining and cultivating friendships, and of co-operating wherever possible with those states who are willing, than a monarchy which remains under continual fire and pressure within this body, unless impossible demands are met.

The Government therefore states categorically, before the referendum, that refusal will lead to South Africa accepting the fact that the Commonwealth has so changed that she has no option but to become a non-member republic.

It is the sincere desire of the Government and of myself that the constitutional issue — Republic or Monarchy — should be faced and fought in as calm an atmosphere as possible. I therefore appeal to protagonists of both points of view to deal with the

matter on an objective plane, not to hurt each other's feelings and not to create incidents. We must face the future together in order to preserve our white heritage and to create prosperity for all. Those who believe in a republican form of government are convinced that only in this way will we soon merge into one united nation in which we shall all be South Africans with a single patriotism. We shall always respect each others' language, churches and traditions. The true monarchists equally genuinely think otherwise. Let the decision be given, irrespective of party loyalties, as to which policy the voters concerned believe to be right.

To make this possible the Government did not call for an election in which decisions have to be made on all aspects of party policy. Now only the constitutional issue is at stake, and there is no question of a vote of confidence or not in the Government. Everybody is free to make his or her choice.

Should the majority, as is generally expected, vote in favour of a republic, the next step will be for Parliament to pass legislation in accordance with the wish thus expressed. The constitution to be laid before Parliament will, as was clearly undertaken during the last session, not depart from the system now in sway, but be based on the South Africa Act as amended from time to time.

The next few months are of great importance to the future of the country. I pray that all may receive the grace, the clarity and the wisdom to choose what is best for the wellbeing of a united nation in our beloved country: South Africa.

Message to the People after the Referendum on October 7, 1960

Never before was a polling result met with so much enthusiasm in South Africa as on the occasion of the referendum on the 5th October, 1960. The matter concerned was not only of the utmost importance, but the whole nation was able to take part in it as there were no unopposed seats. As the results of the constituencies in the large cities where the supporters of the monarchy were in the majority became known first, the republicans were initially far behind — at one stage with as many as 151,760 votes. The leeway was, however, made up and when the result of the largest constituency, Welkom, was made known, it was transformed into a majority.

The final result proved that 90.73% of the electorate had voted, that 850,458 or 52.05% of the electorate had voted in favour of a republic and 775,878 or 47.49% against it. In the various provinces the results were as follows:

	Yes	No
Transvaal	406,632	325,041
Cape Colony	271,418	269,784
Orange Free State	110,171	33,438
South West Africa	19,938	12,017
Natal	42,299	135,598

A momentous decision has been taken. By the very high poll in every constituency, the electorate has left no doubt whatsoever. Throughout the whole of the Union (in three of the four provinces and in South West Africa) those in favour of a republic for South Africa were in a clear majority. Their opponents showed real strength only in a few urban areas — of very limited extent on the map of South Africa. Seen both numerically and geographically, the decision is clearly final.

For this I wish to thank every voter in South Africa. The huge percentage of votes cast helps to remove any possibility of re-criminations of various kinds. But I also wish to thank all voters for the spirit in which they did their duty. This is one of the most

encouraging aspects of the Referendum contest, since it shows that that fundamental goodwill is present which will make it possible to go forward together in spite of differences. A greater issue with more potentiality for doing harm to good relations amongst ourselves cannot arise than that now past, charged with emotion as it was. The good-natured conduct of nearly the whole electorate on both sides demonstrated that even the bitterest and most personal attacks and the call of group emotions and prejudices, particularly by a mighty press, can no longer rouse universal antagonism as before. The voters generally approached this great problem with a maturity wonderful to behold. Those who could not, should now reassess the situation in their own and in the country's interests.

Now all that is past. Let us immediately begin to look to the future. Throughout I maintained that the change to a republic must be a means and not an end, not revenge for the past but consolidation of our efforts for the future, not so much the end of a period as the beginning of a new era. Towards that objective, building a strong and prosperous South Africa for ourselves and our children, we must now re-dedicate ourselves and work together.

As realists we all know that differences of opinion on most important matters of policy, and therefore opposing political parties, will continue as in every other country. Deep down, however, there must be a common purpose and a national loyalty which keeps us united. It is my keen desire and firm object to try to lead our nation in such a way that without sacrificing or compromising on principles, either the one party or the other, we need never again feel like two nations in one state. I do not ask for any form of coalition or amalgamation of parties. Differences on official colour policy makes this impossible. I do, however, appeal to all who subscribe to the conservative as opposed to the liberalistic approach to get together. Naturally I would prefer them to join my party on the basis of the principles which I have enunciated so often. Should English-speaking people find this difficult at present, I hope they will at least form a conservative party on their own with similar colour policies so that we can co-operate and I can find real active English political leaders who agree with our policies. Amongst other reasons, this is necessary for consideration when forming the first government for the Republic.

I am making my appeal in advance so that the winners will not enjoy the victory of their cause in such a manner that South

Africa as a whole will not gain. Everybody will understand that they cannot refrain from rejoicing openly, and I do not wish to pour cold water over such happiness, but it is the spirit in which it is done which counts. After all, the conviction of the republican has always been that South Africa and all her children must win in unity, progressiveness and prosperity by the change into the new era. For that reason I sincerely hope that wherever rejoicing does take place, or festivities are arranged, it will be in an atmosphere of thankfulness, particularly to the God of our Fathers to Whom we look for guidance, and in a spirit of dedication to our country's future welfare. It is natural to rejoice, and if country-wide rains would follow, our cup would truly overflow. It would be really wonderful if those who have opposed the birth of a republic so far, could nevertheless now be made to feel at home even at occasions of thankfulness and rejoicing. It would perhaps be expecting too much of human nature for this to happen now, but one may express the hope that on the date of formal inauguration of the Republic this may not prove impossible. Perhaps I may be allowed to suggest that the churches in South Africa promote this spirit.

The Press has a tremendous influence on the moulding of opinion and on the creation of enmity or goodwill. Part of it has not come off very well in the campaign now past. It can play its role in making a success of our Republic materially and spiritually. I sincerely hope it will do so. We cannot allow the republic and the future welfare of the nation to be ruined by sensation-mongering, incitement or the besmirching of our country's name or that of its leaders. Let us differ on matters of principle, strongly where necessary, but not employ ignoble means to further any cause detrimental to peace, order and prosperity.

For practical reasons it would not be advisable or feasible to call a special session of Parliament to legislate for the republic, particularly since in just about three months' time Parliament must meet as usual. There is much to be done and many preparations to be made. Attention must be given to matters relating to the external relations of the new state, including that of her relations to the Commonwealth. The time needed for this will, it is hoped, be utilized for adjustments to the new situation by everybody concerned. Furthermore, Parliament might deem it of value to associate the birth of the Republic with an historic date, such as May the 31st. Those who are eager to press forward with the establishment of the Republic, particularly the older supporters who gave such touching indications on October the 5th of their

love and desire for this form of state, will understand that laying a sound foundation at the outset is absolutely necessary. There is, however, no need to wait too long. Within scarcely eight months the ideal of generations and the choice of the people will be fulfilled.

The draft constitution based on existing constitutional legislation will be published as soon as possible. After the acceptance in principle by the House of Assembly, it will be sent to a joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament. This procedure will be adopted to enable all to participate in perfecting this legislation in a practical way. It is all the more applicable because to a large extent the Bill will be a consolidating measure.

It gives me great pleasure to thank the members of my Government and all those who worked so hard during the past months for their sacrifice of time and energy in the service of this ideal for the country. But I must also pay tribute to those who believed in and worked for it, but have already passed away. I will mention no names, but generations and leaders well-known to all pass before the mind's eye, builders of South Africa, some with the object clearer in view than the others, but all believers in a free South Africa. We are putting a roof on the house they built and others may have to decorate and live in that house. So a nation and its leaders through generations give form and character to a country, its people and its way of life.

We have just passed through an epoch in history. On both sides we have made our contributions. In life, as in a game, nothing happens if there is only one team to play. Interaction is necessary. And now the hand of time waves us onwards. One can look back for inspiration, but not stand still. Let us therefore also look forward and go forward together. It will not always be easy. For those who hesitated to turn over this page of history it will be more difficult than for those who were keen to do so. I have no illusions about the difficulties which lie ahead. Heaven will not suddenly come to earth for us, either with regard to our personal relations, or the solution of our racial problems, or the development of our economy, but I am firmly convinced that a splendid future awaits.

South Africa is about to become a republic. Among the nations we want no enemies, we seek only friends. For our own peoples, white and black, we desire happiness and progress. That we can only achieve in our own way. There will be challenge in nearly every task we undertake, every problem we have to face. It is a challenge to our youth as a nation, and to the youth of our nation

who will have to face the more distant future. May ability and a new dynamism, steadfastness, courage, perseverance, harmonious co-operation, and faith always serve our Republic of South Africa.

Good luck to you all.

Festival Address on the Occasion of Kruger Day at Loubser Park, Kroonstad, October 10, 1960

On an occasion such as this our thoughts go back to the heroes of the past. In the first place there are our own Voortrekker heroes — Piet Retief, Andries Pretorius, Hendrik Potgieter and so many others — men and women who were prepared to struggle and go through difficult times — more difficult than those through which we sometimes have to go! But the problems which they had to contend with — endlessly magnified by their small numbers — did not make them flinch. In spite of having a hard time and struggling, they courageously built up a nation and a fatherland which their descendants could inherit.

But in conjunction with this we find also the Voortrekker heroes on the English side of our population, especially those connected with the 1820 Settlers. Although they are primarily honoured by the English-speaking citizens of the country, we may also have a share in this, because the Voortrekkers on our side and the Voortrekkers on their side, were friends in those days — extended a hand in friendship over the Bible which belongs to all of us. They all experienced the same problems and although they reacted differently, each of the groups in its own way provided a background for the nation of today.

Then there is yet a third group: the heroes of battle! I am not only thinking here in terms of the two Anglo-Boer Wars but the battle over many years to keep White South Africa safe. The one generation upon the other had to go forth, armed to defend South Africa. This battle produced two great men, great generals — especially the second Anglo-Boer War — whose names are still on the lips of the people and are still close to our hearts. I would like to mention General de Wet as the representative of all who had to suffer cold and danger, who had to keep on the move from the one end of the country to the other, to keep the flag flying — the flag of freedom! This group also comprises the nameless heroes who lie beneath the face of the earth to ensure the future of South Africa by their willingness to give their blood and everything they possessed to their fatherland. The message which they

bring to us out of the past, is not to be afraid of the battle, to be prepared — as they were — to give everything for country and people, if the time should come.

And there is a fourth group: The heroes of our political development — which include the Voortrekker heroes, Piet Retief and Andries Pretorius — and the heroes of battle — Paul Kruger and President Steyn. We may also mention others, the men who stood at the head of the formation of the states in our midst, who helped these states to grow, who built them up to what they became, models of freedom, sources of strength to a nation — the heroes of the state! And how many times are they not only wounded physically, but also spiritually. It takes the same courage, the same strength, the same perseverance, the same faith, to carry the badge of freedom along the road which a statesman demands to make a nation grow and mature. But they did it!

Friends, those of us who are sitting here, comfortable and settled in many ways, may thank our existence and our prosperity and may even thank our future to these heroes of faith, to these heroes of battle, to these pioneers who created what we have inherited, to these creators of the state as it has grown through great difficulties to the present time. But a people has not only its heroes. Sometimes sectors of the nation have their own hero or heroes, especially when a nation consists of different ingredients. You have this in a country like Belgium, with its two definite language groups; you have this in a country like Switzerland and also in Canada. We also have it here in South Africa.

It is true that we Afrikaners are more aware of the fact that we have heroes of our own history; that we describe it far more in our history books; that we honour them more often in our national festivals. This does not, however, detract from the fact that the heroes of our English-speaking group in the country also exist. It is actually to their detriment that they do not bring their heroes to the fore just as we have been doing for generations. It is not our duty to carry out this task for them. There is perhaps a reason for us honouring our heroes in such a way that it may seem as if they are the only heroes in the history of South Africa and we may not be blamed for doing so. It is because we are so closely connected to our fatherland that everything which our predecessors did seems to be the most important thing in our lives. For them, however, the tie with the country and nation of their origin has always been the strongest tie. Hence their attention could not be given to such a great extent to what their ancestors accomplished for them — and us — here. Lately, I can almost say in the last 10 to 20 years,

one can see a change. Our English-speaking fellow countrymen are beginning to feel attached to South Africa and therefore, are beginning to think to an ever increasing extent of those who preceded them in this same fatherland and who helped to make it for them. I would like, this evening, on the occasion of the honouring of our heroes, to emphasize this fact. We are entering a new future in which in many respects, changes will come about for which we should prepare ourselves.

The more South Africa as a republic becomes the fatherland of everyone living here, the more the nation living in South Africa — although it has two languages — feels more and more at one with each other, and the more the white man of South Africa will co-operate to protect himself, whatever may happen in the world around us and in Africa of which we form the southern tip, to safeguard himself, and to make his country grow into a great country, the more we shall have to learn to pay tribute to one another's heroes!

For this reason I would like to exchange a few thoughts with you about the future with regard to national festivals such as these. Does this mean that our 10th October or our 16th December will gradually fall away or become different? Must this be swallowed up in another greater whole? My answer is utterly unambiguously, No! The greatness of our future does not lie in sacrificing the richness of our variety. We need not lose our language, our fellow countrymen need not lose their language. Both can form part of the richness of our national life. We need not sacrifice our national festivals and our culture. They need not give up theirs. On the contrary, we would like to see them build them up more strongly, that they may become a part of the South African way of life. We need not give up our cultural societies, and they need not give up theirs. The richness of our cultural life can be endlessly increased because we do not draw from the same well, do not pump water from the same borehole, but because we draw the water of life from different places. But we must not only see the matter in the light of not having to lose anything which is our own. Something may be added. That is that we may more and more take part in one another's cultural functions. As the unity of our nation grows in the midst of our variety, our friends in the other language group ought to attend our national festivals in order to honour our heroes together. And in this way we should be ready, when they honour their heroes, to attend their festivals and to rejoice with them, for what they have given towards the common greatness of South Africa. I have personally been invited to attend a celebration early

in the new year in honour of the 1820 Settlers in the Eastern Province. I intend going there as a part of the Afrikaner nation, also as the Prime Minister of South Africa, to show that together we would like to pay tribute to what these men accomplished in a section of the country towards the establishment of a greater South Africa.

Not only should we be prepared to share this with each other, but as we grow together as fellow republicans in one Republic of South Africa — we must expect our heroes and cultural possessions to become common possessions. For the older people of today who lived in the time of battle, it will most probably be more difficult than for the younger people among us. However, the further removed one is from one's heroes, the more one is inclined to forget their weaknesses and the clashes which took place between them. In one's spirit remains that which was really great in them. There must still be English-speaking people living today who lived in the time of the abuse of Paul Kruger. They who thought of Paul Kruger as an opponent in their youth, will find it difficult to think of him as a hero, and to accept him as a man who symbolizes the most noble qualities in the history of our people. There may still be some of them alive who cannot but think of General de Wet and President Steyn with mixed feelings. We would like to understand it, but there will be a time and it is not far away, when everyone will be able to look past the battle and the differences of opinion and will only ask what our heroes did for South Africa. The more South Africa becomes yours, yours in your heart, yours in your life; the more grateful you become to the creators thereof, and the builders thereof, and whether the person comes from the one group or the other, will be of ever less importance to the united people of the Republic. What will count, is that the country which you have, the country which you love, the country which gives you prosperity, the country which provides a home for your children, the country which assures your safety, that this country has been prepared for you by all these people together. We eagerly hope that this growing together will take place quickly and easily.

There is something else which we may expect from the future. Our history did not end with the Second War of Independence. In the years after 1900 up to the present, many people helped to build in many fields. Many of them in the political field were disputed figures. Many people loved them deeply, while others opposed them just as passionately. The generals of the War of Independence — Generals Botha, Smuts and Hertzog — who became the political leaders of the first decade; Dr. Malan, who

left the church to become a political leader; Adv. Strijdom, who fought alone in the Transvaal for the republican ideal! It is still difficult for some people to accept them as the fellow builders of our state! But we are entering a new phase in the republic — a phase in which we will look back on the years from 1900-1960 as we do at present look back on the period after the Great Trek to the end of the Second War of Independence. We regard it as history already, and just as we do not think of the weaknesses of the man Andries Pretorius, or of the man Paul Kruger or the man Christiaan de Wet, but of their greatness and what they meant for their generation and for us thereafter, so shall we increasingly look back at the men of 1900-1960. This must be the biggest contribution towards making us one people.

The conflict and strife of the past was not in vain. We do not have to avoid or disapprove of it. Iron cannot be processed without fire. And a people does not grow strong and become strong in character if it goes through life without any trouble. We often long for rest. We often long for the opportunity to enrich ourselves. Actually it would be bad for our people in the long run if it were always so. A great nation becomes so by the conflict and the difficulties which life brings and therefore, while we often pray to Providence for order and peace, we should also be thankful that we are so often put into the melting pot.

We need have no grudge against the conflict and difficulties which our people suffered in the long distant past or in the immediate past. We should regard it as part of the building up of our nation. And in this way we shall meet the future. We pay tribute to the heroes of the long distant past to whom tribute is easily paid with an overflowing heart. But we also pay tribute to those who are closer to us. We do this with the realization that they also accomplished something great. But in conjunction to this we should also look to the future. And because we cannot pay tribute to the future leaders because we do not know who they will be, we can, however, dedicate ourselves mutually to our future nation. And this we should do on days such as this. History does not only teach us a lesson. It does not only inspire us, it does not only bring us to our knees to give thanks. It must also give us dedication in order to give ourselves to the propagation of the work of the past. If we believe that it was a wonderfully beautiful act of leaders and followers to build for us a nation, then we must realize that in turn we should be worthy of our descendants who will look back on us. When we gather together to pay tribute, we are also gathered together to dedicate ourselves. When we gather to

show gratitude to the Almighty for what He has given us, then we also fall on our knees and pray that in His hands we may be instruments for building the future.

When we wish to be instruments in the hands of the Almighty to use for the building up of the future, we may not think just of our future. Then we may not only pray that we will be used to build a strong nation in South Africa, which lives in richness and prosperity, peace and freedom. But then we must look at the world where we may see so much conflict and strife and danger. Then our eyes fall on Africa where we see a struggle for the survival of Christianity and its civilization; where we see strife and division in the melting pot of the nations. Then we must pray that we may become an anchor here; an anchor to which white civilization may be tied in Africa; an anchor to which Christianity may be tied, so that it may extend further and further over Africa.

We must see ourselves not only as the heirs of an Afrikaans language and Afrikaans culture or of an English language and English culture but as the creators of a unified nation, and as servants of the civilization and religion out of which we sprang and of which we are the bearers here. For this reason, I would like to call on you on this occasion, for readiness in higher service — higher service as religious people, higher service as a white nation and higher service as a nation settled in South Africa, we believe, with a purpose. Times of trouble have come to our people and times of trouble lie ahead. But we need not fear. We sometimes see ourselves as whites surrounded by a great Black Africa, but only think how the few Voortrekkers were surrounded! We think of ourselves as being threatened by a world which does not understand us, but was it very different once when the world was unable to understand, after the French Revolution, what a people on the southernly tip stood for? Actually nothing which is happening to us today is strange to us. If we think back to the heroes of that time, how they knew all this and yet remained standing; if we think of how 100 years later, the nation did not perish, but grew and waxed strong. why then should we fear? Can we not make provision for the future safety of our nation, while building upon what we have? That the future generation should be able to look back 50 or 60 years hence and say: "There were also heroes among the nation in those times" is our prayer.

You made a great and important choice in the days past, not a political one, otherwise I would not refer to it today, on a day such as this when we usually pay tribute. It was the choice of a nation which wishes to build; a nation which wishes to grow; a nation

which wishes to stand squarely; a nation which wishes to serve. We have not made it easier for ourselves thereby, but more difficult in the sense that we can now leave behind our arguments of the past. If you leave off arguing you cannot sit still, because to do so means death. You have to move forward and to move forward; it means overcoming much. Not only problems. Solving problems is perhaps the easiest task which lies ahead. To change poverty to prosperity, to change confusion on the Colour question to consolidation and a clear future for each group, is something concrete and relatively easy. We must overcome something else, namely ourselves. We shall have to overcome clashes and judgments and outlooks which are almost tradition with us, because otherwise we shall not be able to build a nation.

Friends, if I may make a comparison which I used previously to show that our division as a people was sometimes not detrimental, but helped us, it is the following. There was a time when we Afrikaners were divided into groups and parties and were in conflict with one another. On the occasion of the Kruger celebrations at the Union Buildings, I said: Do not let us harden our hearts toward one another, let us rather see ourselves as people striving after the same aim, but along different paths. Let us consider how the Trekkers of yore sought a promised land. The search was not carried out along routes laid out. There was no dirt road or tar road to follow. The leader of the Trek sent out his scouts and he could not even say to them, take that direction, or north or south or west. He had to leave it to the scouts themselves to find a road. A road over the mountains, a road through the deep ravines, a road through the rivers. The one chose one road, the other another and the third still another. And thus each scout or group of scouts chose its own road, and the one may perhaps have blamed the other saying: "You are a fool, you should have seen that you cannot come through there." Still each one persevered and in the end someone found a road along which the Great Trek could pass. In the long run everyone joined up here and together followed the road which they thought to be the best, no matter who found the road. And thus it was with regard to our own national split. One group followed the one party and the other group the other, each hoping to lead the nation to the promised land. But at last the nation came together in a mighty group as we have once more experienced on the road which has been found to be the one which leads to the promised land. And thus our road now leads to a greater South Africa — not only for the Afrikaner but for everyone of us living in South Africa.

But just as it was with Afrikanerdom, so it will be with the united South Africanism. We were in the process of scouting, but actually during this week we found the road, to my way of thinking. We only have to come together now to take the Great Trek along it. And this is the message out of our history which I would like to bring to you. We have much for which to be thankful. We have great men to honour. We must thank the God of our fathers deeply for what has happened to us. We can freely dedicate ourselves, we can go into the future with eyes wide open and head held high. We can move into the future with linked hands. South Africa is beautiful, South Africa is great, South Africa's earth has great unknown riches; South Africa has a population, which with its initiative and ability to work and perseverance and intelligence, although smaller in numbers than many other nations, does not need to take a back seat to any other nation. We have the faith which people need. What can keep us back? Surely not the outside world, because everyone will have to mind his own business in the long run. Let us stand together in the new dispensation — in the new Republic. Let us build it up and let us make it great so that our descendants may look back in 20 or 30 years from now and say: "Our forefathers of 1960 thought on a grand scale, and built on a grand scale. They left us a wonderful country. Honour their memory."

Address on the Occasion of the Republican Thanksgiving Festival, Monument Hill, Pretoria, October 15, 1960

When the result of the referendum became known, a spontaneous need arose to give expression to the feeling of gratitude in one way or another. The F.A.K., the federation of Afrikaans cultural organizations, took the lead and at short notice called the nation to gather at Monument Hill. More than 70,000 people, including Mrs. M. M. Jansen, Mrs. Maria Malan, Mrs. Susan Strijdom and Mrs. Tibbie Visser (daughter of Pres. Steyn), heeded the call.

The impressive programme, in which a speech-chorus of 600 Pretoria pupils participated, began with a short ceremony in the cenotaph hall of the Voortrekker Monument. After Dr. Verwoerd had spoken in the amphitheatre, students of the University of Pretoria pulled a Voortrekker wagon decorated with flowers into the arena and one handed a large Union flag, with the date "5th October, 1960" inscribed on it, to the Prime Minister who planted it on the platform. Then 500 women from the audience piled up bouquets of flowers around the flag. In a striking manner homage was also paid to the memory of Gen. Hertzog, Dr. Malan and Adv. Strijdom as builders of the Republic.

Dear Friends, Countrymen, Fellow republicans! I want to thank you most heartily that you have gathered together in such a large crowd, not to pay tribute to us, but in gratitude to lift up our heads above, whence comes all that is good for our nation. I thank Professor Thom for his kind words addressed to me, but they are not intended for me only. The thanks are rather due to the members of my cabinet, who so wholeheartedly and with perseverance joined in the struggle.

It is the day of answered prayer; it is the coming of the republican dawn; it is the sun breaking through the morning mist that we commemorate here. Through so many years we longed and prayed for this moment, and now it is here. As it behoves us, we entered the struggle in connection with the referendum as a praying people and, notwithstanding the depth of our longing and the earnestness of our heart's desire, we could as a

praying people still say: "Thy will be done!" And therefore it is so much more stirring today to know what the will was what had to be done. That is why we who prayed and would have abided by the decision, if the result had been otherwise, are filled with such deep gratitude. That is why, in the midst of our jubilation there is constant earnestness which tends to our wanting to celebrate a thanksgiving festival today rather than a jubilee. One may be glad for what one has obtained. One need not hide one's gladness and thankfulness. The two can go hand-in-hand as is always the case in the springtime of every person's life. We have gathered today not only as a church community but also as a state community to express our thanks to the Most High.

My friends, for many years we longed for the new Republic of South Africa and we realized, over 60 years, that when it came it would be greater and grander than anything we had before to build on; that it would be greater not only in extent but also in comprehensiveness; that it would embrace the whole nation; that the republic, the new Republic of South Africa, would not be the monopoly of our Afrikaans-speaking people only, but that from now on it would belong to us all — the Afrikaans and English-speaking — with the strife behind us and the future before us.

On such an occasion it is also proper on your behalf, on behalf of the nation of today, to pay tribute to those who have gone before us. We not only want to pay tribute, but also want to call to mind all the labour they devoted to this same structure which we are busy completing. I am thinking, of course, of the leaders of the past. Perhaps I should only mention the names of those we lost recently — Dr. Malan and Adv. Strijdom — the leaders who could so nearly enter Canaan together with us. In retrospect we think of them, and all who fought with them, for leaders cannot accomplish anything alone. Leaders are but the overseers of the people who actually do the work. Through them we thus commemorate all those who assisted them — not only their fellow leaders, but their followers who are no longer with us either — our own forefathers, with many of whom we still fought together for the fulfilment of this ideal in the meeting halls, at the meeting places of this country, in the building up of our parties, in the action that was necessary then — all constructive work for what is being accomplished today.

But we may not only bring tribute and thanks to those who preceded us. I also want to express my thanks to all the republicans of South Africa of today who made 5th October possible.

Truly, the voice of the people is the sovereign voice! The people have directed and the Government will execute. A while ago we spoke of the sovereignty of the people — never before has the sovereignty of the people of South Africa been exercised more clearly than recently. On the 5th October the people of South Africa ruled and not only over the present but over the years and generations to come. For them the people gave their decision. Hence, my friends, I convey to you my profound thanks. We did not doubt you for a moment. We had heard the heart-throb of South Africa for a long time before — so loud and clear that there was no doubt that the moment of destiny had arrived. And that is why we as a Government could go to you and ask for a signal — the signal to go ahead with the fulfilment of the desire of generations.

This gathering today has been brought about by our Afrikaans cultural organizations. They did not interfere in the political struggle that we have to wage, but did join in the cause of the nation. They called us together today, not for party-political reasons, but to symbolize the greater significance of a unified people. On this occasion of the thanksgiving of the Afrikaner section of our nation there are with us also English-speaking republicans. They have come, and are sitting here in your midst, from even the farthest corners of our joint fatherland. To them I also want to address a short word of welcome and thanks.

I wish to pay tribute from the bottom of my heart to the English-speaking republicans, of which there were many on the 5th October, throughout South Africa. More particularly do I welcome and express my appreciation to those who are amongst us today. Many have come from far, as I have good reason to know. It would be a good thing if there were an English cultural organization similar to the body which has called us, Afrikaans-speaking people mainly, together today, to call English-speaking South Africans together in a similar way, when we Afrikaans-speaking people could be the guests. It is perhaps too soon now to expect that, but I am sure the day will come, in this republic which we are building together, when a similar occasion can be arranged by our English-speaking friends when there will be an opportunity for us to rejoice together, as we have already mourned together when generally accepted sons of South Africa have passed away. People who are united in mourning, cannot remain separate in rejoicing, and I see future jubilation when the republic has set its seal upon the future of South Africa, in which we shall come together in much greater numbers than those who are

present today, great as this mass gathering already is. You are all very heartily welcome amongst us. May your prospects in the future flourish with those of ours.

But, esteemed friends, when we are thus together we cannot help but think of the times that are past. Our roots are fixed in the past. A tree that is uprooted, cannot grow any more; therefore we do not need to try to escape the past. If we now look back at our past, we find therein something 'that stands out above everything else, and that is that we lived full of inextinguishable hope. Poets have sung about it. Then it was said already: "In the people of South Africa lives a hope that cannot be quenched that some day there'll be again a republic." That unquenchable hope was right because the hope is being fulfilled today.

We spoke of the hope of South Africa and we were so constantly animated by the idea of hope, of trust, that there are many who now write to me regarding a name for the future republic and ask that it be called: The Republic of Good Hope. Friends, I do not choose a name for the republic. I tell you this only to emphasize what the great expectations of the future are, because the people who mention this thought have three reasons, three very clear reasons, therefor. The one is that they look back to the beginning of our existence as a state. Did we not begin as the "Cabo de Boa Esperance" — the Cape of Good Hope? And was the name "Cape of Good Hope" not a true saying regarding the history of 300 years? The hope did not make ashamed, but is fulfilled. Who of those who gave that name to the southern tip of our country could then have thought that in 300 years a civilization would eventuate here so powerful and so influential in world situations, even though the people may be small in number, as we have here. And now the desire exists for the same name to be carried on in the future.

But beside that there is a second motive. South Africa is so often misunderstood in the outside world because it is seen as a part of the continent of Africa, which is just like the other parts thereof, whereas this southern point of Africa, at that time vacant land, settled by the white man from Europe, in fact, became different from the rest of the African continent. The same applies to white Western Europe, itself only a small point, a small portion, that is different from the vast Asian-European continent. Turn the map of Europe and Asia on its side and you will see that it is but a remote corner that cradled the civilization as we know it all over the world. These nations of Western Europe must learn to see us, the southern point of

Africa, as they are themselves — a bottom point in a mighty continent. And thus we could be seen if the word "Africa" perhaps did not appear in the name of our republic. Above all, the advocates of such a name have in mind the idea that what lies ahead of us is greater than what has passed behind us, that we have a future full of good hope, that day by day we want to proclaim the fact that we live in a country filled with faith and confidence in its future — a land of good hope. But as I have already stated, I do not want to try and give a name to the republic today, because the name "Republic of South Africa" does, in spite of the problems connected therewith, sound sweet in our ears — just as sweet as the words that our national poet gave to us in our national anthem, **THE CALL OF SOUTH AFRICA**. We also bear the name of Afrikaner and in our national anthem we pray for the country South Africa! I, therefore, do not seek for names, but I bring to you two messages, namely: we live in our country, South Africa, a country of good hope, and we have confidence in it, we bestow upon it all our love and loyalty. We are prepared to sacrifice for it whatever it asks of us.

It is the sentiment of all these thoughts that is so important — the spirit of faith in the future. One can fulfil ideals — and when attained, they bring with them material fruits. Before the referendum we could give you the message: you need not fear for your pocket. Now, after 5th October, I bring you another message — a message that emanates from the decision given by you that day, which showed that your pocket was of minor importance to you. I bring you the message: you need not fear for the soul of South Africa. And, my friends, the soul is greater than the pocket, the soul determines one's whole life. We have risen above pettiness and selfishness. Patriotism, fellow-citizenship, friendship, all have become of more importance to us. The English-speaking and the Afrikaans-speaking sections have become like the bride and the bridegroom who enter upon the new life in love to create together and to live together as life-mates. The soul of South Africa is pure and safe, because we have preferred future politics to pocket politics! And friends, we get our republic without violence. We get it through a spirit that has come over our fatherland, a spirit so powerful that it will in future encompass our fellow-citizens and our countrymen more and more. A spirit that can build and love and that can sacrifice, is stronger than anything that can be done against it.

We are grateful for the republican freedom, but it is not just a free form of government; it must also be freedom from

quarrelling and dissension. We have been freed from foreign bonds — let us also be freed from internal clashing and competition. Let us at least stand together for the major things in a nation's life, even though we may differ about minor things. Life has brought us far. It has brought us to a moment of thankfulness, but the moment of thankfulness must also be something more — it must also be to us a moment of devotion and dedication. We have already shown with what feeling of devotion we are present here. In conclusion I now want to call you to dedication — dedication to your nation and dedication to the future, but dedication with deep trust in God.

In order to put it I want to ask you to fix the dedication idea in your mind in terms of the words in our national anthem of South Africa, well known to all of you. I am going to quote a few lines from different stanzas. I ask you in the first instance to dedicate yourself to South Africa and to the future in these words of our national anthem:

*"In the promise of our future
And the glory of our past,
There's no land that shares our loving,
And no bond that can enslave."*

And when you look back to the past and forward to the future, pledge your loyalty to your own country only, to your own Republic of South Africa. Then I ask you further to couple that inward dedication of yourself to the future with trust in God, because thence only may be derived the greatest strength. I ask you to do it in the words:

*"As our fathers trusted humbly,
Teach us, Lord, to trust Thee still:
Guard our land and guide our people
In Thy way to do Thy will."*

New Year Message to the People of South Africa on December 31, 1960

1960 is past with its tribulations and its comforts. I do not wish to dwell upon either. It is far better to look ahead. A candid appraisal of what we South Africans will have to face in 1961 seems more fitting in this age of rapid evolution than reliving what has already unalterably become part of our history.

Legislating for the constitution of the Republic of South Africa will be the first important task. The publication of the Draft Constitution should have removed all doubt and suspicion as to its nature. The wise course of gradual change to meet the needs of the time which has guided our country's development since 1910, is thereby being continued. The Union is giving way to a Republic, it is true, but our South African way of life generally will be retained as we know it. Adaptations in attitude and outlook will develop, and the decimalization of our monetary system will add to the feeling of change, but the new South Africa of 1961 will evolve naturally out of the old of 1960.

Greater unity should be pursued during the republican era. This will therefore be one of the objectives to be set for 1961. Unfortunately some confusion exists as to what degree of unity can be achieved. Quite clearly it cannot be the unification of political parties, nor even a coalition government. If the United Party could not retain the allegiance of members of its off-shoots (the Conservative, Progressive and Liberal Parties) and these parties even find it necessary to fight one another at the polls today as a result of honest although in essence more minor differences of opinion, and their re-union is consequently also impossible, it will be realized how totally impracticable unity or co-operation within one Government must be between parties with quite different political principles.

Once this fact is realized the reproach becomes futile that our desire for unity is not genuine. The accusation has been made that to me that unity means acceptance of the National Party pattern. This is not so. I accept as a fact that my opponents differ fundamentally from Nationalist policy. That is why they are in Opposi-

tion. Like every other leader of a political party I wish to strengthen my party and its influence by including within the National Party as many true supporters of our policy as possible from both language groups. In that sense I seek the greatest possible political unity within my party like any other leader does in his. This is not, however, the unity for which I appealed as Prime Minister when expressing the conviction that only within a republic would the historical and constitutional obstacles to closer relationships as members of one nation gradually fall away. In that context it was a plea for greater national unity, irrespective of the degree of political unity which might or might not exist. Members of all parties may rightfully aspire to this national unity even while retaining their political differences.

In the light of what has just been said, other reproaches are also clearly unfair, for instance that the Government should change some of its principles and its policy as a gesture towards the Opposition or British South Africans, or that Opposition members should be appointed to the Cabinet as such, that is, while continuing to fight government policy even though holding such a post. (It will be remembered that it was said that the appointment to cabinet rank of English-speaking supporters of National Party policy would not be accepted as a gesture, but would only be regarded as the rewarding of stooges!) Such demands are undoubtedly due to insufficient realization that national unity and not party unity is the object to be aimed at.

No party can betray its principles or when in power ignore the promises made to the electorate. We do not expect this of anybody in 1961 or at any other time. Should English-speaking South Africans, however, join the National Party openly and in greater numbers and provide suitable candidates for cabinet rank, I should be only too delighted to make such appointments, not as a "gesture" towards national unity, which lies on another plane, but as something politically sensible and fair.

The concrete contributions towards national unity called for in the past were: that the constitution and constitutional practices of the Republic should adhere as closely as possible to what exists in the Union today; and, that the Republic should seek to remain a member of the Commonwealth of Nations. The Government is implementing both undertakings. Reference has already been made to what is being done in connection with the first. Fulfilment of the second desire will be sought in March when I shall attend the Prime Ministers' Conference.

No misunderstanding may, however, be allowed to arise as to

what this task for 1961 means. The mandate given the Government on October the 5th is to constitute a republic which will remain a member of the Commonwealth if the customary agreement can be obtained; or which will seek to maintain its friendship and good relations with Great Britain and those other members who desire this, should it not be possible to retain Commonwealth membership through other members opposing it successfully. The attitude of South Africa has often been stated. She can also criticize and moralize on policies of other member states, but does not wish to do so. She believes this to be wrong within the context of Commonwealth relationship, which should rest on a positive basis, viz. eagerness to co-operate in all matters of common concern on which agreement can be reached.

While I shall sincerely endeavour to ensure South Africa's continued membership of the Commonwealth, it must remain understood that South Africa will not be prepared to pay the price for this of allowing interference in her domestic policies, of sacrificing principles on which her government has been repeatedly elected since 1948, or of submitting to any reflection on her sovereignty or her national honour.

South Africa fully understands that the Commonwealth, like the UN, has member states of different racial complexion who are all equal in status. Good co-operation between nation and nation, of whatever origin or colour, has never caused South Africa any difficulty. On the contrary it has always been the country's policy to be a good neighbour to all.

The colour problems within her borders have a quite different basis and were created by a unique situation which requires its own solution. It so happens that the solution to which South Africa is committed, is fundamentally similar to the desired relations between the nations, all of whom set great store by their independence and protect it at all costs. They therefore follow a good neighbour policy with separate national existence and no international integration in any form. All descriptions of this solution as applied to racial groups within one country as basically immoral, suppressive or derogatory to human dignity, must be rejected most emphatically and are just as illogical as when applied to nations.

Attacks upon the moral foundation of South Africa's policy, and at the same time upon the rights, and the chance of survival of the white man in South Africa, will have to be met continuously during 1961. No one dares shirk from this challenge or have his convictions shaken by the wavering of others even if

they try to justify their weakness by condemning firmness as obstinacy. The simple fact is that any form of political multi-racialism, or so-called partnership, would ultimately rob the white man of his rightful heritage. None of those who so lightly and so often demand moral grounds for a policy of granting in different ways full rights within each group to the white as well as to each non-white group, has seen fit to formulate a moral basis for policies which lead to chaos elsewhere and which ultimately deprive the white man of his rights and his possessions in the country he has developed. Let them now do so.

I do not intend to discuss recent announcements on colour policy by individual churchmen. It is, however, necessary to correct the wholly wrong impression, which has been created by antagonists to the policy of separate development, that certain Afrikaans churches have thereby declared their standpoint. The churches have in fact not yet spoken. Through their synods, at which the members as well as the whole of the clergy will be represented, the voice of the churches has still to be heard. May I express the hope that the names of our churches will no longer be dragged in unfairly in a debate which can as yet only be conducted by individuals as such.

I trust too that 1961 will ultimately find us more united than ever, that is, when the time for weighing the pros and cons has passed, and the true course for the churches and the nations shows up clearly from among all the diverse paths investigated. I, for one, cannot and will not believe that any world organization (be it the UN or the World Council of Churches) which must broaden its basis and stretch its principles to such an extent that the most divergent communities and points of view can be accommodated in order to give it stature, can make any permanent impression on our South African thinking and action and on our decisions how to act with justice to all here in practical everyday life. For this, high-sounding phrases which are applied nowhere on earth, are of little use.

I mentioned the UN in passing. It is hardly any longer a forum for settling international conflicts, but has lately become more of a platform where problems are created and aggravated. The growing membership of often inexperienced nations apparently makes it a less likely instrument for peace than ever before. The burden, both of financing and preserving it as a responsible organization, is increasingly pressing heavier especially on a few of the western nations. At the same time they become more and more embarrassed and also pushed aside by the voting power and

the groupforming tendencies of those who contribute least to the realization of the ideals for which this world organization was created with such high hopes. I, therefore, merely put the question — maybe 1961 will begin to provide the answer — as to whether this overcrowded UN must not give way to a smaller body consisting of the really responsible nations of the world.

The year 1961 will be full of pitfalls not only for South Africa, but for the world at large. May all nations emerge free and uninjured from it. This can only happen if the doctrine of faith, hope and love, especially the latter, triumphs. Since I believe that this will be so, I wish to express my sincere conviction that we will all be able to weather our storms and to arrive in calmer waters and even safe harbours in a few years' time.

My wish for the coming year is therefore that everyone in South Africa will approach the future with equanimity and steadfastness, confident that the protecting Hand of the Almighty will not desert us. I also trust that South Africa will experience the economic prosperity to which she is entitled and of which she is capable as I set out in a recent statement specially devoted to this aspect of our daily life. The strength of character of a nation determines how heavy the demands made upon it can be. South Africa will meet whatever the future may hold with fortitude and determination.

Speeches in the House of Assembly in Connection with the Republican Constitution

The Prime Minister personally conducted the Republican Constitution through Parliament. The historic debate commenced on the 30th January, 1961. After the principle of the Bill was accepted, it was referred to a joint select committee of both Houses of Parliament, so that the final stage of the Bill was concluded towards the end of April. The chapter consists of three parts; the Prime Minister's speech during the second reading, his reply to the debate and summing up of remarks during the third reading in the House of Assembly. The most important parts of the speeches are given in full. Overlappings and matters less directly concerned with the Bill have been omitted as well as the Prime Minister's detailed explanation of the meaning of each clause. The parts which explain the principles of the Bill have been retained.

(a) Speech during Second Reading, Draft Constitution, on January 30, 1961.

In moving the second reading of the Constitution Bill, I want to announce immediately that, in terms of the right granted to me by the Rules of the House, I intend in the course of this debate to deal with various aspects in both official languages, some parts in Afrikaans and some in English. I do so deliberately in order to try to indicate symbolically that we are entering the Republic of South Africa and are taking with us, as one of our most valuable possessions, the two languages which we have accepted and recognized as our official languages.

To-day this is a memorable occasion, an historic occasion, but I do not want to make use of it to stress to any great extent the emotional aspects which undoubtedly accompany this development with which we are dealing here. The time of achievement is not the time when emotional backgrounds should be emphasized too strongly. We want to state the case for the republic in such a way that it will be possible for all of us to face it with equanimity and with hope. It is a long cherished ideal, the realization of which is now approaching, an ideal which has been cherished by certain

sections of our population perhaps more than by others. It is one which throughout the years of political development has always been envisaged by the National parties as they developed during the various periods. It is an ideal which was also accepted at a certain stage of its development by even the United Party (and which was never rejected by the deletion of that part of its constitution). Already, shortly after the first years of Union, it was said that South Africa must once again become a republic. And gradually through the years, in times of stress, it became increasingly clear to the whole of the population that one day it would come. Through the generations we became accustomed to the belief that the natural process of development in South Africa was towards a republic, but precisely when and precisely how and precisely what it would be like were not equally clear. Since 1948, however, it has been stated in the most unequivocal language that the period of achievement was beginning to come nearer, and in the past few years, after the last election, it was stated even more clearly that the republic would have to come about within the present five-year period. The country became so accustomed to this idea that it surprised nobody when finally the announcement was made that the time had at last arrived. Last year this Parliament, as an act of preparation for the test to be put to the people of South Africa, passed the Referendum Act, and in terms of that Act the referendum was held on 5th October last year. In consequence of the result of that referendum, and in terms of a promise given, the Draft Constitution was published in the *Government Gazette* on 9th December, 1960, based on the South Africa Act, as had also been promised. On 23 January this year this Bill was introduced here. In this way we have progressed from the ideal to the initial steps of reality.

These things that have happened have different meanings for the various sections of the population. From the Afrikaner's point of view it was something which would inevitably stir his deepest feelings. Right throughout his history — long before the establishment of the two republics in the north — he had been by nature a republican. He was a republican because he helped here to develop a country far away — particularly when taking into consideration the conditions prevailing at that time — from his fatherland. Here he had to help to clean up his own country; here he had to establish a new nation or go under. In this way, both because of the fact that he was far removed from his country of origin and possessed the independence of the pioneer and through the natural conservatism of the farmer on his farm, which

formed the basis of this nation, the Afrikaner steadily but energetically started to develop a feeling that he wanted his own government for his own country. At first there was the realization of his ideal in a diversity of republics, but eventually the realization of his ideal was concentrated on two larger republics. When this period was over, the ideal was dampened but did not disappear. He longed for and pleaded for, and later exerted himself for the establishment once more of that same form of government. However, the feeling also grew in him that the new republic should be something bigger and different from what he had had before but had been unable to retain. Finally, the idea of a great republic of South Africa became his ideal. It was the ideal of a republic not only for his own section of the population, but for the population as a whole. To this ideal of a republic was linked the idea that the various sections of the population, despite former strife, should be welded into one nation, a single nation which could live in this country and create its own future here.

In this way, then, the ideal of a republic grew in the hearts of the Afrikaners until today. That is the position today. For that republic he is prepared to make sacrifices, sacrifices even of much of what he had earlier hoped would be characteristic of his republic. I must emphasize this, because the republic which we are going to establish now is not what many people throughout the years expected it to be. As it will now be established, it contains great concessions for the sake of the unity of the new nation. I may mention a few examples of this. The Nationalist, right from the earliest days, always thought of the constitution of the republic as something which to a very large extent would be based on and would be in conformity with the character of the constitutions of what were called model states by writers overseas. He, however, realized, when the time approached, that that could not be the position if all sections of the population were to be considered. He had to take into account the whole of the development towards a republic since 1910, and he would have to take, as the basis for these modern times, what had been born in the period which is now passing, viz. the South Africa Act with all its constant amendments. Therefore, there is inherent in the acceptance of this type of constitution (which is contained in the Bill before the House) a contribution to the growing unity of the people of South Africa, even though it will cause many people grief. The Nationalists are prepared to abandon the old constitutions of the republics for the sake of this greater cause.

I can mention a second example closely connected with that.

There has always been in the mind of the Afrikaners the restoration, one day, of a President who would not only be the Head of State but also the Head of the Government, the combination of these two positions as it was in the old Republics. Here also the realism of our times in the minds of the generation which is now experiencing the achievement of this desire resulted in the traditions of the other section of the population being borne in mind. They had something to contribute from their history as well as us, and together with us, over the 50 years which have passed since 1910; the tradition which provided for the separation of the duties and the offices of the Head of State and the Head of the Government. In the Draft Constitution which hon. members are now considering that has been borne in mind, and in that way another sacrifice is being made.

There is also much in the ceremonial of our Parliament and in its procedure which does not conform to what the Nationalist always regarded as being characteristic and inherent and which he would have liked to retain. It is rather characteristic of those things that form part of the traditions of the Mother of Parliaments, viz. that of Britain. These things are proud memories and therefore are of importance to the other section of our White population. Whilst there certainly will have to be agreement about certain simplifications of procedures — not in order to resuscitate something out of our history, but purely for the sake of efficient working methods — the price has nevertheless been paid of accepting that this ceremonial, although it was inherited, has become part of our practice and our traditions. Therefore we shall have to build on that.

Apart from this, there are still other provisions reinstituted by this Constitution and which are not in consonance with the expectations of many people as to what would be done when the Republic was one day established. I want to refer, for example, to the symbol of independence, the Flag. There was an idea in the minds of many people that another flag would be accepted, not necessarily the flag of one of the former republics, but something quite new, something which would symbolize not the past, but the changes to come. It was, however, realized that the flag we have was born out of strife and concessions made by the one to the other, and that it is a flag which has, as the only national flag, already become part of the South African tradition. It was also realized that to bring about changes in that respect now would result in renewed strife, strife over a symbol instead of obtaining a decision in regard to the nature and the form of

Government. Therefore it was accepted as a fact — and it certainly caused pain in the hearts of many and still does — that the flag which was born through suffering here in South Africa should be retained. That is provided for in the Constitution.

In addition — let me say so frankly — membership of the Commonwealth was for a long time not recognized by the Nationalists as being one of the characteristics of a Republic of South Africa. That was firstly the position because at that time secession from the Crown would necessarily have meant secession from the Commonwealth. Thereafter, when the change came about and republics were allowed in the Commonwealth, it became an open question, but to many Nationalists it was in their hearts an open question which they considered would be decided along lines of not remaining a member of the Commonwealth but rather becoming an ally and a friend of the other members of the Commonwealth. Nevertheless, when the time became ripe for the establishment of the republic — recently — it was realized that in the same way as the desire to become a republic was deeply engraved in the hearts particularly of the Afrikaner Nationalists, the desire to retain the bonds with the Commonwealth were equally deeply engraved in the hearts of the English-speaking section of the population. It is, however, necessary that our English-speaking friends should realize that whilst all Nationalists today accept the fact that the republic should be a member of the Commonwealth, many of them did not come to that decision so much for materialistic reasons — although it is realized that it also has its material advantages, which, however, are not as great as some people would profess. Membership has been accepted by the majority of Afrikaner Nationalists as one of the means which will assist in welding us together into one nation in the new republic. That is a price which is being paid, just as on the other hand the price of saying farewell to the Monarchy is being paid. If that is realized, the mutual conception of what this change demands on both sides will perhaps be better understood.

Mr. Speaker, there is also an English-speaking South African angle to the whole problem of becoming a republic. May I say that in making use of the right, which the Rules of the House give me, to make part of my speech in English, I do so for no other reason than to symbolize, if I possibly can, in this eventful moment, the fact that we are entering the Republic (in spite of many and big political differences between us) with the realization that there is much that we possess together. There is this one

country which belongs to all of us. In particular it must be emphasized that we have two languages: not one language belonging to some and another belonging to others, but two languages belonging to all of us, and of value to all of us.

In South Africa there are English-speaking South Africans who are republicans at heart. There may not be many but they are here. They desire a republic because they honestly believe that it is the best form of government for this country of ours. They believe that in a republic the nation, which we all desire should develop here, can really be built, since then only the stresses and strains which have pestered our existence in the past will fall away. There are others, perhaps more, who are not so much republicans at heart, but who have realized for a long time that a republic is bound to come. They have accepted this with good grace, hoping that in aiding the Republic to come about they may also aid in eliminating much of what has been bad in our history — conflicts which we all desire to forget. They also hoped that their support might aid in building up friendship, not only within the country but also without, friendships which may persevere for all time. They realized that the monarchical form of state has always been an impediment to the development of real friendship between the whole of South Africa and Great Britain, and were convinced that the substance of friendship is much more important to them than the form of state. They understood that while the English-speaking section of the South African population would always have this deep feeling of friendship for the mother country from which they came, a similar feeling could not easily develop among the Afrikaners as long as it was felt that the connection in any constitutional sense, might again lead to some form of subservience, either legally and openly or otherwise in some underlying form. Whether this was right or wrong, they realized that here was a fundamental psychological impediment to the development of real friendship and co-operation. And so these English-speaking friends, who understood the Afrikaner, felt in favour of a republic in order to remove what was a disturbing element so that the basis of friendship — both between the two nations who have so much in common, economically and otherwise, and between the Afrikaner section and the English-speaking section of our population — could develop.

Thirdly there are those English-speaking citizens of South Africa who were not and are not in favour of a republic, who even feel keenly antagonistic towards the process on which we have embarked. They need not think that we cannot understand their

feelings or sympathize with their unhappiness. We have gone through all that ourselves. For many, many years we had to accept a constitutional situation with which we could not feel satisfied. There is some difference, however. In our case we had to participate in a constitutional situation which developed out of the subjection of our nation by theirs; in their case they only have to accept a constitutional situation upon which we are entering together in what will be our common land. But one can understand this heartburning. From the Afrikaner side therefore we felt that it was necessary to try to make this painful change — painful for them — as easy as possible. I have just said and I wish to repeat that for that very reason great sacrifices have been made.

Mr. Speaker, I made an appeal before the referendum for unity. It is sometimes said that we have made no sacrifice for that unity and we have been asked what we were prepared to do. I must emphasize again, as I have done often and often before, that we did make sacrifices. I do not think our English-speaking friends realize quite how big those sacrifices are to many of us. If they could grasp that, they might feel better and realize that while they must accept a republic, we must accept much that is written into this constitution which is opposed to our former ambitions and ideals. Perhaps we give up quite as much as they have had to.

(After this the Prime Minister repeated the points in connection with which the Afrikaans section had made sacrifices. Consequently it is omitted here.)

Most important of all probably is the fact that membership of the Commonwealth was not contemplated when the ideal of a republic was first mooted, and was not contemplated right through the long period of its development. It was not that friendship or alliance with members of the Commonwealth would not be something that would not be eagerly sought, but the idea of belonging to one Commonwealth in spite of separation from the Crown, was not until fairly recently, looked upon as possible. Therefore the republican ideal had then of necessity to be seen as a development outside the Commonwealth. That idea gripped the mind of the Afrikaans republican and had to be torn out of his conception of what should happen when we came to the stage when we finally had to make a decision. That idea had remained in spite of the fact that a change had come over the Commonwealth in recent times. I want to emphasize most clearly that, while it

is quite true that membership of the Commonwealth holds certain advantages including certain economical advantages and while this is fully realized, and also that membership of such a group is of great importance in this present world of combinations of nations as well as that the natural combination to belong to is the one to which we already belong, nevertheless — and this cannot be over-emphasized — the main reason why Commonwealth membership as part and parcel of the republican development, unless we are turned away, was accepted by republicans, Afrikanerdom particularly, was the realization that give and take was necessary if we had to weld our sections of our population into one nation. Membership of the Commonwealth has been fully accepted as part of the development which we are trying to undertake. It has not only been fully accepted but been honestly accepted. I must stress this because it has been repeatedly said by people that I personally and my party are not genuine in our acceptance of Commonwealth membership, if it can be retained. We are said to be only bluffing. People are told that we want to become a member of the Commonwealth for a short time, just in order to tide things over, but that it is already our intention to remove our country from membership as soon as ever we can. Certain newspapers have even said that it would only be a question of six months. I want to say clearly that we are not bluffers, that we are accepting membership of the Commonwealth while the Commonwealth remains as it is today. We are genuinely seeking to retain membership. According to newspaper reports much unpleasantness may await me when I go to London to try and make this possible. That won't deter me from doing my duty. I shall honestly strive to achieve membership. I cannot, however, do so at the expense of allowing interference in South Africa's affairs. I cannot seek membership at the expense of the sacrifice of principles of policy which are ours and ours alone to decide. We can fight about those matters here but no other nation has the right to veto or to intervene. Apart from an unequivocal stand on that, I shall make an honest and strong attempt and a sincere one to retain membership, and if South Africa is retained as a member of the Commonwealth it will be our earnest endeavour to co-operate as fully as is possible in all matters of common concern. We can actually do so better as a republic and with greater support from all the sections of our nation than we could in the past because no longer will our co-operation, if real and active, be seen as a possible sacrifice of independence or of standpoint. We can co-operate better as a

republic of South Africa because misunderstanding of their leaders by their own people can no longer arise. The ideal whose fulfilment it was feared might be retarded, might be harmed by such co-operation, will have been achieved.

All these prices have been paid for unity and they have been accompanied by much heart-breaking. It was quite as hard for some of us to sacrifice certain of these ideals as it is for some of our English-speaking friends to accept the coming of the republican form of government. If all of us could only understand that we are today contributing to greater harmony and unity, and better co-operation with our friends overseas, and if we could on both sides see the other man's point of view in this and accept it as honestly held, then much will be gained which sometimes seems to have been lost.

It is said nevertheless that we must pay further prices for unity. What are they? I can only see a few suggestions clearly. The one is that we should take English-speaking members into our Cabinet. That is being suggested. That, we are told, would be a proof of our honesty of purpose and of a real desire for unity. Let us examine more closely the practical possibilities of such a step. If I am asked to take an English-speaking Nationalist, an English-speaking member of my party, into the Cabinet, then there is no doubt that — if suitable persons are available — we could take them into the Cabinet. There is no doubt about that being possible and, as far as I am concerned, desirable. The problem is that there are many English-speaking persons who joined with us in voting for the republic but have not as yet joined our party, or may not wish to join our party. If that is so, my difficulty in appointing a person from the English-speaking group into the Cabinet increases. I sincerely hope that this will not remain the position. I sincerely hope that the ostracism with which English-speaking people felt they would be faced if they joined the Nationalist Party, will disappear once the republic becomes a fact. And I also sincerely hope that once that change takes place, what happened in the past will not be repeated, namely that when an English-speaking person, either a member of our party or not, is put into high office, he is denounced as a stooge. That should never happen. In this new South Africa, common to us all, we will have differences of opinion in regard to policy and on political issues. Differences on policy and between parties in this new situation when we shall have one common fatherland, should not make a person from either group a stooge or traitor to his group when he joins up with the other.

We will now be one nation. I say that I will not in this republic of ours be able to look upon any Afrikaner who accepts the republic but joins up with any opposition party as a stooge, or call him such.

There is another method which has been suggested. That is that I should take into my Cabinet independents who supported the republican ideal but might differ from us in respect of other points of policy. Any parliamentarian knows, however, how difficult that is. He knows there is joint Cabinet responsibility, and how impracticable it is to appoint an Independent in Parliament, who officially represents no other point of view than his own. He may not even speak for the majority of English-speaking republicans if they also wish to remain independents in their way of thinking. It would be impossible to take such a person into a Cabinet, i.e. in spite of the principle of joint responsibility, to appoint somebody who opposes in public and in private many actions and principles which the Cabinet must perforce support in fulfilment of the mandate given by the electorate who have put it into power. Besides, such an Independent would also have to be provided by the Government with a seat either in the Senate or in the House of Assembly in spite of his differences of opinion with the Government. Any parliamentarian knows that to do this is just not practical since no province or constituency wishes to be represented by somebody who does not support its policies.

There is a third possibility and that is that there should be a Cabinet including members of the Opposition. If we should come to an agreement with one or other of the Opposition parties, the leaders who will probably be taken up in the Cabinet will also be of Afrikaans extraction. But then there will be fundamental differences of principle which will make something like that impossible.

I am glad that hon. members on the other side immediately acknowledge that, because although we in Parliament realize the great impossibility of any coalition or pact arising, and therefore of members of the Opposition parties being taken into the Cabinet of the Government party, people outside are left to think that I am unreasonable in saying so. When I say that it is impossible, it does not mean that I do not wish for unity. Therefore I always saw fit to stress that there is a great difference between political unity, which is impossible to achieve, and national unity, the attainable ideal of being one people. In the past when a pact was arranged in South Africa, there was a quite different situation. Then you had two Opposition parties opposed to the then Govern-

ment. There was no pact between a majority Government in power and one of the Opposition parties for no reason whatsoever. Two minority Opposition parties made a pact in order to achieve governmental power, and the diversity of views between them was not as wide as that between us and the Opposition parties of today, nor as fundamental. They certainly had differences of opinion, but on certain fundamentals they were at one. Between Colonel Cresswell and General Hertzog there was, for instance, at no time any doubt about their similarity of outlook on the colour question, which is the basis of the differences between us today. The pact was concluded in those days to remove the then Government, to come into power jointly, and that was possible owing to common policies. As the one main Government party increased its support the natural process took place and the pact fell further apart. For anybody to suggest that something similar — a pact — could be expected of a very strong party in power, as we are today, viz. that it should compromise on its principles, deviate from the policies on which it was brought to power by the electorate, just in order to include in the Government a party or parties which the electorate rejected because of its policies, would not only be a deviation from parliamentary practice, but would also be impossible from the point of view of what is politically feasible. It would mean that the Government in power should relinquish its mandate in order to enable the Opposition which has been put out of office because of its policies, to carry out part of its policies in spite of defeat. Such a request is simply not reasonable. It does not happen according to parliamentary practice anywhere. Therefore refusal of a pact or coalition is not test of our desire for unity. The test lies ever so much deeper. After analysing these suggestions, it therefore becomes quite clear that as far as the Cabinet situation is concerned, there remains only one way in which we can get English-speaking members into the Cabinet, i.e. that they must be members of the governing party. There is an alternative, namely, if English-speaking people who feel with us on all the main issues, although they might differ in details of procedure, could create a party of their own with which we could co-operate, and if that party could succeed in being represented in Parliament. It might certainly be possible to co-operate with such a party, but whether such a creation is feasible I do not know. I am inclined to think it is not. I am inclined to think that the only way for English-speaking people to participate in the Government is for those who believe in its principles to join up with the Government Party.

Another suggestion has been made as to how to achieve unity. It is that we should sacrifice certain of our principles. By sacrificing certain of our principles we would make it easier for greater unity to come about, so say some opponents. I have already dealt with this in passing. It means factually that the party in power, chosen for the very reason that it holds dear those principles which are believed in and supported by the majority of the electorate, and supported because it not only enunciates those principles but carries them out, would have to throw those self-same principles overboard. It must also be remembered that these principles are also supported by many who vote for the other side, as a huge correspondence seems to indicate. How on earth is it possible, I ask, to achieve greater unity by sacrificing those principles which the electorate wants its Government to carry out? Therefore when further demands are made on us as to how to promote greater unity in the political field, these facts must be taken into account. In addition I wish to re-emphasize that sacrifices for unity have been made and the undertakings given in that connection will be fulfilled to the utmost limit. I refer to those five points in respect of which I have given a straightforward outline of our standpoint.

I shall now proceed to deal with certain demands made by the Opposition parties in the first-reading debate. The first point was that we should make acceptance of the republic and the republican constitution dependent upon the guarantee that we will be allowed to remain a member of the Commonwealth. I have already explained that there will be a sincere effort upon our part to remain within the Commonwealth, but that attempt cannot be made at the price of the Republic not being created. Can Hon. Members suggest anything which would make it more certain that members of the Commonwealth of Nations would infringe on our domestic rights than if such a suggestion were entertained? If I were to accept the proposition that becoming a republic should be made dependent upon a guarantee that we are to be allowed to remain a member of the Commonwealth, then certain other nations would most undoubtedly make use of this to try and stop the republican development by interfering in our domestic affairs. Since I would have to oppose that, they would threaten that we would not be allowed to remain a member of the Commonwealth, and thereby stop our becoming a republic. The will of the people as expressed on 5th October would be thwarted because of what is tantamount to a veto. Surely it is an unrealistic demand to make of us. Surely it is an impossible

demand that other members of the Commonwealth should decide not only in regard to our membership but thereby be able also to decide on the future form of our state! In fact, an acceptance of such a proposal would mean nothing less than to invite a refusal for a change which we know some of the others would rather not have take place.

Apart from that, does the Opposition realize that if this happens it would perhaps be the beginning of the break-up of the Commonwealth itself? If we had to submit to such a form of interference, not only in our domestic affairs but in decisions over our future, the Hon. Members will realize that we would also interfere in the constitutions, the actions and the policies of other members of the Commonwealth including the United Kingdom. Do they realize what we and others could do if we wished to interfere in their internal affairs, if we wished to build upon what had then been done to us? If each member were to act in this way towards every other member, just imagine what a platform for continuous squabbles the Commonwealth would become instead of an organization for co-operation — in spite of all differences — in those fundamental matters of common concern which mean so much to the world today.

Therefore I say that if I were to accede to this part of the standpoint of the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition, I would not only be harming South Africa but I would also be doing harm to the Commonwealth itself; and it is in the Commonwealth that he feels he has such a big stake.

Then there was the second proposal, namely that we should introduce a number of entrenchments. If I had to introduce a number of entrenchments — not mentioned at present but possibly similar to those outlined in a recent Natal statement — then this would firstly mean, that I would be breaking my promise made to the electorate before the referendum, namely, that we would retain a constitution similar to that of the South Africa Act as it has developed to this day. It would secondly mean the introduction, presumably, of certain entrenchments creating more powerful Provincial Councils, which would be at least a partial development in the direction of a Federation. That is basically in contrast to what we have today, and to what the intention has been since Union. It is quite unfair to ask me both to break a promise and to change the character of the South African Constitutional set-up. I should like to remind the Hon. Member that the attack which was made upon us before 5th October was based on the suspicion that we wanted to change the Constitution.

After it had become perfectly clear that we did not want to change the character of our Constitution but desired to retain the type of Constitution we have, the Opposition suddenly changed. Now it wants a different Constitution which we do not. Besides that, entrenchments of this kind would be nothing more than a bluff unless the sovereignty of Parliament was sacrificed. It would be a bluff because we would be changing from the British form of flexible system which we have had so far, to something similar to the American system. The latter system has however been based on quite a different background, and, unless followed with great consistency, unless we approach many matters quite differently, unless we change the entire character of the system in which we believe — unless we do all that, the American system would not be able to fit in with what would still remain of our present system. We as a Parliament have repeatedly decided that the sovereignty of Parliament must not be impugned. Consequently I cannot see how the Hon. Gentleman can ask me to introduce entrenchments within this Constitution, unless great changes were contemplated by him. I must also add that this would bring about all the evils of a rigid system. Nowadays, peculiarly enough, there seem to be quite a number of people who think that in a rigid system you get greater certainty instead of less. In the past one of the reasons for praise of the flexible system of Great Britain has been that changes can always be gradually introduced without any revolutionary action. If you look up Bryce, or any of the great constitutional lawyers of the time, you will find that much praise has always been given to the flexibility of the British system of Parliament, because, it was said, a nation never allows legal impediments to stand in its way. If people through Parliament cannot change laws by ordinary means then the people will change them by revolutionary means. It will not allow an entrenchment to stand in its way. The flexible system of Great Britain was praised by these constitutional lawyers for the very fact that it made gradual legal changes possible in accordance with the changes in the community brought about by time and circumstances. For that reason, too, I think it would be wise of us not to try to insist on a form of rigid constitution which would then mean that when changes have to be made they must be made in a revolutionary way. It would be wise of us to retain the flexibility of our present system, in accordance with the basis from which it has sprung.

The Hon. Leader of the Progressive Party made another suggestion. He suggested that we should change this Constitution into

a multi-racial constitution. It is true that he said that it should be provided with certain so-called safeguards. But no safeguards are of any value. If a majority of Bantu gradually achieved power in South Africa, does the Hon. Member for one single moment believe that they would be deterred from overcoming those safeguards by any revolutionary means if it should suit their purpose? You can lay down safeguards for the White man now, and you can suggest to yourself that those safeguards will help you in the future. But they will not aid anyone. Does the Hon. Gentleman believe that any outside nation will say "These safeguards were introduced by the Progressive Party and therefore we now have to help those people, the minority groups — be they Whites or Indians or Coloureds — against the increasing power of the Bantu who have overthrown the safeguards for the minorities having a majority of voters or members now"? Does he think that a single nation of the world would protect such minorities here for legal reasons? Would they not say what they are saying about the rest of Africa, that Africa is gradually finding its feet in an unorthodox way? It will be the same in this country. Therefore, by just accepting a multi-racial constitution and so changing the whole picture of South Africa and its constitutional development, you would bluff yourself if you believe that you can safeguard the White man or any other groups and their authority for the future. This would be an illusion. Such theories are quite unrealistic. We are not prepared to make this change. The only way in which you can evade such dangers, and the only basically correct and just policy for South Africa, is to retain the Constitution on the lines that we have today. By retaining such a Constitution we would ensure that the White man's Parliament will be retained as we know it. It will continue as under present circumstances. At the same time we will develop the opportunities for self-government for each of the other groups in our midst. This Constitution before you today is based on this fundamental principle.

I have tried, in this part of my speech, to show how, in spite of the major differences between us, we still can enter upon a republic together, with goodwill. While accepting that we basically belong to one nation, each one can strive in his own way for what he believes best. My appeal is not for any form of political unity. My appeal is for the acceptance of the Republic in the form of this Constitution which means sacrifices from all sides, so that we can build South Africa together. I wish to quote from an article in the *Rand Daily Mail* of this very morning. This

article is actually an appeal to the Opposition. I cannot quote from any newspaper which differs more fundamentally from this side than does the *Rand Daily Mail*. This is a newspaper which supports the United Party to a certain extent, but which possibly leans more towards the Progressive Party than the United Party. The appeal of that newspaper reads as follows. I will not quote the first portion which leads up to this, but the main point is in the second part:

"From a political point of view the main drawback of the stand the opposition parties are taking is that they appear to be seeking, in defiance of the decision of the electorate, to obstruct the coming of the Republic by introducing fresh issues largely thought up since the referendum took place. This is especially so with the proposals for entrenching rights and devolving powers to the Provinces. Everyone knows these proposals stem from the outburst of resentment in Natal following the referendum, and are designed to canalize this feeling of frustration. Nowhere else in the country has there been any spontaneous demand among Opposition supporters for such provision. So once again the opposition parties seem to be expressing the sentiments of a die-hard British element, at the expense of wider viewpoints. The Opposition does, in fact, have a useful role to play in dealing with the republican legislation, and this is to scrutinize most carefully its details. This can be done in the Select Committee and latter stages of the Bill's passage through Parliament. For the rest, it is our firm belief that the most constructive attitude the Opposition can adopt is to accept the republic for which the Government has gained a mandate, and to do everything it can to help improve the general national atmosphere in which it will be brought into being in a few months' time."

The *Rand Daily Mail*, surely, is capable of expressing the opinion of a large proportion of the English-speaking population, and of the English-speaking anti-republicans. Very, very seldom can it be said that I am in accord with the *Rand Daily Mail*, but for this once I am. I add to what they say, this appeal to Hon. Members to co-operate in creating the atmosphere which should be present when a nation, in the process of building itself, acquires a new form of government which will aid in achieving that basic unity which we all desire.

I want to discuss some of the principles on which this Bill is based. In the first place it is a consolidating measure. Together with what is essential and what we have to retain in the South

Africa Act and in its amendments, it also consolidates what is already to be found in diverse other constitutional enactments. In addition to that, certain provisions which had already become obsolete have been omitted, and there are other provisions which now have to fall away.

Then a second principle is contained in the Constitution Bill. A number of new provisions have been inserted, and they all relate to the substitution of the Presidency for the Monarchy. May I repeat quite clearly that the intention is undoubtedly that the President should be a constitutional head of State and that in all his actions, as has been the practice in the past, and as has also been the practice in respect of the Crown, he should act wherever possible on the advice of the Cabinet.

Then there is a third principle. The third principle is that, whilst the State remains the same as before, the existing Parliament, in terms of the authority it has, gives a new form to the State and a new legislative authority. The State remains the same, but this Parliament, in terms of the authority it has, gives a new form to the State and creates a new legislative authority for the State, even though this new legislative authority retains all the characteristics of the present one, viz. two Houses of Parliament, a constitutional Head of State and a Cabinet.

As a fourth and last basic principle, I may mention that the language entrenchment is being retained. Clause 110 provides that Afrikaans and English will be the official languages and will be treated on an equal basis. Clause 2 provides that Afrikaans will also mean Hollands, and Clause 115 contains the entrenchment. Now it will be noted that there is a difference in wording which does not result in any difference in meaning, and that is that where in the South Africa Act it said: "Hollands means Afrikaans", it says here: "Afrikaans means Hollands". In the present set-up it is obvious that it should rather be worded in this way. It makes no difference to the meaning or the force of the provisions. Therefore no changes are being made here, and taking into consideration the sovereignty of Parliament both as it exists now and as it will exist in future, these clauses will have the same force after we have become a republic as they have now. I must emphasize that the entrenchment was written into the South Africa Act by an ordinary majority of the British Parliament, which was the creator of the South Africa Act. In the same way it is possible for this Parliament, which is the creator of the succeeding Parliament, to bind that Parliament by an entrenchment like this. I want to add further that it has been ascer-

tained after thorough investigation by the law advisers that there is no doubt about the legality and the legal force of the inclusion in the Constitution Bill in this unchanged form of the entrenchment which exists at present. Should, however, this be queried before a Court, viz. the legality of what is no more than the unchanged inclusion in the new Constitution of the existing entrenchment, and should what is highly improbable happen, namely that the Court maintains the standpoint that it could not have been done, it still would make no difference to the situation. Then it would simply mean that just as some other sections of the South Africa Act which we now retain will remain legally enforceable, these clauses will also be retained and be legally enforceable. In other words, the entrenchment retains precisely the same force whether it is included in the new Act or whether that portion of the old Act remains in force in the future. For those reasons, according to our legal advisers, there is no doubt about the absolute legality of the language entrenchment. At the same time I want to say that if the Select Committee wants to investigate this matter more deeply and is able to evolve some other method of making it absolutely certain, it can be assured of the fullest co-operation of the Government. Therefore, we have no doubt in our minds as to the legal force of the retention of the language entrenchment.

I have already announced that the Constitution Bill will after the second reading be sent to a Joint Select Committee of both Houses for consideration. I trust that Hon. Members of that Committee will co-operate in order to make something as good as possible of this Constitution. I just want to mention a few more points which will probably require attention by the Select Committee. The one is a matter of language. Hitherto in Afrikaans we have been referring to the "Republiek van Suid-Afrika". There is no doubt that the English term "Republic of South Africa" is correct, and that will remain, but in Afrikaans the word "van" in this context has a somewhat different meaning from "of" in English. For that reason the philologists and the Taalkommissie of the Akademie prefer "Republiek Suid-Afrika". But "Republiek van Suid-Afrika" is not regarded as quite wrong philologically. It is described as not being equally good but it is felt that, because it will affect the name of our country, we would rather leave this decision to be taken after joint consultation.

Mr. Speaker, I have almost concluded. I want to point out that during the referendum campaign I gave an undertaking in

regard to the Republican Constitution. I know there were doubts that I would keep my word, but I hope that Hon. Members are now convinced that what I have submitted to them today is in consonance with every iota of the promises I made, viz. that we would submit a Constitution based on the South Africa Act and the constitutional developments that have taken place; that we would retain unchanged our existing democratic institutions and practices, as was desired; that we would retain the Christian character of our State and write it into the Constitution, as has always been the position; and that we would guarantee the language and other rights and be just as faithful to them and claim them as a joint possession of the nation, as they have become or should have become in the course of our recent history. I hope Hon. Members will note that we are retaining the parliamentary form of Government with a different Head of State and Head of the Government, the two Houses of Parliament, a Cabinet and the parliamentary procedure, also completely in consonance with everything we undertook to do. We have faithfully carried out every single promise. Obviously the form of Government will, however, not only bring about another great change — a change both in the form and in the spirit of our country — but it will give our people a constitution which for the first time will really be the creation of the Parliament of South Africa. With all due respect for what we have, viz. the Constitution which we have had for 50 years, and recognizing the fact that we ourselves could amend that constitution and have often done so, the basis of it, the South Africa Act, was given to us by the parliament of another country. This time we are giving our own constitution to our own fatherland. In that sense it will have a deeper meaning for us because its existence is due to our own free will and our own deliberations alone. In saying that I am not belittling the fact that the Act containing the Constitution which was given to us in 1910 by the British Parliament was the fruit of a National Convention which sat here in South Africa. I am not belittling that in the least. Nevertheless, whilst I appreciate what we had and how it came about, that cannot derogate from my gratitude and joy because of the fact that our Union Parliament is now itself able to give a constitution to the Republic of South Africa.

In addition, the Republican Constitution which will be adopted by our own Parliament is being given to posterity. It is based on our traditions and in fact on the traditions of both elements of our population. It is not based only on the traditions of one

element of the population alone; it comes from both. It is now our joint creation, and it is born out of our common history. In a certain sense it is also based on a common sacrifice, and in that sense it must bring us nearer to one another. It must have a great and intimate and deep meaning to us all. It is based on our own past; it is our own creation today and our own gift to posterity. At the same time this constitution is the commencement of development, and not the end of it. No constitution of any nation is always the end. It is the beginning of new life, of constitutional growth, the beginning of an evolution towards a future. We are leaving to posterity a foundation on which to build. I ask that we should give this foundation in a good spirit wholeheartedly and in a graceful manner. Those who follow us must be able to feel that they are building on something which was left to them as a great and rich heritage. We ourselves built on the heritage of the past. We were not satisfied to leave matters as they were. Nor do we expect our heirs to accept this new constitution as being the end of all constitutional development. We ask them, however, to take every step in this development with the greatest respect for what has been given to them and, imbued with a great sense of responsibility, to change nothing which helps to create unity. The future is not in our hands, but the laying of the foundation is. I lay this constitution in your hands and in the hands of those who will follow us. I move.

(b) Reply to Second Reading, Draft Constitution, on February 9, 1961.

Mr. Speaker, this debate has had very interesting features although very little has been said in the course of its protracted duration about the Bill itself. It is an interesting fact that Hon. Members on the other side, in spite of the lengthy time at their disposal, have been able to find very little that they have been able to criticize in the contents of the Bill. As a matter of fact, the few proposals which aimed at improvements to which they referred, actually elicited support from this side. I have in mind what was said for example by the Hon. Member who has just taken his seat, as well as by other members on our side, namely, that they should have preferred to see more warmth and content given to the preamble as well as to the formulation of our oaths or solemn declarations. Let me say at once that I fully endorse that and as a matter of fact I said something on the same lines in my introductory speech. But it must be remembered that one only reads warmth into a piece of legislation if that warmth is in one's own

heart; words alone do not necessarily evoke warmth. It depends on how one reads the contents of the document. When I dispassionately read some of the documents which have been quoted here and then read our own preamble with the deep feeling that it can arouse in one when one thinks of it as the product of one's own history, I find that in our preamble I can read and feel a warmth which is lacking when I read the preambles to the constitutions of other countries with which one compares it. In saying that, however, I am not suggesting that I do not agree with the proposition that it will be in the best interests of the republican epoch in the future if by a better choice of words the Select Committee can succeed in stirring our emotions to a greater extent. I sincerely hope the Select Committee will succeed in doing so.

Another interesting feature of these discussions is the fact that they have been conducted in a way which just a few years ago would have been totally impossible. The Hon. Member says that the Constitution should not really have been discussed in Parliament but by another body such as a convention, for example, because there, he says, it could have been discussed calmly, which is not possible in Parliament. If ever there was unfair criticism, which was directed here in the main against Parliament, it was this suggestion that we, who have in fact discussed these matters of great importance here so calmly with a full sense of responsibility, are not able to do so in a calm atmosphere; that in order to be able to do so we must have a secret session between four walls! What is that other than self-criticism of the wrong kind? Now at any rate, after this debate, I can make bold to say that we on this side throughout the debate, have displayed the necessary calm and sense of responsibility, and generally speaking that also applies to the other side, although not entirely. A specific feature of this debate has been that the question of the establishment of the republic has been discussed openly in this South African Parliament without any disturbances and without meetings of a virtually inflammatory nature having been held outside, which has often happened before, as well as without fire and fury on the part of the newspapers of this country. I say again that that is something remarkable. It proves that we have reached a stage in our national life where the Republic can and must be established. In that regard therefore this debate has been characterized by a special feature. Nevertheless it has not been entirely without incident. I just want to refer to this in passing and I do so more really to reveal the ridiculousness of these exceptions. There was, for example, the Hon. Member for Benoni (Mr. Ross) who re-

ferred to the spirit in which we on the Government side spoke about goodwill and unity as "whining and squealing". When appeals are made for national unity and when we say that in the Republic the various language groups must be well disposed towards one another, it is ridiculous for anybody to dare to stand up and say that it is "whining and squealing". The same Hon. Member also talked about our wishing to "skulk behind the British Navy". When we talk about wishing to remain a member of the Commonwealth, which is something which they themselves are so anxious to have, how Victorian it sounds for anybody on that side of the House to have the temerity to try to humiliate us — or is he trying to get us to depart from our attitude? — with this old-fashioned abuse (and this old-fashioned defence of their former attitude of dependence) that we want to skulk behind the British Navy! It is hardly worth referring to but I do so in order to draw attention to the fact that we have made so much progress in South Africa that to-day this sort of thing only strikes one as ridiculous; it does not even arouse our anger any longer. It is not something of which we need to take too much notice. It only reveals a childishness which represents the final convulsions of a type of conflict which is now disappearing.

Another feature of these discussions has been this: After having pointed out how much we have actually conceded on our side for the sake of the acceptance of the Republic in a spirit which should imbue everybody — and I mentioned one point after another that we actually conceded — we find that no concession has been made even in this late hour by Hon. Members of the Opposition and their Leader. What I mean is this. We have been prepared to accept as the basis of our future life the character of the Republic, the Constitution, membership of the Commonwealth and things of that kind that they advocated, and yet they are still not prepared to support the establishment of the Republic. I contend therefore that they have made no concession. They must not continue to say therefore that concessions have been made on various sides. They have made no concession; they have not even agreed to the establishment of the Republic. They are still acting in consonance with the attitude that they adopted last year. It is true that a number of pious appeals have been made to us to write various guarantees into the Constitution and those appeals have been accompanied by the statement that peace will then descend upon all of us. Last year, however, when we had not yet taken any stand with regard to the question as to whether we would wish to remain a member of the Commonwealth and the Hon. the

Leader of the Opposition in his reply to my proposal about the establishment of a republic asked, "What assurance have we that we shall try to remain in the Commonwealth?" I put this counter-question to him across the floor of the House, "I have not yet consulted my party but (and here I risked my political future) do you give me the assurance that if I say 'yes' to that you will say 'yes' to the question as to whether we should establish a republic?" He was not prepared to do so although my intention was clear. In other words, at that time there was no willingness on the part of the Opposition to give and take, and that willingness is still lacking to-day.

Coupled with that, there is another factor that is of considerable importance. If the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition had said "yes" at that time and had at the same time given his co-operation, together with that of his party, to bring about the Republic, a referendum would scarcely have been necessary. If the referendum had nevertheless taken place, there would have been an almost unanimous verdict, and then the result would have been that we would have been able to fight for membership of the Commonwealth so much more effectively than we shall be able to do now, when the Opposition is above all continually belittling the outcome of the referendum. In other words, the Leader of the Opposition not only refused to give his co-operation in regard to the establishment of a republic but he laid the foundation of the opposition which has since developed to our continued membership of the Commonwealth. Three-quarters of the opposition to our membership and the distorted statements with regard to our policy, statements which are believed overseas, are attributable to the struggle which has taken place since then including the fight which has been conducted by the Press which supports him as well as to the effect of hostile reports, emanating from their columns, which have been published overseas. For that he bears co-responsibility. If there is trouble in the future he must not forget that he rejected the opportunity to help to build a united South Africa by supporting the establishment of a republic and thus facilitating our continued membership of the Commonwealth.

I should also add that in doing so he rejected the opportunity to co-operate in the drafting of the constitution. Hon. Members must look at it in this light: If the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition had been prepared last year to co-operate when I made an appeal to him in the utmost sincerity — and I made that appeal although I myself, as I have said, risked my political future for the sake of South Africa because at that stage I did not know whether

I would have the necessary support of my own party for a republic within the Commonwealth — he would not have forfeited the opportunity to co-operate also in the drafting of the constitution. I warned him that he was throwing away this opportunity. We could have acted differently if the Government and the Opposition had jointly said that we wanted a republic which we were both going to try to keep within the Commonwealth. We would then have had to co-operate in the drafting of the constitution. As a matter of fact, in his own ranks and in his Press there were people who warned him in this regard at that time and before the referendum. They said to him, "Co-operate and then you can obtain more of those constitutional rights in which you believe than you can if you persist in your stubborn opposition to something which is inevitable in any case". Hon. Members opposite must not accuse me of stubbornness, as they are so fond of doing, while forgetting their own stubbornness. It was the granite-like unwillingness of the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition that we encountered last year that prejudiced any possible co-operation on this point on which they are now asking for co-operation after having suffered defeat. I hope therefore that the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition will put his hand deeply into his own bosom and find out what he lost for his country and for his party. But having persisted throughout in their refusal to co-operate, having rejected all appeals for unity and having waged a strenuous fight against the establishment of a republic up to 5th October, they now come along in the hour of their defeat and try, by a process of magic, to convert into victory the defeat that they suffered and from which I tried to protect them. Now suddenly they say: "If you want to be a statesman, if you do not want to be called terribly stubborn, if you do not want to be accused of adopting a hostile attitude, you will have to concede everything for which we ask — one, two, three, four guarantees and entrenchments — everything that we want and cannot get ourselves". That is what Hon. Members opposite are asking in seeking concessions and guarantees from us, in demanding a whole series of entrenchments. In fact they go so far as to ask us to abandon the very policy for the implementation of which we were put in power; because hidden amongst the guarantees for which they are asking is a request for capitulation on our part in respect of the colour policy which is the basic source and will be the basic source in the future of the differences between the parties. They think that by using the words "guarantees and entrenchments" they can camouflage the sacrifices of policy that they are asking us to make, but their motive is transparent to anybody

who uses his common sense. There is no doubt that what Hon. Members on the other side seek are not minor concessions for the sake of friendship and co-operation; what they are trying to achieve is a hidden victory now that the electorate has been wise enough not to follow their leadership. That then is a further feature of the struggle hitherto in this debate, namely, that Hon. Members opposite are trying by a process of magic to convert defeat into victory and it stands to reason that on that point we cannot yield.

In view of the fact that Opposition members have not advanced many arguments dealing with the contents of the Bill itself but have made a number of minor points, together with a few important ones on matters of a general character, I am obliged to follow their example. I want to reply therefore to a number of the arguments advanced by them. As far as the majority of them are concerned, I do not propose to deal with them exhaustively, because they have already been dealt with fairly thoroughly by members on this side. Nevertheless I do want to make a few brief observations. One of the points made by Hon. Members was that we should first have obtained agreement between that side and this side of the House before proceeding with the discussion of these republican developments. We should first have sought agreement. They said: "If only you had been statesmanlike and tactful and if only the Prime Minister had spoken to the Leader of the Opposition perhaps, it would have been possible to obtain a basis of agreement and then everything would have been so much easier. We would then have established a republic in peace and amity!" Mr. Speaker, we have been trying to obtain agreement with regard to the republican ideal over the last 40 or 50 years. For years there has been a clause in their constitution which permits them to strive for a republic. And what was the reply of the Leader of the Opposition last year on the occasion to which I referred? "I shall be against a republic in every shape or form, whether within or outside the Commonwealth".

How dare they come along with the reproach — for the sake of public opinion and in order to obtain a little sympathy for their persistent opposition — that we rejected their hand of friendship? They are now trying without justification, to put the blame for non-co-operation on the shoulders of their opponents. How dare they say that if we had only tried to co-operate, if only we had discussions with them and had tried to obtain some agreement, the republic would have been established in perfect peace? After all, we did try and our effort failed because of the opposition of Hon.

Members on the other side to a republic in any shape or form, whether inside or outside the Commonwealth, to use the words of the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition himself.

Then a second argument has been advanced here, and that is that we should have done something to remove the fear which is to-day in the minds of our opponents, namely the fear that as a minority group they will always be oppressed. But, Mr. Speaker, there need be no question in the future of a minority group in terms of clashes over constitutional matters, clashes which arise from the differences between those who cling to a home in another country, who cling to a monarchy, and those whose love is concentrated upon their own fatherland, South Africa. There need no longer be majority and minority groups on that score. In the Republic of South Africa we will all have to be republicans. That fact is appreciated. One need only read the newspapers which have supported the Opposition throughout and who strongly stood for the monarchical system, newspapers such as the *East London Despatch* and the *Rand Daily Mail*. One need only read those newspapers to realize that to-day the fact that we are becoming a Republic of South Africa is accepted. In that Republic of South Africa we shall all be republicans and we shall all be South Africans. If majority and minority groups develop, they will have to be political groups and not national groups, and there will be no room for fear. I am convinced, even though some Hon. Members on the other side may not be able to believe this, that in the course of the next few years the same thing will happen here that happened in Ireland, where the opposition to a republic from the Opposition was much more strenuous than here and where all the Opposition members became republicans not too long afterwards.

Later on there was no longer any difference between Cosgrave and De Valera about republicanism. On the contrary, the time came when the Opposition represented themselves as better republicans than De Valera's own supporters. I predict that that is also going to happen here. It will not be long before this Opposition will also propagate the republican trend as their real goal, just as they are now also propagating the policy of "South Africa first". That is why I have no doubt that the statement that there is no future here for minority groups will also be dropped, because people will get away from the idea that we are divided into minority and majority groups on a basis of language and origin.

Sometimes one becomes a little despondent when one pleads for basic national unity, as we are doing here, and when all these contributions are made by us to bring about that atmosphere in

which we think the Republic should be established, and one then finds that these venomous attacks, such as those made by the member for Benoni, the member for East London City (Dr. D. L. Smit) and the member for Wynberg (Mr. Russell), still continue, and when one finds a complete unwillingness on the part of the official Opposition to make any concessions with regard to the acceptance of a republic. One then begins to wonder sometimes whether it is worth while striving for more harmonious relations and whether we republicans should not simply carry on without taking any notice of them at all.

One wonders then we should not establish the republic, and, if necessary, proceed with it on a sectional basis. But I must say that I reject that idea for the following reason and for that reason only, namely that I am deeply convinced that Hon. Members who sit here in Parliament and who are opposing the establishment of the Republic, no longer interpret the feelings of the majority of their own supporters in this country. When one moves in the circles of supporters of members of the Opposition, when one reads their newspapers, however bitter they may have been towards us, one sees the clearest signs that the establishment of the Republic in South Africa is bringing about a changed spirit and outlook, the fruits of which we are going to reap in the years which lie ahead of us. I face the future therefore full of courage and full of confidence, in the knowledge that these venomous attacks are no more than last-minute convulsions.

Then there were also a few additional arguments which I must also deal with briefly. One of them was that if we establish a Republic, it will no longer be possible to incorporate the Protectorates. In other words, we must not proceed with the establishment of the Republic because the Protectorates must first be made part and parcel of the Union of South Africa. I believe that if we were to make the arrival of that day a prerequisite for the establishment of a republic, then more than ever before the Protectorates will never become part of the Union of South Africa. Moreover, if Generals Botha and Smuts could not make any progress in this regard, despite the services they had rendered in two wars, despite the promises embodied in the South Africa Act and despite the intentions underlying that legislation, which are admitted by everyone, and if, despite the attempts of General Hertzog after entering into a certain agreement prior to the Second World War with the then Labour Government, if after all this, it has not been possible for Britain to carry out what we believe to be a promise (because she cannot or does not want to), do Hon. Members really think

that anything will still come of the incorporation of these territories, bearing in mind the developments now taking place in Africa and the developments which Britain herself is bringing about in the Protectorates in the shape of granting various constitutions? It would be a fool who believed that. We must now clearly realize that, since the concept of incorporation encompasses the principle that these territories will be placed under the control of the Government of South Africa and will become part of the Union, in contrast with the general tendency towards granting independence to Black areas, that the Protectorates will never be incorporated, even if the United Party should come into power, or the Progressive Party, or the Liberal Party. This would be in conflict with what Britain herself is already doing in those territories. Of course I consider that the way in which and the form in which Britain is granting self-government to these territories is wrong in certain respects. I think for example that it is wrong that she is giving Basutoland a type of multi-racial government. This is basically a Bantu area, and to give 2,000 second-class White citizens the franchise in that area is unpractical. Nor do I think that it will last. But I am not so much concerned with that aspect at the moment. I am merely mentioning the basic fact that to an ever-increasing extent Britain is granting constitutions of their own to these territories. Mere incorporation therefore no longer offers any possibility of establishing a sound relationship with the Protectorates. However, the policy of separate development which we advocate does in fact offer a possibility of establishing a sound relationship. Our attitude is that just as we are ensuring that our Bantu, in accordance with the tendency in Africa, will develop towards greater political independence but as a result of our economic interdependence will retain their links with us even after the highest measure of political development has been achieved, that is to say, that a Commonwealth type of relationship will develop between us, so we shall be able to become the guardians of these economically dependent areas. In their own interests these Protectorates will also fit in best within this framework. Whether or not we are a republic, the existing facts and the possible relationship between us and the Protectorates will remain exactly the same. I therefore say that the argument relating to the Protectorates no longer has any force as far as withholding South Africa from establishing a republic is concerned because we realize fully what the trend is to-day. For years this argument served as a useful brake on our aspirations but that brake no longer serves any purpose; it has been released.

Then Hon. Members have mentioned another argument. It is that we are not giving the judiciary its rightful place in the Constitution, that we are undermining its status as the third pillar of the State together with the Legislature and the Executive. Allow me to assure Hon. Members, as the Minister of Justice has in fact already done, that there has never been nor is there the slightest intention in our minds of detracting in the slightest from the independence and the status of our judiciary. From a strictly legal point of view it was not necessary at all to refer to the judiciary, in that the judiciary has in the meantime (since 1910) been given its own legislation in which its functions, administration and everything else are fully defined and set out. Initially the legal experts also omitted all references to the judiciary from this Bill as being unnecessary because the judiciary has its own legislation. However, I personally asked that the Draft Constitution should very clearly provide that one of the three constituent elements of the State will be the judiciary. We are by no means committed to the form in which this provision was then worded. The insertion of the one clause which says that the administration of justice will fall under the Minister of Justice, can remain or it can be deleted. However, it certainly does not imply the subservience of the judiciary in its decisions to the Cabinet. There is no such intention, and according to the legal experts it does not have that meaning either. The Select Committee can delete this clause if it has the slightest doubt in this regard. But what I recommend should remain, whether as formulated in the second clause of the chapter concerned or whether formulated in some other way — legal members of the Select Committee can fight it out with the law advisers — is a clear and direct reference to the fact that the judiciary will constitute one of the three pillars of the State, and that its independent status and authority will be retained unaltered. I hope that we shall not have any doubt or any difference of opinion on this point.

Then Hon. Members have used another argument which I feel I should discuss, particularly out of respect for a friend who has passed away. Various references have been made to the fact that Adv. Strijdom, and as a matter of fact Dr. Malan as well, would not have been satisfied with the result of the referendum because it would not have complied with certain requirements which they regarded as being of great importance. Hon. Members have referred more specifically to Dr. Malan in respect of the words "the broad basis of the will of the people". Completely unjustified interpretations have been attached to these words. When at the time it was written into the Constitution of the National Party that a

republic would be established on "the broad basis of the will of the people" there was a certain amount of arguments as to whether it should read: "the broad basis of the will of the people" or "the basis of the broad will of the people". At that time the wording "the basis of the broad will of the people" was rejected precisely because it could possibly be interpreted as meaning that a certain majority was necessary, and that it would be claimed that this should mean a two-thirds majority or some such majority. The wording "the broad basis of the will of the people" was deliberately chosen on the understanding that this meant that, apart from a parliamentary majority, there would have to be national majority of the White voters in favour of a republic. In other words, it was precisely the argument over the formulation, over the wording, which showed that my predecessor was quite clear that the republicans should be prepared to gain a majority of the people. Both these leaders always adopted the standpoint that a majority of the White people had to be obtained, but that in addition the Government had to be sufficiently strongly supported in Parliament to be able to rule properly. To-day we comply with both those requirements.

In the case of Adv. Strijdom, Hon. Members have alleged that he supposedly said that there should be a majority of the English-speaking section of the population as well as a majority of the people as a whole before a republic could be established. I say specifically that it is not true that he adopted any such standpoint. I know exactly what his standpoint was because we often discussed it. It was not his standpoint that separate majorities of the separate White population groups should be obtained, or that we should obtain a specific majority of the English-speaking people alone. Such a statement was attributed to him at the time and he denied it. He also told me: That these people are only trying to make it impossible for us to achieve the Republic. Anyone who knew Adv. Strijdom well, will know what I am now saying is exactly what he always thought. There is only one respect in which Adv. Strijdom adopted a standpoint which differed from mine. I have always believed that when one speaks of a majority, one must be able to give a specific reply when one is asked what the majority should be. I have always adopted the standpoint that the specific reply which one should give is "a mere majority" and, to be logical, this means a majority of one. Adv. Strijdom's attitude was: "We must not discuss that now; our opponents will try to force us to specify what majority will be needed and I do not want to say 'one'. A two-thirds or a three-quarters majority is

ridiculous, however; we must not speak of figures at this stage because if we were to say 5,000, the Opposition would say 20,000 and if we were to say 10,000 they would say 40,000; in other words, we would only become involved in a dispute over figures." I know this because he told me so personally. I also asked him what he would regard as a good majority and he told me in confidence: Anything between 20,000 and 40,000. To-day the majority is 75,000 and I am convinced in my own mind that he would have been deeply satisfied with this result. I am also convinced that the same applies to Dr. Malan although I cannot claim ever to have discussed figures with him. However, I believe that he would have been just as satisfied with the result which has now been achieved.

There have been references to Adv. Strijdom's assurance to the English-speaking people, the statement which he went specially to Durban to make, at which time he also stretched out the hand of friendship. However, I can testify that one of the things which upset him was that thereafter, after he had gone and set out his standpoint so honestly, it was often distorted and that people said: "How can we believe these people?" These were the old familiar tactics of the Opposition, that is to say, to cast doubt on the honesty of the Afrikaner leaders. Now that he is dead, Hon. Members must please not use his offer of friendship which was so cruelly thrust aside while he lived.

There is a third argument which I am sorry has been raised and I therefore want to say as little as possible about it. It has in effect been implied that we cannot attach much value to the result of the referendum because ugly things supposedly happened and fraud was practised. Reference has even been made to the intimidation of pensioners. I do not want to make counter-accusations, because that is also petty. It is like losing a game and then making all sorts of excuses afterwards. I could even produce evidence of complaints which have been submitted to me about the large-scale abuses of which monarchists made themselves guilty, but I have never discussed them. I am therefore merely mentioning this in passing in order to point out that if we wished to make accusations, we could all be equally childish, but it is better for the sake of the honour of our country that this type of gossip should be left unsaid. It brings us nowhere; it will make no difference to the result; and it can only harm the reputation of our country without any proof and to no purpose.

In the second place, Hon. Members have said that not only can the result not be trusted, but also that certain incorrect arguments were used which influenced the result. Two allegations have

been made as far as I myself am concerned. The one is that I supposedly promised — the word “promise” was supposedly used — that the National Party would disappear if a republic was established. Of course I did no such thing. What I did say was that I was convinced that when the Republic was established, there could be a reorientation in the political sphere amongst individuals because one bond which kept them together, the constitutional issue would fall away, and this reorientation could take place inside or outside the existing parties. I said I did not know how it would come about, but I was convinced that there were many people who were monarchists but who agreed with the National Party as far as its colour policy was concerned and who would only then be able to find a home within our ranks. I added that there might be persons who were Nationalists mainly because they were republicans but who might start thinking along different lines in respect of its colour problem and that they would then seek their political home elsewhere, although I do not believe that there will be many. That is exactly what I said and for anyone to distort this into a promise that the National Party would disappear is unfair.

Then a second allegation has been made, namely that I supposedly “promised” that we shall remain a member of the Commonwealth. I hope what I am about to say will not be disputed but this too I did not do. I adopted a very clear standpoint regarding the Commonwealth. I said that I believe that common sense will triumph at the Commonwealth Conference, and that I firmly believe that South Africa will remain a member of the Commonwealth unless the Commonwealth changes its character and nature, particularly if certain of the new non-White states should adopt a hostile attitude towards our membership, and persist in it to such an extent that they force the older member states who want South Africa to retain her membership to choose between South Africa and these other countries. I even said that I accepted that it was possible that a choice would be made which would go against South Africa. I added that if that were to happen, the Commonwealth would then have taken on a character in which the outlook of Britain and the older countries no longer prevailed, but the outlook of these other countries, and that we would not feel at home in such a Commonwealth and would ourselves prefer not to remain a member. For that reason I asked at the referendum that we should be given a mandate to establish a republic which would try to remain a member of the Commonwealth, but which would authorize us, if we could not remain a member, to continue with the establishment of a republic outside the Commonwealth. The

referendum was held on that clear basis, and there was no "promise" on my part which I would not have been entitled to give.

But I did give one promise, namely that I shall do all I can to try, without sacrificing any principles, to make it possible for South Africa to remain a member of the Commonwealth. With all the possible tact at my disposal, and by appealing to common sense and calm counsels at our discussions, I shall try to co-operate in making this possible. I believe that it is only prejudice and unjustifiable interference in our affairs which can keep us out. More than that I cannot do. If folly prevails, I shall be powerless and I therefore do not want it to be alleged that I have made certain false promises which I have not made.

The next argument which has been mentioned is that we should have consulted the Coloureds and the Natives and in particular the argument has been used that the Coloureds should have voted at the referendum. Hon. Members know of course that if the enfranchised Coloureds had voted, it would, according to the figures, have really made no difference to the result, but I leave that on one side. Hon. Members also know that the Coloureds in general are not concerned about a republic; they are concerned with bread and butter problems. There may be individuals who think differently on such matters but in general the Coloureds did not take much interest. However, that is not the crucial point. The really important points in the argument are the following. Firstly, over all the years that we have had a republican clause in our programme of principles, we have stated clearly that the decision would be taken by the White voters, and over all the years that this has been so clearly stated in our programme no United Party member has criticized it. The only point they have discussed insistently is what majority of the White voters, whether two-thirds or three-quarters, should be decisive. In all these years not one word of criticism has been directed at the fact that the term "White voters" was used. Hon. Members also inserted a clause in their own constitution making it possible for their members to work for a republic. In other words, they were thinking about the time that might come when we would have to decide about a republic. They did not provide in their constitution that the decision would be taken by White, Coloured and Native voters together. They did not make this an issue. On the contrary, by remaining silent on this point, they indicated that they felt in the same way about who should take the decision.

I go further. The struggle as to whether South Africa should be a monarchy or a republic is one which has arisen out of actions,

deeds and events in which Whites have been involved. The war, as a result of which the two republics disappeared, was fought between White and White. The Constitution of the Union was drawn up by White and White. If these developments were to be taken further, then this was a field in which the Whites had to settle their disputes themselves. That is why we have always adopted the standpoint that this issue is one between us, or, if we want to put it in that way, between English- and Afrikaans-speaking people, but that is not really the position. It is more a case of certain English- and Afrikaans-speaking people on the one hand and certain Afrikaans- and English-speaking people on the other hand. We as Whites had to make a choice in this regard.

Then in the third place we must take care not to repeat the mistakes of history if we want racial peace in this country. We did not dare to bring in the non-Whites as the arbiters in a matter over which we differed. In our history, particularly that of the Cape Province, and also in the case of disputes between the Cape Province and the British Government, the introduction of the non-White franchise represented one of the sources of discord and one of the reasons why tension arose between the Whites and the Coloureds. For that reason we did not want to make the Coloureds and still less the Bantu, in view of the future possibilities which they have of developing along their own lines, the arbiters between the Whites in this matter.

But in the fourth place: Assuming that we had done so and that the Coloured voters were allowed to participate in the referendum, can Hon. Members envisage all the cheating and the tension which would have followed, all the discord and disputes and all the unpleasantness at the polling booths? Hon. Members who have experienced previous elections and who know of the abuses which occurred at those elections, know what a terribly unpleasant state of affairs could have arisen at this referendum. This had to be avoided in the interest of Coloured-White relationships. At best the referendum, unlike an election, did not represent a decision, but merely an indication of how the people felt. Those who took part in the referendum indicated to us in Parliament how the Whites felt on this matter. That is all we wanted to know. For the purpose of our deliberations here we wanted to know what the attitude of the White voters in this country was towards this issue. This is their advice which we have voluntarily asked, and the test which we have laid down. Parliament must take the actual step, and on this occasion the Coloured representatives are voting just like any other members. All Members of Parliament on behalf of those

whom they represent, are jointly responsible for the legal steps required to establish the republic. It was for these clear and simple reasons that the Coloureds were not allowed to vote. Allow me to add this. I do not believe nor do I think anyone believes that the reason why Hon. Members opposite wanted the Coloureds to vote was a moral reason, not that they wanted to give the Coloureds the right to vote without any ulterior motives. They wanted us to follow this procedure so that there would not be a republic. For that reason, when they started to argue on behalf of the Coloureds, they should have come to the further conclusion that the Native should also have been consulted. If the Coloureds had been included and the republican majority was nevertheless 35,000 they would still not have been satisfied. They would have asked: "Where are the millions of Natives?" because they would have tried anything to prevent the establishment of the Republic. It is quite clear that South Africa cannot and will not allow its fate to be decided on such a basis. That is why this Parliament equipped with the knowledge of how White South Africa feels about its future, is being asked to take whatever action it considers necessary.

The next argument relates to our membership of the Commonwealth. This argument has actually been approached from three angles, which I should like to discuss, but before doing so I just want to make one or two points quite clear. The first is that those who would like us to lose our membership of the Commonwealth and who are now working actively in that direction, are either the Communist-inclined or those persons who have perhaps unknowingly, become so conditioned by Communist propaganda, that they are playing into the hands of the Communists. In South Africa certain disturbances were instigated last year, inspired *inter alia* by Communist agitators. This was not done without reason. They were instigated *inter alia* with a view to the Prime Ministers' Conference which should have taken place last year. Since then sufficient information has become available for us to know that attempts will once again be made immediately before my departure or after my arrival in Britain to cause unpleasantness in this country so that it can fit in with the demonstrations which are being organized by the leftists or by organizations which support trouble-makers financially or otherwise. The object is to create an atmosphere in which our chances of remaining a member of the Commonwealth can be ruined, both here and there. If we are faced with trouble and unpleasantness, and if somebody tries to allocate blame in regard to whatever might happen in connection with our

membership then it is high time that this background should be taken into consideration. Let those of us who want to attain the same object rather stand together, and not allow ourselves to be stirred up against each other in order to allow these people who are the enemies of all of us to achieve their object.

The second point I want to make in this regard is this. It is possible that as the result of this or other factors South Africa's membership will not receive support. I myself do not believe that there is any great danger of that, but it is definitely a possibility. I think that the United Party and the Opposition in general, in the light of this fact, would be doing a good thing if they rather did not help to prepare the ground, by expressing doubts and making attacks as they are doing, in order later to be able to reproach us with an "I told you so" argument. It is perhaps clever party tactics today to say on the one hand: "We would very much like South Africa to remain a member of the Commonwealth, but we do not believe that you will manage to do so, *inter alia*, because you do not woo, e.g., Ghana enough." all arguments of that type might seem clever, but they may harm the cause. If we should obtain membership they will be able to say: "Oh, the Government managed to do so in spite of their policy because De Beer was there, or because the Leader of the Opposition was there, or because Macmillan fought so well for South Africa; it is not due to the efforts of the Prime Minister of the Government; they are too weak." If matters do not come right the Opposition can again say: "We warned you." We know that in such a case the other member states and our Opposition will try to blame us. But do Hon. Members realize that when they are indulging in tactical manoeuvres with a view to having such arguments which can be used in both directions in the interest of their own party, they are at the same time, wittingly or unwittingly, playing into the hands of our opponents abroad? I have already described what the character of those opponents is. It would be of much more assistance, in order to achieve what they assert they so strongly desire, if there was unanimity and everybody said: "We agree that there should not be interference in the internal affairs of South Africa, and we agree that the link should be obtained on the basic principle of co-operation to promote our common interests." Casting all this doubt on the result and creating this atmosphere that the Government is so much at fault, and that Canada or Ghana, or whoever it might be, are already hesitant because the Government does not alter its colour policy — to adopt that attitude is harmful and foolish and I want to condemn it strongly.

Now I want to point out that Hon. Members have expressed doubt, *inter alia*, as to the manner in which we are now setting to work. Actually there are three lines of attack. Some adopted one standpoint and others a different one. The first proposition was: We should not have started the process of becoming a republic before first ascertaining whether it would be accepted that South Africa would then remain a member of the Commonwealth. Nor should we continue now in our attempt to become a republic before ascertaining whether we may remain a member of the Commonwealth. It was even said that because we did not first test the sentiments, but first took our own decision, we endangered South Africa. This argument amounts to no less than that we should not act like an independent state. It amounts to no less than that South Africa, in respect of its own future development, should allow itself to be ruled by the opinion of others, not the opinion of Britain, not the opinion of the big countries and the older members, but the opinion of any other member state, however small or inexperienced it might be, in so far as pressure can perhaps be applied to the older friends. The Government is not prepared to allow South Africa's independence to be threatened in this way. South Africa must make its decision on its own. That is the first reply to this argument. The second is this — and I think Hon. Members did not consider the matter thoroughly before they advanced this argument, nor did the Leader of the Opposition, who, I think, used this argument himself — that in fact we made an attempt last year to test the feeling. Last year, before the referendum, and even before the referendum had been decided on, we asked certain questions at the Prime Ministers' Conference. That became known later. One question we asked was: Is South Africa as a monarchy, in spite of its colour policy, welcome in the Commonwealth? The reply was an unequivocal "Yes". Secondly, in accordance with the practice, the reply to the question whether South Africa could change from a monarchy to a republic and whether the form of Government was a matter concerning itself alone was that the form of government was a domestic matter for every member state. It is for every member of the Commonwealth exclusively to decide on its form of government. It is of interest for the purposes of this argument that the question was also asked: Will the Republic of South Africa be welcome in the Commonwealth? And the reply was: On that we cannot give a decision now, because then it may be said that we interfere in South Africa's internal affairs. If a decision were to be given in favour of it, it may be said that the Prime Ministers' Conference wanted to help the republicans in an eventual referen-

dum; and if the reply is "no" then it helps the other side. In other words, the other member states would be judging a hypothetical case and interfering in the domestic matters of a member state. It was quite correct to adopt that attitude and therefore it is clear that what the Leader of the Opposition asked for could not be done previously, viz. to make a test in advance. A previous test could only be made in respect of two points, viz. the full right of a member to change its form of government and the question of whether the Union would still be welcome as a member, i.e. by implication the colour problems which exist have already made us unwelcome there or not. After this double test was so satisfactorily made, South Africa could be glad that it had received this information.

Now I come to a further point. Supposing the Prime Ministers' Conference was prepared to be tested in advance and they had said "no", what would then have happened to the relationship between South Africa and the Commonwealth countries? Do Hon. Members think that we in South Africa would have been satisfied with the fact that other people could tell us that we should not become a republic because they would then have nothing to do with us? Now we can still try to maintain sound relationships, but then we could definitely not have done so. There may be Hon. Members who think that they would then have won the referendum, but I assure them that the people who have now voted for a republic within the Commonwealth, if possible, but outside it if necessary, would then under that provocation have voted for a republic outside the Commonwealth. It would therefore have been most unwise to try to take the request further than we did so cautiously. In other words, a preliminary test made before any decision was arrived at here was impossible.

Then there is a second line of criticism which says that the procedure we now follow is wrong, viz. after a decision has been arrived at by means of a referendum or a resolution by Parliament, to continue with the drafting of the constitution and the discussion of the constitution in Parliament before receiving a reply to the question about our continued membership at the Prime Ministers' Conference. But that is the procedure which was followed in the case of all the other countries. That is the only procedure which was followed. Let me just quote what was written in the final communiqué after India had applied — and precisely the same words were repeated in all the other cases, viz. in the case of Pakistan, Ceylon and Ghana:

"The Government of India has informed the other Governments of the Commonwealth of the intention of the Indian people that under a new constitution which is about to be adopted, India shall become a sovereign, independent republic. The Government of India has, however, declared and affirmed India's desire to continue her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations . . ."

That is precisely the formula which we will use, viz. "under the new constitution which is about to be adopted". It is obvious that after the second reading, on which we are going to vote to-day, there will be no doubt that this constitution will be adopted, although the Draft Constitution in the meantime will be discussed by the Select Committee during the period of my absence. The position in which we will also be is therefore that our application will be dealt with on the eve of the adoption of our constitution. Therefore I now say very clearly and unequivocally that we are following the usual and the established procedure in every detail, and therein lies part of our chances of success.

There is a third trend of thought which has sometimes been mentioned, and that is that we should not have asked now to remain a member, but that we should first have become a republic and then asked for re-admission. To the best of my knowledge, this argument has not been used in this parliamentary debate, but it was in fact used outside, and it was even used by some of South Africa's opponents. It was said, e.g., that member states should now refuse membership to South Africa to teach us a lesson, but then we could apply again later and they would let us slip in. I have already stated clearly, and I repeat it today in this House, that if South Africa is not allowed to follow the procedure which was followed in the case of all the other countries, and if we are told: "Your application will be refused now, or the matter will not be dealt with now, and you can apply again later", then I say here in the most clear terms: South Africa will not apply again. We shall do our utmost to remain a member in terms of the ordinary procedure. We shall also continue to become a republic on May 31. And we cannot allow South Africa to be insulted and humiliated by being kept out even temporarily, while South Africa is expected later to come crawling with drooping tail and beg to be admitted.

In the course of the debate, one of the Coloured Representatives said that we should not be in such a hurry. We should not continue to establish the Republic now. We should first allow some time to elapse. Three allegations were made in his speech which convinced me that, in fact, we have to continue at the

present time. The first was that we were practically threatened with dissatisfaction on the part of the non-Whites. That is on a par with the sort of accusation also set afoot outside our borders by refugees. If our State of South Africa does not want to live with the constant blackmailing and threats by non-White elements in respect of becoming a republic, then the sooner we become a republic the sooner we will get rid of those attempts to prevent it, which can only harm good relations with various persons and states. Secondly, there was contempt in that speech for the depth of feeling and the genuineness of the ideal to have a republic which exists amongst republicans. It was practically said: You do not want a republic so badly; you are merely demanding it now: you are merely pressing through with it now. That is not true. If ever there was something in the history of South Africa which was deep-rooted in the hearts of the largest section of the population, amongst old and young, it is the republican ideal. It is essential in the interest of South Africa and of good relations internally that we should continue with this as fast as possible. Such contempt for that sentiment on the part of such a person and others like him can only harm South Africa.

Then there was still a third reason. The Hon. Member said: We should consider what the overseas investors in South Africa say; they do not like us to become a republic. Mr. Speaker, we are glad that money from overseas is invested in South Africa, but we know that those who invest that money do not do so through love of this country. They do so because they can make a good business investment here; they do it with ordinary, sound, business motives. We grant them the benefits they can derive from it, and we are glad of the benefits derived by us, but there is something which the country will not allow, and that is that foreign business interests which invest money here should try to dictate to us in regard to the constitutional development or the policy of our country. When such an argument is used by a member of this House as a kind of threat, that we should not become a republic because what will the investors say about it, then I say that this is the very reason which will urge me to reply: "Then we must negative that kind of threat as soon as possible." Casting doubt in regard to our membership of the Commonwealth and this sort of threat from outside to thwart our becoming a republic lead me to the conviction that the sooner we take action the better.

That brings me to a further argument, viz. that we must agree to certain entrenchments, inter alia, the entrenchment of the

demands made by Natal. In this regard an absurd argument was used. It is that we say that we were so fond of the form of constitution of the old republics. We have, as the hon. member for South Coast called it, a "nostalgia" for the old republican constituents. In terms of those constitutions there were, however, entrenchments and therefore he does not understand why we do not want to agree to entrenchments now. Superficially that seems to be a good argument, but in fact it is quite foolish because it contains no logic. The facts are these: We are always deeply desirous of using the old constitutions as the basis for our new constitution. If we had done so, we would have had to accept all the consequences, including the possibility of having entrenchments. In that type of constitution, in a constitution — let us say — based on the American pattern, entrenchments are inherently possible and even customary. If the hon. member for South Coast says that he is prepared to abandon the whole principle of the Union type of constitution, i.e. to abandon the British model in every respect, and that he is prepared to go back to the old Transvaal or Free State constitution in so far as it has a president with executive power, and with all the forms of organization of the State which accompany it, and that he is prepared to accept all this, then his argument would have had some force. But that is not what he wants. There are many of the characteristics of those constitutions which he does not want. He really wants to retain the British constitutional form which we now have, but in addition, and for his own convenience, he wants to incorporate something which is foreign to this system and which comes from other types of constitutions, without the rest of what is in fact part of the character of those constitutions. The fact is that one has to make a choice. One must choose between the one system or the other. In the one system one has to do with an inflexible constitution, including entrenchments and all kinds of provisions. In the case of the British model one has to deal with a flexible form of constitution. We have now, in terms of our promises and in terms of the demands made by them earlier, adopted the course of having a flexible constitution, in line with our own past history since 1910 and our recent decision that we want to uphold the sovereignty of Parliament. Now Hon. Members should not complain and say that they would have liked to have the other system partially because we have a certain love for the whole of it. One has to choose either the one course of constitutional development or the other.

The language entrenchment is the heritage of the past, and we

are prepared to retain this entrenchment as in the past, but we have said on more than one occasion, and Hon. Members themselves have said, that that entrenchment has a moral character rather than legal force. In fact, that entrenchment is also subject to the philosophy of the sovereignty of Parliament, and one cannot get away from that. We are, however, giving it all the power we can because we are taking over the entrenched clauses of the past as they stand, with the intention of honouring them and also because we are sure that they can never usefully be rejected. We are taking them over, but we cannot add anything to them. This Parliament cannot give its successor anything more than it has itself, nor can one bind future Parliaments. Therefore even the language entrenchment has its limitations, in spite of its value. Its value lies, as the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition also said and also in my opinion, more in the will of the people to honour it. There is nobody amongst us who has any doubt as to the will of the people now and later to honour that particular entrenchment. Very strong doubts must, however, exist whether anything else, for which there is no historical background either, will in that way have any moral entrenchment value.

Then there is a second point I want to deal with in regard to this argument in connection with entrenchments. The Hon. Members opposite have really adopted a two-fold attitude. Some of them said that if only we granted these certain entrenchments there would be general goodwill towards the Republic. They advanced the very pious argument that if only we granted these entrenchments we would see how nicely we would all work together. I have already said that what they actually want is this: If we agree and implement their policy, then they will co-operate with us nicely! The point, however, which I want to make clear now is that as against that the Hon. Member for East London (City) (Dr. D. L. Smit) said: We never trust any promise made by this Government. In other words, some of them ask for entrenchments for the sake of good relations, whilst others say that in any case we will never be able to enjoy good relations with them. Under those circumstances it is surely not worthwhile continuing with this whole idea of entrenchments, particularly in view of the fact that they persist in their attitude that they reject the Republic under any circumstances. That is the attitude which they have consistently adopted during this debate. It is necessary to expose the futility of such pretended offers of co-operation. Apart from that, they have made it clear that amongst the entrenchments which they inexorably demand is included the one

that we must practically develop in the direction of a federation. Certain powers demanded by Natal, which are federal in character, must be granted. They want entrenchments which are in conflict with the whole spirit of the National Convention and of our constitutional development since then. The Opposition now says that unless we concede that there will be no peace; then the Government are oppressors and are overruling the Opposition by means of its greater numbers. That is a ridiculous attitude to adopt. An Opposition cannot advocate entrenchments on such a basis, and I think the less Hon. Members say about that in future the better it will be for them.

Now I come to the attitude adopted by the Hon. Member for South Coast here and in Natal. I want to be fair towards the Hon. Member. One realizes in what a difficult position he is vis-à-vis the voters in his province. One has a certain amount of sympathy with him, even though he landed himself in that position. The fact, however, is that he has only one of two courses to follow. He can interpret his words in the way in which his leader interpreted them for him, namely that any member of the Opposition has the fullest right, inside the Republic, and also now in this debate, to adopt a standpoint and to fight for the things in which he believes along the constitutional way. He was quite justified in referring to my Green Point speech, when I said that if we now lose, we would continue to try to convince the public. We wanted the republic and would get it. We would obtain it constitutionally, but we wanted it. He is completely justified in adopting the same attitude and saying: I shall continue to work for what I believe in. If he believes that in the Republic there should be amendments to the constitution, surely he has the right to fight for it along the political road. Who can deny him that right? But he will only be able to fight in one way, unless he wants to foment a revolution, and that is along the constitutional way. If he can get the majority of the people behind him when he pleads for certain amendments, and he and his party can get into power, he can of course make those changes. Then I will not come and shout and moan, like he does, and say: "You constitute a tyranny; you govern us by force". But of course it is obvious that a government passes legislation in terms of its policy and in terms of the mandate given to it by the voters. Those Hon. Members involved our country in the last war by means of a very small majority. We were against it and fought against it, but that does not derogate from the fact that the Government which was in power could do so. Why he thinks that although he is now

sitting in the Opposition he can still govern, I, however, do not understand. I also do not understand why he thinks that if he leads a deputation to interview me — and he was kind enough to admit that I listened to him in all courtesy and discussed their case with them courteously — he can then adopt the standpoint that if I cannot, in terms of my policy, agree to what he requests of me on behalf of the Opposition, then I am malicious, then I am his enemy, then I am unreasonable and a tyrant! That I cannot understand. If he were in power and I were to lead a deputation consisting of supporters of the Opposition to ask him to do something in which he does not believe, and which is against the policy of his party, would he consider that I would then be justified in saying: "But you are a terrible tyrant"? Of course I would not be able to say so. Surely I would not have the right as an Opposition to enforce my policy on his Government, and to force him to accept my policy. I can go and plead for something; I can see whether there are not certain things on which we can agree and then I would at least have gained something through my interview, and he was also entitled to do so. But the attitude now being adopted here is that, because they failed to get certain resolutions of the Provincial Council of Natal implemented by the Government, whose standpoint is quite different, the Government has thereby become a tyrant. That surpasses all understanding.

But I have to add something else to this, viz.: If the Hon. Member did not want to follow the course as a member of the Opposition of trying to obtain from the Government what he could and to abide by it when differences in policy make it impossible — except in so far that he tries to convince the public that his course is the correct one and in that way tries to come into power in order to make the changes he desires — if he does not want to adopt that course but a different one, then there is only one other course he can follow, and that is to rebel! The Hon. Member chose his words carefully. Nevertheless he gave the impression to many people, both on his own side as well as on our side, that he had something of that nature in mind. I hope my Hon. Friend will not be so unwise, I hope that in the interest of our common fatherland he will not lose his head to that extent, but that he will subject himself to the guidance given by his leader, who adopted a wise attitude — the first interpretation which I have just given. There are constitutional means by which he can get rid of everything in his system which worries him, but the other course will not work. I say this in all friendliness

because I would like the Hon. Member for South Coast to realize something else, also. It is that if ever there was a part of this country which needs the co-operation of the whole country, in its own interest, then it is his province of Natal. Natal is the real problem province for all of us. It would be a relief to the rest of South Africa if we could draw a line just a little to the west of Pietermaritzburg, and if we could leave that part of the country to itself, with all its problems. Then three-quarters of our troubles would have been solved.

If we were to leave them alone in their misery it would, however, be a scandalous deed and an irresponsible one, because this is one whole country. The Province of Natal is part of South Africa. We have obligations towards each other. Purely on moral grounds and as a matter of justice, apart from other common interests we have, we shall stand by Natal. The Union must be seen as one great whole. Therefore the first point I want to make is that Natal needs the whole of the Union in terms of the struggle that province particularly has to wage against racial difficulties. I may tell the Hon. Member in passing that repeated representations have been made to me particularly after the recent speeches made by him, that we should draw a line whereby large areas of Natal which do not feel as the Hon. Member feels and which (the Hon. Member is so fond of relying on local numbers) would produce a majority in favour of the Republic, could be added to the other adjoining provinces. Of course I said: "No, I do not want anything to do with that, for the simple reason that we must regard our country as one whole."

Let us, however, for the sake of argument imagine that the rest of the Union and Natal sever their connections. Then Natal would lose many of the benefits it enjoyed in the past and will still enjoy in the future in the material sphere. Would the port of Durban have developed as it did if Natal had been independent? Will the industrial development which one foresees for the future for Natal be undertaken if it is segregated, and what will then become of Natal with its important Tugela Valley and all the potentialities for development there, Natal with its large number of border areas which offer great industrial possibilities, Natal with its many raw materials and opportunities? Will Natal be able to develop all this without the assistance of the whole of the Union?

Let me take another example. Supposing that Natal were to be allowed to be separate and to secede — I do not say that the Hon. Member for the South Coast wants that, he stated in clear terms that he would be opposed to any secession — then surely it would

have to be governed in terms of the policy of the United Party. In view of the constitutional outlook of the United Party, who would then rule Natal? Would, under a policy of partnership, it be the Whites whom the Hon. Member for South Coast wants to govern the province, or would it be the Indians and the Zulus, or eventually the Zulus alone? If under the United Party there should be a multi-racial government in Natal, or in part of it, segregated from the Union, then all the ideals which the Hon. Member for South Coast himself has in regard to continued leadership of the Whites in his own area would come to an end. Then the British policy for Kenya or the Federation would have to be applied under a monarchy. The political salvation of Natal therefore lies in continuing along with the Union under the policy of the National Party, if it is interested in maintaining the domination of the White man. For that reason I say that I cannot understand why the Hon. Member wants to keep the public in his province in a state of agitation. It would be much wiser to adopt the attitude of the Progressive Party in this respect, which adopts the standpoint that if the Bill becomes law, as they expect it will, then they accept a republic and accept that South Africa will be governed in terms of the proposed constitution, as a republic with the support of all people. They merely set the constitutional condition that they will continue to advocate and to work for the changes in which they believe. That is at least an understandable standpoint. Can the Hon. Member for South Coast not be moved by the pleas of his former friends? He will not listen to me, but his former friends will perhaps have more influence on him!

I now proceed to deal with the next point, and that is the last argument with which I shall deal. It is the question of whether a convention should not be held. The argument is that if a National Convention is held it will lead to peace and friendship in the Republic. Now I must in the first place say something in connection with the spirit of the past to which reference has so often been made, the spirit of the National Convention held at the time and from which the South Africa Act was born. That National Convention certainly argued quite a lot amongst themselves. There was much difference of opinion. We should not now talk too piously about that National Convention, as if everything they did was done in a great spirit of unanimity and charity and concessions made by people who nine years before had been enemies, and that that spirit thereafter continued to exist so nicely that if only we would do the same now it would again be repeated in the Republic. Surely that is not the truth. There was much difference of opinion in that

Convention. It is true that they compromised. In fact, often they just accepted these compromises because of the fact that they had to receive their constitution from Britain. In many respects their position was the same as that of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland at the moment, who are making concessions which they do not themselves really desire to make, but have decided to make because they have to receive their constitution and status from another country. In the National Convention there was often deep disappointment in regard to concessions which had to be made and after the Convention there was often a feeling of frustration. Not long after the Convention was held, one of the members of the Convention, General Botha, kicked out another member of the Convention, General Hertzog, from his Cabinet! Therefore it is not true to say that the National Convention introduced a period of peace. The greatest quarrels and the greatest struggles we have had in South Africa, including the rebellion and other things, happened soon afterwards. Then why are attempts being made here to create the impression that if we, following on what was done in the past, simply convene a National Convention, we will have peace and quiet and willing co-operation? The mere fact of holding a convention will not achieve all that. It is an attempt to make misuse of an imaginary and almost pious atmosphere which is being spread over the National Convention for the present purposes. It is therefore a false argument that a convention will necessarily result in the spirit which will conciliate everybody. The truth is rather that a National Convention is unnecessary to-day. At that time, when the National Convention sat, there was no Parliament of the Union of South Africa. The only way in which four separate Governments or their representatives could be brought together was to convene a special sort of gathering in order to get them together. That is why a convention was arranged. But when one has a united country, which has its Parliament representing the whole of the country, elected by the voters of the whole country, where everybody regularly comes together, then surely that is the place where constitutional developments should be formulated. Supposing we were to convene a convention to-day, what would be its value? What can it do? It can only give advice to this Parliament, which can accept or reject that advice at will. And if it were a convention composed in such a way that it proposes the type of constitution which is wanted by the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition or the Hon. the Leader of the Progressive Party, then this Parliament, as it is composed to-day, will only reject it and not accept that constitution. What will the country have gained by it? It is

ridiculous to suggest the holding of a National Convention. It sounds nice, but it is meaningless. Hence the fact that the Hon. Member for Constantia (Mr. Waterson) was not prepared to reply to the question as to how that Convention should be constituted. He said: "No, first concede the principle of a convention and then we can talk about how it should be constituted." He realized that everybody could then see how impracticable that suggestion was. But the overhasty Hon. Member for Wynberg (Mr. Russell) did not hesitate to say what he wanted. He asked for a mixed convention, a multi-racial convention, and one in which not only politicians should be represented. He is of course afraid that there will then be a majority of Nationalists.

I want to conclude by pointing out that we have a clear choice before us. We are faced with a choice as to the type of republic we want. It is perfectly clear what the Government wants. It accepts a republic which is based on our developmental history, and that is a republic within which there will be a Parliament made up of Whites, which will then try to solve the colour issues in accordance with the well-known, well-publicized methods of the Government. The Hon. the Leader of the Opposition, on the other hand — the Progressive Party goes even further — also wants something which is perfectly clear. He wants a multi-racial Parliament eventually and he wants a constitution which will make provision for that.

When we vote in connection with this constitution and the United Party votes against it, it will be voting against it because it wants to substitute for it what it claims to be the type of constitution in which it believes — for the republic as well — and that type of constitution is one which makes provision for multi-racialism. It is perfectly clear to us now, therefore, what our differences are. In the first place he does not want a republic, *inter alia* because he is in favour of a monarchy, but he does not want this particular type of republic either because he is in favour of a multi-racial Parliament. He desires a multi-racial constitution for a multi-racial people. In that regard we are poles apart, and it is as well that South Africa should know it at this stage. The choice of the future, the struggle of the future, once the Republic has been established, will be what our colour policy should be, *inter alia*, in the political sphere. Let us realize, therefore, that that is the reason why it is impossible to effect a compromise between the parties, and it is for that reason also that we cannot give the entrenchments that they want. These are nothing but political tricks in an attempt, in an indirect way, to extract from us something to which we are opposed and which they favour.

Political unity is impossible. The way in which we vote and choose here to-day will make two things clear to the people of South Africa, the one being that even at this late stage the United Party is still trying to withhold the Republic from South Africa, and secondly that the United Party is trying to withhold from South Africa a Constitution which gives the White man security and all the other groups their own opportunities, because the United Party wants a common fatherland with a mixed Parliament for a mixed nation.

(c) Summary of remarks during Third Reading, Draft Constitution, on the 12th April, 1961.

Mr. Speaker, whether we were for or against the Republic previously, this is nevertheless an extremely important moment in the history of our fatherland. The final decision that we take today as far as this House is concerned, means the end of one epoch and the beginning of a new one. We shall be able to look back to what happened in days gone by with much greater equanimity than before. What has happened in the past is history, and we must enter the period which lies ahead of us as unprejudiced as we can. We should try to build up this new state with love and with devotion. It is in this spirit that we make a new start, that we make a new start together. The nationalism of the future must be the South African nationalism of all of us. It is in this spirit that I move the third reading.

The Hon. the Leader of the Opposition has said that they opposed the Republic on two grounds. The one reason was that it would jeopardise Commonwealth membership. But in the second place, the Bill did not satisfy him because it would not make it possible for certain essential changes to take place in our whole set-up. As far as the first point is concerned, I want to add this: We stated very clearly in advance that South Africa must be able to decide her own destiny and that she could not possibly allow the fact of her membership of the Commonwealth to be an obstacle in the way of the constitutional development which, throughout long years of political struggle was always the ideal of one section of the population, and which was accepted by the other section of the population, by the party which mainly represents the English-speaking section, as an acceptable ideal worth defending and fighting for. If for this reason, namely that Commonwealth membership would be placed in jeopardy, we were precluded from becoming a republic when we felt there were good reasons for it, it would have meant that we would have

made the true sovereignty of this nation and its Parliament subject to the sovereignty of other powers. That is something that we could not permit under any circumstances. That is why, before the referendum too, I always made it clear that we wished to remain a member but that if others begrudged us a republic, or if the honour of our nation was impugned, we would have to become a republic outside the Commonwealth. And that is what transpired — not because it was our aim and our wish but in accordance with a fear that existed in the minds of many on the other side, and possibly also in the minds of members on this side, as to what might happen. To most people, however, it looked like a danger that could be averted. That is the one point that is of great importance in connection with Commonwealth membership. But it is particularly important to emphasize that it is not correct to say, as the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition has again said today, that the main concession to the English-speaking section, namely membership of the Commonwealth, has failed and that because of that fact the Republic is not as acceptable as it would have been otherwise. The experience that we have actually had now shows that it was not the question of the establishment of a republic that stood in the way of our membership of the Commonwealth, but that what stood in the way was our colour policy. In my opinion, of course, this applies to the colour policy of both sides inasmuch as we both say that our goal is White supremacy or leadership. I do have my doubts as to whether that is the aim of members on the other side, and I have expressed that doubt on more than one occasion, but if I must accept their statement that they stand for White supremacy, then it is this factor, which is common to both sides, which stood in the way of the retention of Commonwealth membership — not the establishment of the Republic. The establishment of the Republic is being blamed for it because it was certainly used as a convenient excuse for this clash. It was not, however, the real cause of the clash. If this excuse had not been used then, judging by my experience at these discussions, another excuse would undoubtedly have been used — a special motion. I do not think it is right therefore to attach any blame to the Republic in this connection and to carry it forward as a bone of contention, as a reproach.

It is true, as the Hon. Leader of the Opposition has said, that I adopted the attitude that the establishment of the Republic was more important than retention of Commonwealth membership, because, as I indicated a moment ago, to sacrifice the

establishment of the Republic for the sake of retaining the Commonwealth membership would in my opinion have meant a sacrifice of the true status and the freedom of this nation to determine its own destiny.

However, there is more at stake: I pin all my hopes and all my confidence that there will be a very great improvement in relations within our country and that there will be a much better basis of division for our disputes in this country, on the establishment of the Republic. I also base my hope that there will be harmonious relations between ourselves and other countries on the consequences which I hope will follow in our own country. I remain unshakeable in my faith that now that the struggle of the past between our language groups, a struggle that was superimposed on the background and the character of our parties, is over once and for all, the inevitable result will be that we will have to find a basis of division that is founded on our true differences of opinion in regard to other matters. Like the Hon. Member for South Coast (Mr. Mitchell). I admit that this will not take place immediately. He has his sentiments and there are others like him who have their sentiments, but even in his own province there is a tremendous change taking place. I have no doubt that in the long run, perhaps much sooner than many of us think, there will be a change in the mental outlook and the relations between the citizens of South Africa. Furthermore, in these developments of the future it is perfectly clear to me that more and more our divisions are going to be based on our views as to how certain problems should be resolved. The main issue is not our economic problems. In other words, when there is no longer effective separation between us on constitutional matters and we are all desirous of having prosperity for our country (for all population groups of our fatherland, White and non-White) and if we believe, as we all do, in the present economic system — and not one of our major parties is socialistic in character — then it should be possible to have a very great deal of co-operation and likemindedness between us in the future in order to promote South Africa's prosperity in the economic sphere. There have been occasions in the past already when we have been *ad idem* in this regard. It is true that sometimes there was a tug-of-war but behind that tug-of-war there was always the language group difference and the belief that the one group which had, let us say, the commercial and industrial power largely in its hands, was using it for political purposes, as the other side believed. This caused a clash and estrangement and produced

obstacles. With the advent of the Republic I hope that will disappear. Although it may be true therefore that we have to face certain difficulties in the transition period as we anticipated, I still believe that the future is hopeful.

The Hon. the Leader of the Opposition has alleged amongst other things that we are forfeiting the benefits of our Commonwealth connection. I am not so sure that we are going to forfeit any benefits which are of substantial importance to us. In the economic sphere and in the sphere of defence I do not believe that we are going to lose much. There will, of course, be differences in our relationship with Britain in our new capacity in contrast with our former membership of the Commonwealth. This change will certainly mean that certain benefits that we enjoyed from England and certain benefits that England enjoyed from us will disappear. But I do not think that outweighs the benefits that we are going to gain, particularly in the long run, in our internal relations when the spirit which still motivates the Hon. Member for South Coast and his friends disappears. It will disappear; of that I have no doubt. As a matter of fact it is already disappearing, and in that regard I have no doubt either. Let me tell Hon. Members that in the last few weeks and particularly after our visit to and our return from the Prime Ministers' Conference, we have had evidence from every part of the country, and specifically from the English section of the population, of this new spirit of one South African nationalism. There are many who prefer that we should be outside of the Commonwealth rather than in this new Commonwealth. It would-surprise Hon. Members if they saw all the correspondence that comes to my notice. It amazed me. And may I add here that judging by what I read in the newspapers I rather expected the Leader of the Opposition to ask that the establishment of the Republic should be postponed. I am pleased that he has not done so, but the fact that he has not done so, I ascribe to his realization of what is going on in the country. My interpretation of it is that he realizes that any further opposition to the establishment of the Republic will gain no great support even amongst his own followers. I am convinced that his supporters confirm what he said here today, namely that the advent of the Republic is inevitable. It is irrevocable. Because the establishment of the Republic is inevitable and irrevocable, it is better to accept it in the spirit that once it has been established you are going to strive to bring about the changes in which you believe. Let this be understood clearly: I do not want to deny for a single moment

the right of any person to try to steer the development of the Republic along the lines in which he believes. The Progressive Party, from whom I differ completely as to the ideal that they cherish for the Republic, because I believe that their ideal will lead to a Black republic (which I do not want), are entitled to advocate the things in which they believe. That is a right of which I cannot deprive them. I hope and I believe that the voters of the country will reject them because of their policy, and after the next election I do not believe that one of them will come back to this House. But that does not detract from their right to plead for a Black republic of South Africa, or for a republican form of government which will inevitably develop in that direction, possibly sooner than they think or hope. They have that right, but as far as our colour problems are concerned I believe that we in South Africa are going to be divided mainly on some other basis.

In the economic sphere, therefore, there is going to be much more co-operation. In the sphere of sentiment, in the sphere of our traditional struggle, we are going to find that that struggle is going to disappear. Our disputes are going to be based on differences of opinion as to how to make South Africa safe and prosperous for Whites and for every non-White group. We differ as to the method by which that can be achieved and we are going to fight on that issue. On the one hand, I and those who support me desire just as much as anybody else to ensure the safety of White civilization and to retain the White man's control over his own destiny, but on the other hand, we desire to bring prosperity for the Bantu and to give him a say for him over his own affairs. We desire the same for the Coloureds and for the Indians in our country. I desire happiness for everybody just as much as anybody else. I desire peace between the races just as much as anybody else. The way in which that is to be attained according to the Government Party, will have to withstand the test of time and the test of the support of the voters, in the same way as any other alternative policy that is put forward. Now, however, the position will no longer be complicated by these other elements which played a role in the pre-republican period, with the result that people who shared our belief that our colour policy was right, still remained United Party supporters because they were anti-republican. That is going to disappear now.

I want to address my remarks to them too therefore and say that, like the Opposition of this country, the Government of this country too faces the future courageously and that we should like to keep

them here for our fatherland and for the building up of our fatherland even if they do not support us in the political sphere. May I add that in my opinion, even bearing in mind all our difficulties, we are still a fortunate country. It really passes one's comprehension that people from abroad think they know better than we in this country, on both sides of this House, how we should govern our country's affairs; that people from abroad are prepared to let loose the forces of disorder upon us or to strengthen those forces within our own country. We are one of the very few countries in the world where there is peace and quiet. There are very few countries whose Parliaments behave with as much dignity as our Parliament does, in spite of all our struggles and strong differences sometimes. There are few countries whose Parliaments have the sense of discipline that we have in our Parliament. All of us cherish ideals for every section of our population although we try to realize those ideals in different ways. Why then should our country be selected as the place where chaos is to be created?

I believe that once we are over this transition period, on which all these forces, both internally and externally, which seek to create chaos, pin their hopes, namely the period during which the Republic is being established, the economic forces which today are still trying to prevent the establishment of the Republic will also come to a halt and work for the prosperity of our country. The international political forces will then realize that this is a stable country, and less pressure will then be brought upon us. People within our own fatherland will then also realize that the transition to the Republic is over and that in the new Republic of South Africa there is a method whereby changes can be brought about, but only one method and that is the constitutional method.

That is why I welcome this day. I do not want to crow at all over the opponents of the Republic or add to their grief. On the contrary, I am very sorry indeed that there are some of them who have remained so attached to the monarchy throughout the years during which a separate South Africa has really existed, that this is a sad day for them. I am very sorry about it and I sympathize with them, because for many years we, too, yearned for something that we were unable to attain, and this was also accompanied by a certain amount of pain. We understand the attitude of such friends who hold a different view. After all, South Africa belongs to all of us together, and South Africa can offer us a home. It can offer us a home which is well disposed towards everybody and everything with which we are all asso-

ciated. This does not mean that anybody is called upon to throw overboard his love for the original fatherland of his forbears or for his relatives over there. We are in the fortunate position of a new state which is coming into being and which seeks friendship with everybody.

I move the third reading with the prayer that the Republic of South Africa will bring prosperity and happiness to every section of our country's population.

**Speech Made on the Occasion of the Centenary of the
Municipal Administration of King William's Town,
Cape Province, February 8, 1961**

One of the forts erected beside the Buffalo River was named on the 24th May, 1835 after King William IV, who ruled England from 1830 to 1837. In December, 1836, the fort was abandoned but re-occupied during the war of 1846-7. In December, 1847, Sir Harry Smith declared it the seat of government of British Kaffraria and considerable extensions took place in this area. By 1860, there was a well-equipped hospital and no less than five churches. A year later it was granted its own municipal administration. This occasion was celebrated a century later when Dr. Verwoerd was the main speaker while Sir John Maud, High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, also made a speech.

Mr. Mayor, Councillors of King William's Town and good friends, all of you who are with us, I have already felt your warm-heartedness and I can pay tribute to the good feeling of unity existing amongst you, from which we in South Africa will take an example. I have not come to you with any prepared speech, beautifully phrased, but perhaps full of empty words, because on behalf of the Government I simply wish to share with you your pride in the past, and to look forward full of hope to the future which we all shall enter together. There are people who despair of the future of South Africa. We do not count ourselves among them. The border spirit still survives throughout South Africa, and those who came to the borders of this newly developing country, a century or more ago, were pioneers in spirit as well as in deed. He who has the pioneering spirit, is a person who looks forward but rarely backwards, who comes to dispel fears and not to be afraid. You have a history behind you of which you can be justly proud.

I see that some people fear that the new developments that are taking place may affect the name of your town. I wish to dispel those fears immediately. When your town was created a 'borough', this term was already an anachronism, but at the same time it carried a message that your civic future would be in your own

hands. We do not wish to unmake history. When changes take place, they are changes for the future, not changes in nomenclature or history. One can never undo the past, but when you build the future on it, you remain proud of what has gone before, not only of the friendships built up, or the coalescence of various groups of the population into one nation, but even of the clashes, because they too served their purpose. Life would be dreary indeed if we should always have to agree with one another on every point. Life is made up of different opinions, different outlooks, different objectives. By meeting one another and adapting ourselves to each other's way of life and thought, progress very often is made. So a 'borough' of King William's Town you became a hundred years ago, and a 'borough' of King William's Town you may remain as long as you wish to do so.

Your mayor referred to the unity which exists among you. Civic unity is in fact the basis of national unity. People who can find each other in their homes and in their towns, cannot remain separated in the country at large. And as praiseworthy as civic unity and the civic achievement which follows that unity may be, its greatest value does not lie in what it has done for itself, and in the example which it set for others, but in the fact that it is laying a foundation stone on which a much greater unity can be built. In this new world of ours, the world in which we are living today, the world of the future and particularly in South Africa, nothing is more necessary than real and true national unity, although we may still have our differences. For example, the tree is a unity although it has many branches and leaves, but when you look at it, you see the tree as a whole, not the many branches and leaves. Each portion of the tree has its function.

And so it is with the human body. The organic entity is a unity, arms, eyes, legs and whatever else there may be have different functions to fulfil but they all serve the unity of which they are part. And so in national life too. The nation is a unity, although its people belong to various churches, each professing a faith unique in its own way, but all are partly the same and partly different, though bound together. Yet, in spite of these differences there is unity in the church, and the church is part of the unity of the nation. In civil and political life we may belong to different parties with different objectives, but fundamentally we all have one great object in view, and that is to build a nation and to preserve our heritage. We are the scouts, seeking the future in different ways. Some pass through certain valleys seeking the land of hope, others pass over mountains while others cross the hills, but when once

we reach those peaks from which we can see the future better, we shall find the whole nation following on the road which has been found to be the best. We don't break asunder when looking along different ways towards the common future, we are temporarily apart, that is all. The future is ours together, and therefore, in spite of our differences, let us at least retain the fundamental belief in our common nationhood and friendship in which we must seek our future together.

I am told that in King William's Town, whether you are of German, English, Scotch or Dutch extraction, you have found it easy to live together in happiness. You all feel part of one community — a community with a clear-cut duty not to serve self but to serve others. There are certain lessons for the future of this particular world of ours today, to be learnt from the history of King William's Town.

You started with a mission background, peculiarly enough, that good basis which is to a great extent the basis of South Africa, bringing the Gospel, and with it civilization to those who did not enjoy it before. You had the experience of a setback, quite some time before your century of civic administration, when forces of disorder seemed to overcome that which you, or rather your forefathers, had tried to bring to this part of the country. But the forces of disorder were overcome when the power of the state brought peace and order back to your border, and the mission activity could be resumed prosperously.

That has a lesson for us and, in fact, for the Africa of today. Humanitarian ideologies, all beautiful concepts, cannot survive where disorder reigns. We see the activities and the results of mission work in central Africa falling to pieces, the moment the strong hand of good rule falls away. That will happen in South Africa too, under the same circumstances. Good government, whether civic or national, is fundamental for the survival of great ideas and Christianity itself. It was the duty of our forefathers, it is our duty today, and it will be the duty of future generations, to see that what has happened elsewhere, where the best motives have made those who should have retained the guiding hand, give way, does not happen in South Africa. We in South Africa can rest assured of a good and prosperous future for everybody concerned, not the White people only but also the Blacks, Coloureds and Indians, only if we are prepared to stand our ground and see that the civilization of the West, which we brought to this country, remains under our control, to the benefit of all.

King William's Town was born as a border town, but that did not

mean that it was merely an outpost of civilization, it was a buffer; a buffer against disorder and danger and a haven of safety. It was not just a township or a group of buildings with the forces of the government present, it was a group of people who came here to perform a certain duty, people sent by their civilization to be a barrier, a haven of safety, and to protect all those behind them from dangers which might encroach upon them. It was necessary for the border town of that time to be a protector, a guardian. It had to be the outpost from which one could build further forwards and give assurance backwards.

South Africa is in a certain sense a border country. It is the border between the ideals of the western nations and the other countries where civilizing influences are beginning to make themselves known, helping to work out new destinies. South Africa is still a border country because her achievements are not yet equal to those which thousands of years have brought the Western nations. As a border country we have to face dangers. We are those in the forefront of the difficulties, particularly those resulting from the outlooks of different races. But those who man the border never flee from their responsibility, they always stand steadfast as their fathers did in the past. So we must continue in the future.

There is one quality of a real border town which is that it always remains what its name indicates it to be. It does not encroach upon a neighbour, it does not steal either land or possessions so that it no longer remains the border. It is prepared to give to others what they need and what they deserve, but, it also protects the possessions, land and rights of government of its own people, which it symbolizes. Therefore, if you truly are and remain a border and South Africa follows that example, then we as White people have the duty to survive and govern ourselves, and similarly, the duty to see that our neighbouring Black people are given chances of development which will make their survival, satisfaction and their prosperity possible too.

In that pattern for the future, the border towns like King William's Town have a special part to play. I cannot indicate today at what stage your further development will take place, but of one thing I am certain, and that is that you figure fully in the pattern of the future to which I shall just refer in passing, and that is this: To build up our native territories, we must build them up psychologically. The White man cannot take industrial development into the native areas without actually colonizing those areas. The Black man must develop, and must develop faster than in the

past if he wishes industrial development of his own. We can change conditions, but we cannot change people so easily. They must play their part. But there is a way in which we can create the background for this psychological adaptation, and that is by bringing industry to the borders. There the White man within his own area can guide those who work for him, by giving them knowledge and prosperity which they can take back to their own country over the borders, where they will be living in their own areas. There we can allow them to develop their villages based on the income accruing from their work just across the border within the White man's area. In these villages they can follow the example of the border towns in learning civic administration. They can start with the small village, which can grow into the larger town or city whatever the case may be. It all depends on themselves, their own possibilities, their own capabilities.

Therefore, the border towns, and particularly King William's Town, have a double duty. The one is to set the example of good city administration, showing the others how they can rule themselves democratically too. The other is to provide the industry in order to give the necessary background for existence close by, at the same time giving them the experience which in time to come they can translate into possessions and developments of their own.

You have a future part to play in that without any doubt. I cannot indicate when. It is for others who are investigating the matter to decide, but your future is quite undoubted.

Now, for whom does one perform a duty, for oneself or for one's neighbours? I always like to describe the policy in which I believe as one of good neighbourship and without going into any details, I wish to leave this one thought with you: People who are good neighbours don't encroach upon one another's possessions, and if Black and White believe that one of them will have to submerge in order to achieve peace and order in South Africa, then I cannot see friendship growing. I can only see enmity developing daily. But, if both of us remain on our own side of the border and keep for ourselves what is ours and grant others what is theirs, then the ordinary friendship of everyday life, of neighbours on farms and in houses, will develop. However much they are compelled to mingle, they are yet apart, and both will feel that they each have a future of their own. That is our way of life as we had it in the past and it is the right way for us in the future.

Expanding this thought I want to say to my Afrikaans friends and all here present that the progress which came about here was

built up by people derived from great nations. We are the descendants of the Dutch, Germans, French, English, Norwegians and other great nations of Europe. Our own history may be young, but the life history of our component nations is old. We date from the remote past. The different nations from which we are descended have each had a golden age, a period in which they reigned supreme among the other nations in world history. We here in South Africa have not yet had our golden age. We are as yet but the builders of a nation. But our nation will also be led to a zenith and in that climax of our golden age we shall also be of great significance to the world, still greater than now. We are already a nation, small in numbers but yet great in our deeds.

We have lessons to teach the civilized world. We have services to render to Africa. We are in a certain sense the most advanced post in a possible struggle between the East and the West, which may be waged for the sake of everything in which we believe and which we love. We have been planted here, we believe, with a destiny — a destiny not for the sake of the selfishness of a nation, but for the sake of the service of a nation to the world of which it forms a part, and the service of a nation to the Deity in which it believes. We are in South Africa but also of South Africa. There are people who are far away and do not understand us. They see this southern point of Africa only as a White-dominated country in a large continent with over 200 million people who are black. And then they say we do not fit here, we are foreign to the body of Africa. But friends, if we look at the map of Asia and Europe and place it on end so that it lies next to Africa, we see a continent very similar to our own continent, Africa. Then we see at its point Western Europe, small in extent against the vast world area. And when we consider the numbers of the White population in that tip of the vast continent and compare them with the numbers of China and India and the other Oriental nations inhabiting the rest of that continent, then we see the great parallel: a small portion of a continent whence all the civilizing power nevertheless flowed, which could make life fruitful and rich and happy for the whole of humanity spread over the earth. Similarly we here at the southern tip of Africa also have the task, which we have to carry out modestly, of ensuring that we may also bring great blessing and great prosperity to our immediate world just like Western Europe did through the ages.

You are living here in a town situated on a border where the ancestors of the Afrikaner and the ancestors of settlers, chiefly of German and English descent, met one another. If there is a

place in South Africa where, during the Great Trek period, people of different origin met one another and learned to love one another, it is here. It was here in the Eastern Province where the British settlers and the Afrikaner trekker-farmers extended the hand to one another and gave one another the Holy Scripture. It was here in the Eastern Province where the last word of farewell was spoken to those who trekked northwards. And if it was then possible to see eye-to-eye, for the very same reason we have to see eye-to-eye today, namely the self-preservation of the White man and justice towards the Black man with properly erected barriers; if it could then be the foundation of their friendship, it must and *can* today be also the source of our contact with one another, our friendship, our co-operation, our hope for the future.

Mr. Mayor, the gist of my message to you is only this. We can take pride in our civic and national achievements of the past, and we can rightfully do so. We are grateful for the influence exercised throughout your town and so many others.

It is not the number of houses, the monuments, the size or age of a town which counts, but the influence which it exercises upon the lives of people because of the greatness of the spirit with which it is pervaded. In the future we shall all be judged by the spirit, the driving force, faith, hope and courage revealed in our deeds. Likewise, the deeds of a town will be justified and its people will be justified in being proud of it.

The best I can wish you is not so much prosperity for the future, as the spiritual and physical strength and power to do that which you must in the service of others. It is my hope that you may live here full of courage and hope, with your eyes fixed on the Power above which guides the destinies of people and nations, under Whose guidance we cannot go wrong. The overriding thought will always triumph and that is the one which is right and good.

Parting Message on March 3, 1961 before leaving for London

After the electorate had given a clear decision in favour of a republic on 5th October, 1960 Dr. Verwoerd left for London on 3rd March, 1961 to put forward and explain South Africa's application to remain as a republic within the Commonwealth. The Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers was to be held in the British capital from the 8th to the 17th March. There was great optimism that the application would succeed because when India in 1949, Pakistan in 1953, Ceylon in 1956 and Ghana in 1960 became republics these states were not denied their membership of the Commonwealth.

From all parts of the country and from all sections of the population the Prime Minister received moral support. So much significance was attached to Dr. Verwoerd's mission that the executive council of the Dutch Reformed Church (Ned. Geref. Kerk) in South Africa requested its ministers to pray from the pulpit the following Sunday. Dr. Verwoerd was accompanied by Mrs. Verwoerd and the party included Mr. Eric Louw, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Mr. G. P. Jooste, Secretary for Foreign Affairs. While in London they stayed at the Dorchester Hotel.

We take leave of South Africa for only a few weeks but we go from here strengthened by the support, confidence and goodwill so abundantly signified to us in numerous telegrams, telephone messages and letters received. For his I should like to express my sincerest thanks to all, English- and Afrikaans-speaking, White and non-White, political supporters as well as opponents. It is indeed stirring and also refreshing to leave on a mission in the interest of our fatherland in the midst of so many good wishes from all over the country. No Prime Minister has probably ever undertaken a task overseas about which so much agreement exists. Whatever may happen in regard to our membership of the Commonwealth, this disposition indicates a degree of progress in human relationships here in our country which augurs well for the future.

The Press tells of hostile demonstrations that will greet us in

London. Such demonstrations take place regularly there, also in respect of local affairs. Neither you, nor I, need take much notice thereof. In London, the city of millions, it is easy to gather large groups consisting of ignorant persons and inexperienced fanatics, professional and politically motivated demonstrators, and frequently, leftist exiles from other countries. These persons represent neither the heart nor the mind of the British people. We would be doing an injustice to a friendly country were we to judge it by this or to allow our feelings towards it to be influenced thereby.

We are going to Britain as friends and trust that South Africa will also be regarded and accepted as a friend by that country and by the thinking and more responsible section of the British public. Important indeed is the fact that this friendship can now be offered more generally and freely than ever before because the republic-minded section of the Union's population need no longer fear that greater friendship with Britain may lead to the undoing of its chief ideal. This is perhaps the main reason why I shall be able to speak at liberty on behalf of practically the whole of South Africa.

It is a pity that differences of opinion exist between South Africa and other Commonwealth nations regarding the best form of political development for different colour groups within a certain geographical area. Everyone, of course, thinks that this solution is the most moral and practicable and the one that will easiest bring order and peace. That is why it is so essential that, for the sake of co-operation in all matters of common interest, the Commonwealth should maintain its existing character and policy of non-interference in one another's affairs. We hope that it will be the case, because South Africa will then be able to retain its membership of this group of independent nations and willingly, through the Commonwealth, render its contribution to its fellow members and to humanity.

Besides my thanks, I want to bring a word of encouragement to South Africa. There is unrest in different parts of Africa. Many feel their existence threatened or are concerned about the survival of their national identity. The Union of South Africa has not the least need to fear something like that. Our policy is justice for all, not only the Bantu, but also the Whites and Coloureds. This is aimed at by our policy of good neighbourliness, rather than one of intermingling. It is easier and better, for nations as well as groups of people who are different, to live next to one another as good neighbours, than be forced to form one household filled with quarrelling.

To such principles we give priority. And as long as we do this, as much stability as is possible in an uneasy world will be the armour that will keep South Africa safe and prosperous, whatever may happen in respect of other matters and in other countries and areas.

Special Message to South Africa from London on March 16, 1961

After Dr. Verwoerd had withdrawn his request for continued membership of the Commonwealth, he was inundated with telegrams of support and good wishes from South Africa and other parts of the world. A friendly reaction on his part led to a special broadcast message from London to inform South Africa of events at the conference.

I am sure that you are anxious to know what led to my decision to withdraw South Africa's request to continue its membership of the Commonwealth after becoming a republic. I fully appreciate your desire to be informed and also your anxiety, and I am, therefore, through the courtesy of the SABC, sending you this message:

When it was announced that a republican referendum would be held, I stated that it was the firm intention of the Government to maintain the link with the Commonwealth, if at all possible, although if this were made impossible by other influences, a republic would still be established, which, although no longer a member, would endeavour to maintain intimate friendship with the United Kingdom and those other member countries who desired it. With the firm intention to retain Commonwealth membership, unless rendered impossible, I left for London, and at the first opportunity I conveyed my request for the Union's continued membership to the other Commonwealth Prime Ministers.

Almost from the beginning of the three-day discussion, it was clear that several of the Prime Ministers, particularly those of the Afro-Asian group and Canada, were determined to make it difficult for South Africa to retain its membership. I went out of my way to discuss the matter calmly and with considerable restraint, in spite of provocative statements by others. I explained the Union's policy, answered all questions and gave full information about the manner in which that policy is being implemented.

It was, however, very soon clear that our opponents were not interested in the material or spiritual welfare of the Bantu, or any other population group, but were determined to concentrate only on the subject of political rights, apparently with the objective of such rights on a common roll leading to the position of one man, one vote, as soon as possible. It was also clear that they were interested only in launching an attack on South Africa and any references to oppression and racial discrimination in their own countries were brushed aside and ignored. Logic and fact did not count with them — only their prejudice against South Africa.

When the time came for the drafting of the customary communiqué, I went out of my way to try and comply with the wishes of my opponents who insisted upon their views on South Africa's domestic policy being included in the communiqué. I even agreed to this, since my views would also have been included, although I found it very difficult to accept the insertion of certain of their statements which I knew would be misunderstood, and become harmful to South Africa. But even this did not satisfy them.

They next demanded, when agreement seemed to be near, that the communiqué should conclude with not only a condemnation of South Africa's policy of separate development of the races, but also include the insertion of statements on the character of the Commonwealth, which would make South Africa's membership indefensible without sacrificing every form of policy differentiating between the races. Of course, I could not possibly agree. It was clear that they had hoped that we would not be so conciliatory, and now felt compelled to go further to achieve their object.

The climax came on Wednesday afternoon when an all-out attack was made on South Africa in unbridled and often insulting language. Dr. Nkrumah reserved the right to move for South Africa's exclusion, which if accepted, would enable Ghana to remain in the Commonwealth. The Prime Ministers of India and Nigeria also intimated that they objected to South Africa's presence, unless her policy was changed or modified and the intention was expressed to ignore all former decisions on non-interference in domestic policies. They were determined to continue to discuss South Africa, also in this Conference, and to hold the threat of expulsion over our heads if we did not comply with their demands soon.

At this stage Mr. MacMillan interrupted the proceedings by leaving the chamber in order to hold brief talks with some of the Prime Ministers. He thus evidently realized that South Africa would either have to surrender the principle of dealing differently

with the various population groups, and defending the rights of the White people, or the majority would insist on a condemnatory resolution and perhaps even expulsion.

After consultations with Mr. MacMillan and my colleague, Mr. Louw, in order to satisfy myself that I judged the position correctly, I felt compelled to announce that in view of the spirit revealed in the discussion, and the expression of their intentions, it was clear that South Africa could no longer remain a member of the changed Commonwealth, and that I withdrew my request to retain membership. My decision was not only taken in the interest of South Africa, but also of the United Kingdom and the older members of the Commonwealth. I could not allow them to be placed in the invidious position of having to choose between groups.

You naturally wish to know how this decision was received. I can only say that we are deeply gratified by the sympathetic and understanding attitude of so many of the responsible persons of standing. I can testify to that by the large number of messages received yesterday and today and by many personal assurances of friendship. It is widely realized that the friendship and co-operation between the United Kingdom and South Africa will no longer be thwarted by the continuation of such embarrassing deliberation, but that it can be strengthened bilaterally in many ways. We must also bear in mind that the United Kingdom is holding the Commonwealth of the increasing non-European states together, in her own way.

Of further greater importance is the fact that I have every reason to believe that South Africa's decision will in no way impair our material and other relations with Britain. We shall remain a member of the sterling area and our trade relations and close co-operation in regard to matters of common concern, will continue just as before. By withdrawing the application, time has been gained to make such arrangements, which Mr. Louw and I are already busy doing, since we remain a member until the 31st May.

I feel able to assure you that in future, relations with the United Kingdom and other friendly member states, will perhaps be on an even better and more mutually beneficial footing than ever before. Good Night!

**Address to the South Africa Club, London,
March 17, 1961**

The tenth conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers since World War II did not live up to expectations as far as South Africa was concerned. The discussions concerning South Africa's request for continued membership after becoming a republic could not make any headway. The eleven member states — Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Ghana, Malaya and Nigeria, together with the Prime Minister of the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland who had been invited to attend — were of such a divergent character that attacks on South Africa's racial policy could have been expected. When some member states threatened to make progressively unreasonable demands on South Africa, Dr. Verwoerd brought about a dramatic trend in the discussions by withdrawing his request for continued membership on Wednesday night, the 15th March, 1961 in the congregation hall of historic Lancaster House.

Before the conference commenced, it had been arranged that Dr. Verwoerd would address the South Africa Club in London on the 17th March. After the dramatic turn of events, Dr. Verwoerd was obliged to change the theme of his speech, to which so much importance was attached that the B.B.C. made special arrangements to keep open one of its networks to broadcast it, something which had never been done before.

South Africa was not the first independent member to resign from the Commonwealth. The Republic of Ireland withdrew from the Commonwealth in 1949.

On former similar occasions the problem of black-white relations in South Africa has been accorded particular attention. This time the wonderful potentialities and variety of South Africa could justifiably have been placed in the foreground — this diamond with many facets. I would dearly have loved to have reminded you of the beauty of the South African scenery — its mountains, its blue sky, its white beaches and the surrounding sea, the open veld, the dry and healthy Karoo, the luxurious Low veld, the vineyards and

orchards of the south and the north, its green maize lands, the great cultivated areas of yellow sunflower, the waving gold of the wheatlands, the tobacco plantations, the irrigation settlements — green borders stretching from horizon to horizon beside miles of slowly flowing river, green even in the driest winter.

I would wish to guide you to the wild flowers of Namaqualand, the protea and the silver tree of the Cape and visit with you old homesteads, great national parks filled with wild animals from the smallest antelope to the lion, the rhinoceros, the giraffe and the elephant.

And all this beauty and variety is only one single facet which today largely escapes the attention.

One would wish to talk of South Africa's prosperity — this land of opportunity; of the economic development of the last 50 years, and of the last ten; of the old mines and the new; of the older industries and the younger, for greater development and the preparation for much more to come, expansion planned systematically, even for ten years ahead.

One would wish to praise farseeing investors from within and without the country who can see through the mists, imagined or otherwise, and seek to participate timeously in the prosperity which lies ahead in this always most stable part of Africa — this Europe of Africa, similar to the small strip of the Euro-Asian continent called Europe, which differs wholly from the continent and thereby led the world to all that it is today.

I would wish to talk about the new nation which we are building — our scientific endeavour, the growth of our educational institutions, and our welfare work, all in the interests of all sections of the community.

Unfortunately, present occurrences would make such a painting of the full and true South African scene seem unrealistic, because owing to the conference which has just ended, everybody's attention has once again been focussed solely on the one facet of white-black relations and our policy for solving the political problem involved. Even though you would, like myself, prefer to turn this diamond to the sunshine to let its brilliance scintillate and delight, I am compelled, once again, to hold this one, familiar facet before you;

This is particularly necessary because of what occurred during the last few days.

I came to London with the conviction that the Commonwealth would remain based on the same lines as heretofore, i.e. a body of nations wholly independent, in no wise subordinate one to the other, and who therefore do not interfere in each other's domestic affairs,

even under the subterfuge that they affect international relations.

The Commonwealth has always been founded on seeking points of agreement, and co-operating on them while forgetting (within that combination) all differences, however strongly they might have to be stated and fought elsewhere. South Africa persisted in this mature attitude throughout this meeting, as before, when she supported the membership of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaya, Ghana and Nigeria, without hesitation, in spite of boycotts and sustained attacks at the UN and elsewhere by them.

At this conference it was their duty to the ideal of Commonwealth association to do likewise. Unfortunately some of them failed, in their immaturity. The great vision was beyond them. A witch hunt was more to their liking. The change from monarchy to republic was of no importance in this except as an opportunity to raise a matter which would otherwise have been raised by a special motion either now or soon.

South Africa was prepared to attempt to have the air cleared by consenting to a full discussion of her policies. She was prepared to discuss and to agree to one formula after the other, in which in various ways both sides could sum up their case in the public communiqué. This would have enabled the opponents of South Africa's policy, which they had attacked very volubly in advance in public to prove to their countries that they had persisted in these attacks, and that the fact that South Africa remained in the Commonwealth in no way meant that they thereby condoned, or accepted co-responsibility for her policies.

Retention of membership would have been solely due to the purely constitutional position. We were prepared in the interest of the Commonwealth to accept any such proposition, however unpleasant, and to our minds wrong, such statements on a member's policy would be, and even though this might prove harmful to South Africa.

The conciliatory attitude of South Africa must have been a disappointment to our attackers who then in a much more hostile manner than before began to make further demands. They now wanted the communiqué to contain, over and above the expression of their opinions, the addition at the end of what would be a joint condemnatory resolution, as well as the formulation (as a principle of the Commonwealth) that its multi-racial character should not only be respected in the relationships between nations, as is done by all of us, South Africa included, but that this must apply to the internal policies of constituent members as well.

It would have to apply in such a way that full integration could

be the only form which would do justice to such a principle. This would not only constitute interference in domestic affairs but would also mean the disappearance of the rights of the white man and of the minority coloured groups in South Africa.

I could not accept this for South Africa. South Africa could not remain a member under such a formula without being under continual fire of remaining under false pretences.

But this was not all. It was made clear to us that, should we remain, we would be under the threat of a proposal for expulsion, whether sooner or later, even within days. And still not satisfied with this, several Afro-Asian nations gave notice that if South Africa nevertheless retained membership, they would have to consider whether they could remain members.

Under such circumstances it must be clear to everybody that it was not a matter of not being accommodating, but that on two scores I was driven to the decision I took. Both the honour of South Africa and the practical considerations involved for South Africa made the decision to withdraw the indication of our desire to retain membership inevitable.

Besides, I had to take into consideration the invidious position in which our friends, and particularly the United Kingdom, would be placed if I forced them to decide the issue and perhaps to choose between members! The only honourable and friendly method of solving the problem was to take the decision I did, however hard and sad. In the circumstances it is most unfair to blame my stand on foolish and unnecessary obstinacy.

And now, what lies ahead?

For the United Kingdom, the opportunity to hold together in her own way, if she can, the new and changing Commonwealth of increasingly non-White nations. She can attempt to do so without the embarrassment of South Africa with her policy of creating full but separate opportunities for White and Black. Indeed, particular emphasis should in future be laid, as we do, on the fact that the White people of Africa, being in the minority, from now onwards have the greater need for care and justice.

For South Africa and the United Kingdom and the other old friends this decision means new opportunity. They must seek to develop in other ways, untrammelled by the former problems, great bonds of friendship and co-operation to their mutual advantage. We are already working on these lines. Perhaps it is better this way, since sources of possible clash in most difficult situations fall away. Our trade and bilateral agreements, including the maintenance of the preferential trading arrangements. South Africa's membership

of the sterling area, and the value of our gold production, defence agreements with regard to a common enemy, etc., etc., need undergo no change. They can be re-endorsed in what our experts find to be the correct manner.

This is a comforting assurance. We need each other. With friendship unimpaired and so many interests so intertwined to our mutual benefit, this is wise policy, and will, I trust, and have reasons to believe, become wise practice. We will leave London satisfied that what happened had to be, and that our countries and their leaders remain better and more understanding friends than ever before.

For the purpose of what I have to say on race relations I shall presume a fairly extensive knowledge of the details of the Government policy of separate development. Today it seems more imperative to deal with the wider background of this policy, its morality and purpose. My reason for this approach is that it seems to me that the world at large and your own public have accepted, even if reluctantly, that South Africa has done and is doing more for the welfare of its non-white people than any other state in Africa.

In fact, it seems as if it is already being realized that the Asiatic nations and even others in Europe or South America fall behind, sometimes far behind, the achievements of South Africa in this respect with regard to her Bantu. South Africa has progressed very far indeed in the education and training for professions and trades of all its peoples, in health services for all, in housing, in income per capita, in the scope of the services each group provides for its own people, including the provision of tradesmen, administrators and professional men of all kinds.

Other countries would justifiably claim and receive great credit for creating such material benefits and great opportunity for the general advancement of their masses. It is only in the case of South Africa that all this is swept aside with the bland statement that all this is worth nothing as long as one looks upon the recipients as inferior beings to whom participation in the government is denied.

It is of no avail to emphasize that the Government's policy is not based on people being inferior but being different, or to point out that a member of an African State can scarcely be accounted fortunate if he is in rags, with little to eat, with low wages, little continuous employment and a shack to live in, if the only compensation for all that he lacks and suffers is that he has the vote!

Does the vote satisfy and aid the people if the masses have to

exercise this vote without much personal discretion because they know nothing of politics, or because a black near-dictator or a politically minded half-educated clique demands blind allegiance to keep them in power?

It is this distortion of values in the eyes of the prejudiced or blind critics from afar, judging according to their own privileged experience and advanced state, which makes for the unjust and unfavourable condemnation of South Africa. Lack of perspective leads to nonsensical statements like the following which I collected from your newspapers: "South Africa discriminates unfairly and hates its coloured people! Government policy tramples on the rights of the black people whom they regard as inferiors!"

"South Africa's assurances as to its aims and intentions for the development of its non-White people are dishonest! South Africa wishes to retain white supremacy throughout black and white areas and is not prepared to grant the non-Whites any political rights anywhere whatsoever! South Africa wants to keep the non-Whites in the position of second class citizens who will never participate in any form of government!"

"South Africa must provide a blueprint for the future and this should contain no other ultimate object than domination by the black man which the white man must concede if he wishes to be allowed to live there in peace even though he then loses the vote or its value!"

A reply can be given to each of these, and many other, outrageous accusations and unjust criticisms which in addition do not take account of one great fundamental fact, namely that the white man of South Africa has as much or perhaps more right to justice and fair treatment and self-government, in his areas. To judge the morality of a policy it must be remembered that in all ethics a balance must be struck between different values, different rights. Absolute right for the one may mean tremendous injustice to the other.

I wish to deal with these contentions, either directly or by implication and commence by stating the dilemma of South Africa.

Its problem is unique. Nowhere in the world and never in history has a situation developed which is quite similar. The solution must therefore also be unique. And yet everybody, everywhere, whether knowledgeable or quite uninformed, would like to impose theoretical ideas and principles or solutions found to be, or thought to be, useful elsewhere, on this different situation. Allow me to put to you the factors involved in very broad outlines.

More than 300 years ago two population groups, equally foreign

to South Africa, converged in rather small numbers on what was practically empty country. Neither colonized another man's country or robbed him by invasion and oppression. Each settled and gradually extended his settlements, and in the main each sought a different part to become his own. There were clashes and frontier wars, and border areas were conquered, but since then the white man has added, and is adding, more land to the Bantu areas from what he himself settled and intended to be his own.

The first point is therefore, that there was no colonialism, only separate settlement by each, nearly simultaneously, and each had the chance to develop his country to serve his growing population for more than 300 years. The white man did this but not the black man and the white man did not use his power to overrun and acquire black man's country. In fact, only in South Africa, the white man deliberately reserved it for him and endeavoured (mostly in vain) to train him to make the best use of it, as he did with his own, and to such good purpose that the black man came to him for employment, food and the good things of life, and not for political conquests.

The white man therefore has not only an undoubted stake in, and right to, the land which he developed into a modern industrial state from denuded veld and empty valleys and isolated mountains, but according to all principles of morality it was his, is his and must remain his.

It is true that, in the course of time, he received within his country growing numbers of black people. Some fled to him for protection, driven out of their own country by internecine strife and the heavy hands of tyrants. Many came to him seeking relief from hunger or attracted by the bright lights of cities or by the desire for money or the good things of life.

It is also true that elsewhere immigrants from one country to another could become fully-fledged citizens with political rights under certain conditions. It must, however, not be forgotten that for that very reason such countries could, and did, and do, ration and restrict entrance to numbers which would not change the character of the nation or the control of its country, its culture and ideals or its very existence.

South Africa did not need to exercise this control and could be very liberal in giving entry, providing aid and a better life to all who entered, even illegally, because such consequences did not come into the picture on the South African scene.

The non-Whites who entered the white man's country or the urban areas, came solely to seek employment, safety, health, educa-

tion, all of which was provided freely by the white man, and knowing of and not expecting and not even thinking of political rights.

There was thus no question of robbing the white man of his country by any political result of this entry in huge numbers, or by the natural increase of his population under the white man's protection and care. This was world-wide usage. Particularly as the result of their stage of civilization, it was never contemplated that their presence would one day cause pressure upon the children of the white pioneer settlers of empty land to hand over without protest or resistance their whole heritage to such newcomers and protégés.

In fact, it seemed then that for all time the Whites would as guardians even have to rule the black man's country as part of their own in his interest because he could not be developed to do this properly for himself. The white man therefore allowed the influx to continue until he was outnumbered four to one, and even now, against his will, streams of illegal black immigrants flow across his borders from many parts of Africa, because of the better wages and way of life they find in this land of so-called oppression.

What is the solution to this dilemma, which history and the unexpected awakening of the black man has handed us? Theorists and others who far away can remain unaffected themselves, but philosophize gladly on the handing over of what is the possession of others, expect the white South African to give away gradually (and knowing that after the first step the pace will become uncontrollable) his country and his possessions and indeed ultimately his whole nationhood and existence.

Where does morality come in if this is demanded? If there must be justice for the black man, there *must* be justice for the white man and the Coloured too, who will both be affected and suppressed.

The British fought to the death for their very existence. Cannot you understand us doing so too? And yet we do not only seek and fight for a solution which will mean *our* survival, but seek one which will grant survival and full development, politically and economically to each of the other racial groups as well, and we are even prepared to pay a high price out of our earnings for their future.

The moral problem just like the political problem, is to find a way out of this extremely difficult and complicated situation, caused by the fact that no longer as in the past is the black man incapable or

undesirous of participation in the control of his political destinies. Nor is there any longer anyone prepared to oppress him by refusing the fulfilment of such ambitions in a form fair to all. Again I ask: What is the solution?

In certain parts of Africa where the white man also ruled alone before, a solution is relatively easy. Those who find it easy there and do not realize the great difference between the two situations, are unfortunately tempted to wish to transplant that solution to South Africa. I refer to the countries of Africa which undoubtedly belong to the black man by settlement and inheritance, although they were taken over, administered and developed by different white nations. It is right that their land should now politically become their own.

Then there are in Africa other states where the political solution is not so straight-forward or simple in spite of the fact that those territories were black-settled and at least theoretically not open space when Whites originally moved in. The Whites are also far in the minority in these areas and this seems to support the demand for making black states out of these areas as well.

On the other hand the main body of these white people were genuine settlers, many for generations, and the fact cannot be denied that the development and prosperity of these areas today are wholly the result of their initiative investment, hard work and administrative capacity. In that sense it is their country too, or at least parts are, and they or their kin in the mother country have ruled alone until now. Have justice and the demands of morality nothing to say about the primary rights of these white people?

In the first planning it was accepted that their rights should be fully protected and the idea of partnership was born. This partnership was, for a long time to come, actually intended to be junior partnership for the Blacks and the continued control as senior partner by the Whites. Warnings made no impression on the rulers overseas that this theory would not work out that way, with the inevitable result that the black majorities soon demanded, and are quickly receiving, the right to what amounts to full control with the white man pushed out of politics to all intents and purposes.

He must furthermore expect to lose his possessions and see his hard-won farms, well-developed areas and businesses fall to pieces when he must go, as he realizes is inevitable. It is in such areas that the white settlers feel that they have been left in the lurch by parent countries.

Neither of these solutions would therefore suit the already described quite different South African situation. Not only are the

Whites less outnumbered than anywhere else, and not only do they claim the empty country settled by their forefathers as really theirs, but they know that if they gave way to some preliminary form of partnership it would become the end of white civilization in South Africa too — and white civilization in the world would lose its only anchor in Africa. The lessons of the developments set out before are clear.

Forget the word "apartheid". Forget any term by which to describe a policy, and just ask yourselves what you would do under such circumstances.

There are three possibilities. One is that the white people of South Africa should sacrifice themselves, their possessions and the generations to come. They can do this by surrendering to black rule, even if it became a dictatorship, and evacuate the country of their forbears, or by remaining and becoming an indistinguishable part of a black nation. Would you really choose that if it were England of which we are speaking?

Another way is to bluff yourself by making apparently smaller concessions, hoping to stave off the evil day, so that your children or grandchildren may suffer, *but not you*. This could be done by accepting some black people in Parliament and in every phase of life in the community, in the hope that their selfish satisfaction of own ambition will prevent them from developing and leading the ambitions of their masses.

And if this does not happen, what then? If junior partnership would quickly — very, very quickly — also lead in South Africa to the demand for black rule *alone*, must the white man fight or submit? And at what stage should he admit that his subtle attempt to retain power has failed?

In fact, this second method of solving the problem, solves nothing at all. It only means that the struggle for power goes on and on, while the white ruler of today lets things develop until he gives in as before, or finds himself at last fighting in the last, or nearly last, ditch for self-preservation.

There is another method, however, and that is to take your example from the nations: live and let live — apart. Would anybody in the United Kingdom accept as his ideal for the Commonwealth that it should become *one* state with *one* central government, controlled solely by numbers and not by the merit of your country as leader state, smaller in numbers but great in experience and knowledge?

That one multi-racial state, including the province which Great Britain would then be, would of necessity be governed from India

under the majority control of those hundreds and hundreds of millions of non-Europeans concentrated there, bolstered by others scattered over the earth.

Of course you thrust this aside as nonsense, but why must South Africa accept just that for herself in a smaller way? We prefer each of our population groups to be controlled and governed by themselves, as nations are. Then they can co-operate as in a Commonwealth or in an economic association of nations where necessary.

Where is the evil in this? Or in the fact that in the transition stage the guardian must needs keep the ward in hand and teach him and guide him and check him where necessary? This is separate development.

South Africa will proceed in all honesty and fairness to seek — albeit by necessity through a process of gradualness — peace, prosperity and justice for *all* by following the model of the nations which in this modern world means political independence coupled with economic interdependence.

Speech on Arrival from London, Jan Smuts Airport, Johannesburg, March 20, 1961.

After the unexpected turn of events at the Commonwealth Conference, Dr. Verwoerd, realizing that urgent work was awaiting him in South Africa, advanced his departure and unaware of the reception which had been prepared for him and his party in South Africa, crossed the republic's northern boundary shortly after noon on March 20, 1961. The first signs of the excitement in South Africa could soon be perceived. On one of the hills near Messina a bonfire had been lit and was sending up a massive pillar of smoke into the blue skies. Four Sabre jet fighters escorted the Boeing "Durban" in which the Prime Minister was travelling. More than 50,000 people welcomed him and jubilantly expressed their approval of what he had done in London. At the reception which had been prepared by the National Party in conjunction with a great number of Afrikaans cultural organizations, Dr. Verwoerd was presented with a golden, and Mrs. Verwoerd and Mr. Louw, with a silver commemorative medal.

Dr. Verwoerd left that same afternoon for Cape Town, and on his arrival at the D. F. Malan Airport that evening, was welcomed enthusiastically by more than 10,000 people.

Dear Friends, who have gathered in such great numbers from all over, you have moved us deeply. I can only say thank you. What we have done, we have done for South Africa. For that we deserve no praise, for there was no other choice. Before commenting on the matter itself, I should like first to express my thanks. In the first place my thanks to this mighty gathering for the tribute they have paid us. On behalf of my wife, on behalf of Mr. Louw and on behalf of myself: Thanks to all who have spoken here, thanks for all the kind words, thanks for all the beautiful presents. It shall remain for us a memory of one of the greatest days of our lives — the arrival on the soil of our fatherland, after what has been not a defeat but a victory for South Africa.

I wish to express my thanks to all those scattered throughout South Africa who, after the decision had been made, by cable

and telephonic messages to London strengthened our hearts by letting us know how South Africa felt. I can assure you that the messages, from all over South Africa, came from all sections of our population — both Afrikaans- and English-speaking. From Cape Town, the Free State, Natal, South West Africa and the Transvaal. Messages came from all five of the regions which we represent. Messages of support came from many parts of Africa, from all over England, from Australia, from New Zealand, and even from Canada.

My friends, I thank you for your presence here and for the opportunity which it creates for me to thank you all. In the long run the strength of any leader is the strength of the nation he represents.

At this first opportunity I also wish to express my thanks to those whose loyalty supported me in these trying times and in this difficult decision. First of all, I must mention my loyal friend and colleague, Min. Louw. For what was decided, I, by virtue of my position, have to accept the responsibility, but I could only make this decision because I had the vigorous counsel, support and encouragement of my colleague and friend. To that I wish to add the other two who accompanied me to the meeting — the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Jooste, and our High Commissioner in England, Dr. Hilgard Muller.

Now, friends, a single word on what happened.

When at the time I asked you as a nation to decide whether you wished to make our country a republic, I added that in deciding you should have no illusions. I stated very clearly that it would be our object to make South Africa a republic to conform with the heart's desire of the Afrikaans-speaking section of our nation, and, if it were at all possible, to keep the republic within the Commonwealth to conform with the heart's desire of the English-speaking section of our nation. In so doing, we wished to bind our nation closely together in the dangerous period of struggle between White and non-White which lies ahead. But I added thereto that while we would try to become a republic within the Commonwealth it might be that either it would not be granted us, or alternatively, that it might be made impossible for us to remain within the Commonwealth with honour. I said that in voting you must realize you are voting for a republic which would come in any case, within the Commonwealth if possible, but outside the Commonwealth if not possible. I state this emphatically, because I understand that I, and others, are being charged with breach of honour in respect of the referendum. But I call you all to

witness if indeed it is not a fact that I made these two conditions in every speech that I made.

I said that we have not returned as people who have suffered a defeat though it is true that we have returned with something different to what we had expected. We had hoped that other members of the Commonwealth had reached a stage of maturity as nations. By that I mean that when states co-operate with one another, they should realize that there are differences about many things. They should, nevertheless, be so big in mind that, while striving to be united in general principle, they are still able to tolerate a difference of opinion. They may disagree but still remain flexible enough to co-operate in matters greater than the selfish object of each nation individually. I regard the struggle against the Communist ideology in the world as being of common interest to the Commonwealth countries, and one for which they must be prepared to join hands. But there were those who were not able to do so. They are too young, too new, too small. For that reason we went with the object of remaining inside the Commonwealth. We have returned with a Republic still to be formed, but one which will not remain inside the Commonwealth. In this regard I can only say that man's ways are guided by God.

We have seen that the way to the unity of our white civilization in South Africa — of Afrikaans- and English-speaking people — is one for which we have all along been prepared to pay a price. It appears to have been destined that the price is to be paid in a different way; that those of us who desire a republic, shall have it outside the Commonwealth, and that those for whom the Commonwealth relation has great significance, shall have something different. This will be the retention of a powerful friendship between South Africa and Britain — the land of their forbears.

Let there be no doubt whatsoever about this. Something remarkable has happened. Who would have thought a year ago, or six months ago, or a fortnight ago, that South Africa could become a republic outside the Commonwealth and yet retain ties of friendship with Britain and the other older members of the community? Who would have thought that we could cease to be a member but at the same time strengthen friendship ties through having helped to save Britain from a difficult situation? Who would have thought that we would be able to part in peace and in friendship and with the retention of all our commercial ties and all the privileges which we are able to give to one another? Who would have thought that one could part as we have parted — without a war — South Africa to be a republic outside the Com-

monwealth, and Britain with the definite intention of keeping the other members together and simultaneously strengthening the ties of friendship with South Africa? Could we have achieved anything more beautiful or better or which gave more to the majority of people in both countries? It was a triumph for commonsense, as it will ultimately prove to be even to sore hearts in both countries. For in the end, the outcome was not thus intended by us, but given into our hands.

I do not wish to occupy you with a long address; I have a duty to Parliament, to which I must report fully. But I wish to repeat on this occasion that something great has happened. A republic has been formed; a peaceful republic of South Africa, with dangers and possible disadvantages averted, a South Africa which will emerge from this hour more powerful than ever before.

You may leave from here full of hope. We have triumphed — not over another country, nor over Britain, but we have freed ourselves from the pressure of the Afro-Asian nations who were busy invading the Commonwealth. We were not prepared to allow these countries to dictate what our future should be. Those who love the Commonwealth and who are perhaps experiencing moments of doubt, should realize that the present Commonwealth with its majority of non-European nations is a different Commonwealth to the one we wished to be a member of. In it we are no longer at home. Therefore, we now go forward alone. We are standing on our own feet. We seek to be friends with all nations of the world. We are assured of the friendship of the mightiest of these for such friendship is of mutual benefit.

I conclude with the thought that we have been led by the will of God. We prayed that that which we had in our thoughts would come to pass and that the outcome would be His will. We are grateful that it happened in the way it did. We believe that the outcome is best for all. Let us then meet the future as faithful and pious patriots, full of hope, full of faith, full of zeal; and let us be prepared to sacrifice for that future all that is in us, if it should be required of us. Let us endeavour to manage and lead our country in the interest of White and non-White, each group apart, in such a way that the future may be attained without the strife and without the dangers which they expect who judge from afar, but who do not know our country. Let us meet the future hand-in-hand, shoulder-to-shoulder with heads erect.

**Speeches in the House of Assembly with Reference to
South Africa's Withdrawal from the Commonwealth,
on March 23, 1961**

The Prime Minister referred to this matter on two occasions. Immediately after his return from London, on the 23rd March, 1961 he proposed that the House should discuss the withdrawal of the Union's request for continued membership of the Commonwealth after the establishment of a republic on the 31st May, 1961. He then gave a detailed explanation of the circumstances which led to the withdrawal in a speech which is given fully here. It is clearly apparent in the introductory paragraph that the Prime Minister gave an answer to all the arguments which arose in connection with the matter during the Budget debate which took place on the 11th April, 1961. This speech is quoted verbatim except for a few concluding paragraphs which give a detailed account of matters which have been dealt with before.

(a) Explanation to the House of Assembly on the 23rd March, 1961.

Mr. Speaker, Hon. Members will undoubtedly realize that it will take an appreciable time for me to deal with this matter, although it would perhaps be more convenient to me, but afford less satisfaction, if I were to give a brief résumé. However, I just want to intimate that I do not intend replying to the debate, so that the rest of the time will be available to Hon. Members, and it will also be possible for them to discuss the matter further in the Budget debate. I hope during the Budget debate to reply to any arguments which require a reply.

Then, before I proceed, I just want to say that I have a certain amount of difficulty in knowing just what to say to-day in view of the fact that the Prime Ministers' Conference is supposed to be secret. I particularly say "is supposed to be secret", because every day, and this has happened for years, the *London Times* publishes a reasonably complete résumé the next morning of what happened the previous day at this secret meeting, despite the objections raised to it almost every day at that meeting, and also because

many other members, *inter alia* in this case, in order to attack South Africa, are themselves referring to what happened there. I do not know how I, in stating South Africa's position, can entirely avoid also referring to what happened at those meetings. Therefore I shall not attempt to do so, but I shall try to refer to what happened as discreetly as possible.

But before doing so it is perhaps as well for me to state in a few words what my view was of the Commonwealth until recently, and what I thought it was still like. This is a standpoint which I stated also at the Prime Ministers' Conference, namely, that it is a community of independent nations and, as it was described, nations "which are in no way subordinate to each other", a community of nations which meets (without any rules or principles being laid down) freely to discuss matters which appear to be of common interest, and then to adopt a standpoint as a group in respect of everything on which they can agree. In other words, it was intended to be a body totally different from the UN where people come together in order to voice the most divergent opinions about everything. I thought that here we had a body which, from the very nature of its history and its traditions, did not look for points of difference, but for points of agreement. That is also the reason why in the past we never objected when other states, even those which boycotted us or strenuously opposed us outside, wanted to become a member or wanted to continue to be a member. Here I mention the cases of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Ghana and Nigeria. We always immediately supported their membership, realizing the danger if they should want to make the Commonwealth a battlefield, but accepting that they were mature enough or were deeply enough under the influence of the United Kingdom to act in terms of what had always been the practice when this group was smaller and more intimate. Therefore in the first place we accepted that the Commonwealth, notwithstanding the change in its constitution, retained the character of a family of nations which in spite of differences sought common ground and jointly tried to solve common problems.

There was a second point we assumed, namely that it was a multi-racial association, in the sense that its members were both White and non-White and came from Asia and Africa as well as from Europe, and that one had to assume that the various nations and the various races would be on an equal footing there as nations and that one had to negotiate with them, whether they were big or small, Black or White, as equals, as one must always do on the world platform. Therefore we accepted the multi-racialism of the

Commonwealth as amounting to equality between the various nations. But at the same time we also assumed that the old principle remained valid, that these nations would not interfere in each other's domestic affairs. If we in our own minds objected to a dictatorship in Ghana, we nevertheless did not have the right or any intention to raise this matter at a Commonwealth conference. Similarly, if there were objections to the nature of our attempts to seek a solution for our colour problem (whether by one party or another), no other country should interfere. That is how we accepted the Commonwealth and that is how its character was maintained until the recent conference. But when we arrived in London we had to discover, and Britain also had to discover, that the Commonwealth had undergone a change of character during the ten months which had elapsed since the last Prime Ministers' Conference. I say the United Kingdom discovered that, because this was admitted in the recent debate in the House of Commons where it was clearly stated, as I will prove in a moment, that here we now had something different. And this difference was strikingly illustrated by the fact that just recently the term "family of nations" fell into disuse and there was increased reference to "the club". It was no longer the old blood ties which bound most of the populations, with the possible exception of the French in Canada and the Afrikaners in South Africa, and India which was also an old member. For the rest it was an association of nations through blood ties as well as through historical bonds. Now, however, it has become simply a congregation of nations which have only one bond, the historical bond, with the United Kingdom which previously ruled them all. Gradually, as they attained freedom, the United Kingdom tried to retain these bonds with them and to retain her influence over them for the sake of what is undoubtedly a good object, particularly the struggle against Communism. We are therefore dealing — and this is basic to my whole trend of thought this afternoon — with a complete change which has come about in the Commonwealth recently, a change away from what has always been accepted by everybody as a body to which they would like to belong, partly because of the family idea. The Commonwealth has changed into something very similar to the UN on a small scale.

The second general point I would like to deal with before proceeding further is the question which was raised just recently and used to discredit me: Was there a promise or an undertaking or an understanding that the referendum in regard to the republic was concerned only with a republic inside the Commonwealth, and was

the mandate therefore obtained from the people under false pretences, or does that mandate no longer exist? Some Hon. Members of the Opposition said that I was deceiving them. I would like to prove that this is not so, and I want to do so by referring to various statements which were published previously. In the first place, I want to quote from the debate held on January 30 this year, in other words, after the referendum, when I dealt with similar reproaches in this House. I want to quote from Hansard what I said on January 30, 1961 (Hansard Col. 331):

“Membership of the Commonwealth has been fully accepted as part of the development which we are trying to undertake. It has not only been fully accepted but been honestly accepted. I must stress this because it has been repeatedly said by people that I personally and my party are not genuine in our acceptance of Commonwealth membership, if it can be retained. We are said to be only bluffing. People are told that we want to become a member of the Commonwealth for a short time, just in order to tide things over, but that it is already our intention to remove our country from membership as soon as ever we can. Certain newspapers have even said that it would only be a question of six months. I want to say clearly that we are not bluffers, that we are accepting membership of the Commonwealth while the Commonwealth remains as it is to-day. We are genuinely seeking to retain membership. According to newspaper reports much unpleasantness may await me when I go to London to try and make this possible. That won't deter me from doing my duty. I shall honestly strive to achieve membership. I cannot, however, do so at the expense of allowing interference in South Africa's affairs. I cannot seek membership at the expense of the sacrifice of principles of policy which are ours and on which we alone decide. We can fight about those matters here but no other nation has the right to veto or to intervene. Apart from an unequivocal stand on that, I shall make an honest and strong attempt and a sincere one to retain membership, and if South Africa is retained as a member of the Commonwealth it will be our earnest endeavour to co-operate as fully as is possible in all matters of common concern.” It could not be stated more clearly. But thereafter I stated it again, when evidently some doubt was expressed, and I did it as follows on February 9, 1961 (Hansard, Col. 1039) — that was also this year, before my departure, and again in reply to the allegation that I was not sincere:

“Then a second allegation has been made, namely that I have

supposedly 'promised' that we shall remain a member of the Commonwealth. I hope what I am about to say will not be disputed but this too I did not do. I have adopted a very clear standpoint regarding the Commonwealth. I have said that I believe that common sense will triumph at the Commonwealth Conference, and that I firmly believe that South Africa will remain a member of the Commonwealth unless the Commonwealth changes its character and nature, particularly if certain of the newer non-White states should adopt a hostile attitude towards our membership, and persist in it to such an extent that they force the older member states who want South Africa to retain her membership to choose between South Africa and these other countries. I have even said that I accepted that it was possible that a choice would be made which would go against South Africa. I added that if that were to happen, the Commonwealth would then have taken on a character in which the outlook of Britain and the older countries no longer prevailed, but the outlook of those other countries, and that we would not feel at home in such a Commonwealth and would ourselves prefer not to remain a member. For that reason I asked at the referendum that we should be given a mandate to establish a republic which would try to remain a member of the Commonwealth, but which would authorize us, if we could not remain a member, to continue with the establishment of a republic outside the Commonwealth. The referendum was held on that clear basis, and there was therefore no promise on my part which I would not have been entitled to give.

But I have given one promise, namely that I shall do all I can to try, without sacrificing any principles, to make it possible for South Africa to remain a member of the Commonwealth. With all the possible tact at my disposal, and by appealing to common sense and calm counsels at our discussions, I shall try to co-operate in making this possible. I believe that it is only prejudice and unjustifiable interference in our affairs which can keep us out. More than that I cannot do. If folly prevails, I shall be powerless and I therefore do not want it to be alleged that I have made certain false promises which I have not made."

Now I would like to quote from the *Cape Times* of February 10, in other words, what the *Cape Times* wrote with reference to this speech of mine. It said this:

"There is much in Dr. Verwoerd's reply to the second reading debate on the Constitution Bill with which South Africans on both sides of the political fence can agree. The most notable point of

such agreement is his insistence that South Africa will not accept any sort of probationary membership of the Commonwealth, to be confirmed later if she is a good girl. Either we are accepted as members of the Commonwealth or we are not. In the Commonwealth, as it is, there are no degrees of membership. There has been no question with any of the previous admissions that the countries concerned should serve an apprenticeship. To introduce any such system now would mean that the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference has taken over supervision of the political morals of member states. The suggestion is constitutionally ridiculous, and those who value the Commonwealth as a unique relationship between a number of independent states must set their faces as firmly against it as they have against successive attempts to establish a Commonwealth secretariat."

Now it may be said that all this was said or written after October 5. Therefore I would like to refer to what happened before October 5. At the Bloemfontein Union Congress of the National Party a resolution was adopted. The last portion of it, which is relevant to this matter, reads as follows:

"Congress further declares that if in spite of the practice followed in the past the continuation of membership in South Africa's case should be refused, something which would only be the result of interference in a domestic matter, viz. its racial policy, a republic will then be established which, although it is not a member of the Commonwealth, will continue its friendly and other relations with those countries of the Commonwealth which are prepared to do so."

On August 3, 1960 a statement was also handed to the Press which said precisely the same thing. Certain Hon. Members have referred to the fact that the resolution of the congress contained the words "if it should be refused", and they say in this case there was no refusal but that we ourselves withdrew. From the context of what I still have to say, I think it will be seen that there were sound reasons for withdrawing our application, and that if we had not adopted that course, refusal would still have followed. Therefore to overemphasize the word "refusal" in this connection really constitutes no argument except a technical one. But apart from that it is important to note that on one occasion after the other I made it clear that it was not only refusal which could cause us to leave the Commonwealth but that, as I put it in the debate here in Parliament, under certain circumstances we would have to use our own discretion. For example, at the same Bloemfontein Con-

ference I said the following in the speech which I made on that occasion:

"If we can become a member of the Commonwealth, then we will become it, if possible, but the basic principle must be: no interference in South Africa's affairs. If that were to happen we could not be a member. Then we would have to seek friendship and co-operation with the United Kingdom and the well-disposed Commonwealth countries in a different way."

I did not only say it on that occasion, but on every possible occasion. At the first meeting to which I referred to this matter, viz. at Groblersdal on July 2, 1960, I argued as follows when I referred to the statement made by the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition that Ghana might be able to stop us:

"Assuming, however, that Graaff is correct and that Ghana wishes to oppose our membership, instead of approving of our mature view of it and co-operating wherever possible in spite of differences, and assuming that the older states, including Britain, were to bow to that and allow South Africa to leave . . ."

I did not say "refuse", but "allow to leave" . . .

" . . . then the Commonwealth would have changed its character to such an extent that South Africa, even as a monarchy, could be expelled, and in any case it would not feel at home there. If we have to choose between national unity and a sound racial policy, also for the White man in South Africa, and non-interference in our affairs by others, particularly Afro-Asian states, on the one hand, and membership of a Commonwealth which remains divided, and we have to sacrifice our racial policy and have to be subjected and accept the dictates of the non-White members states, on the other hand, then we ourselves will choose the former."

That was on July 2, 1960, long before the referendum of October 5. I also have before me the speech I made over the radio on October 3, 1960, two days before the referendum, in which I said:

"The Leader of the Opposition, however, in spite of the decision given by the people here, wants to allow another group of nations to have the final word. What would then happen to our national self-respect? Perhaps he again became confused, however, by the fact that the possible objector would not object to our becoming a republic but to our racial policy, and that if we have to give way to them, as he wants us to do, it would have to be in regard to that domestic matter, and nothing else would satisfy them other

than the sacrifice of White domination. I will not allow Ghana or any other country to negative the decision given by the voters of South Africa in regard to these matters, and I cannot understand how Sir De Villiers Graaff dare advocate something like that."

I have here the speech I made in Port Elizabeth, the one I made at Lichtenburg, and the one I made in Cape Town. I can read extracts from every one of them to prove that apart from their refusal I also mentioned the possibility of action being taken by us ourselves, but I do not want to weary Hon. Members by doing so. I think that I have now proved fully that I told the people of South Africa unequivocally — before October 5, 1960 — that we could remain a member of the Commonwealth only under certain circumstances and that our withdrawal was also a possibility. I shall now proceed to prove that unfortunately the circumstances were such that we could not remain a member.

Another allegation was made to which the one quotation I read has really given the reply already, viz. that I went there with the secret intention of taking South Africa out of the Commonwealth, and even that I was dishonest and a traitor to South Africa in doing so.

What I have already mentioned in regard to my objects, as well as the explanation I am now going to give as to what I tried to do, will negative that allegation. In fact, the first reply already flows from a further question which has been asked just recently, namely, why I permitted the domestic affair of the racial policy of South Africa to be discussed. It was said that if only I had not allowed that to be done, we would still have been in the Commonwealth. May I inform Hon. Members that there were two reasons in particular which, amongst others, persuaded me to allow a discussion of our colour policy, the first being the discussions which I had had in advance with the leaders of Great Britain herself. It is common knowledge that strenuous efforts were made by the Prime Minister of Britain and the Minister of Commonwealth Relations to have discussions with the various member countries to bring home to them the basic idea that the Commonwealth should remain intact for the sake of points of agreement and in spite of the points of difference. I was then informed that if I adopted the attitude, which we had adopted in the past, that South Africa's affairs may not be discussed, even if that was the correct constitutional position, or if I concede no more than we had conceded last year, that is to say, that the policy of South Africa may be discussed in private conversations and in private groups, I would probably spoil the atmosphere to such an extent

that the prospects of success would immediately disappear. An appeal was therefore made to me not to press this demand on this occasion. I then said: "Very well, if it is necessary to create the right atmosphere for South Africa's admission to the Commonwealth, I shall accept your advice and allow this policy to be discussed, but I want to say perfectly clearly that I regard it as wrong, and that I also regard it as a dangerous precedent." I went on to say: "I must say that, although I am giving my consent now, which is the only way in which such a discussion can take place, it must not be regarded as a precedent that I shall give permission in the future, and that I am also of the opinion that such a discussion ought not to take place in the case of other countries' affairs." Under the circumstances, therefore, so as to help to create a favourable atmosphere, I gave that permission.

But there was a second reason, and this is a purely logical reason. If, when South Africa's application for membership came before the Conference, there were people present who, on the grounds of our colour policy, either objected to our membership or (and this would be more reasonable) had certain doubts which they were anxious to have removed by hearing our side of the case, I did not see how I could say that they should not be allowed to advance their reasons for their attitude. In other words, I felt that under these circumstances it was only reasonable and desirable, even unavoidable, that permission should be given to discuss South Africa's colour policy on this occasion. Both in view of the request of those who had taken the lead in their attempt to keep South Africa within the Commonwealth and because of the reasonableness of such a request, I therefore felt obliged to give this permission. I am convinced that if we had refused permission, it would have led to much more unpleasant discussion and insistence, and the result would have been no different. Then I would have been reproached here today for the very opposite reason, namely, for my refusal to make just the "small concession" of permitting a discussion.

That was the first serious concession that I made therefore in an attempt to keep us within the Commonwealth, in accordance with my promise to do everything possible to ensure our continued membership.

I may say here in parenthesis that the question of a republic or a monarchy was never discussed or regarded as being of any importance. All that happened was that everybody said that it had nothing to do with this matter, that we were perfectly free to change our form of government, and that that was not the basis of any

of the arguments. That has also been stated in his latest speech by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. It is true that the establishment of a republic could be used as an excuse for this discussion, and it is true that the argument was advanced by our opponents in South Africa that if only we had not come forward with the proposal to establish a republic, the question of our colour policy would not have come under discussion. In that regard I want to give two replies. The one is that the abandonment of our republican policy on this ground would have meant that membership of the Commonwealth would have placed such limitations upon South Africa that she would not even have been able to make up her own mind or to act in regard to a matter which is obviously her own affair. That very curtailment of our power to act in accordance with our own wishes would then have been a good reason basically to leave the Commonwealth without further ado, because it would have restricted the sovereign freedom of the nation and the State. Secondly, I am perfectly convinced that the absence of this constitutional issue would not have helped at all, because, in the course of these discussions, it emerged perfectly clearly that the Afro-Asian members, with one single exception, intended to try to force us at the first and every following opportunity, to abandon our colour policy. Failing that, they would have come along with a proposal that we should be expelled, and this matter would then still have come under discussion. I am not so sure that it would not have come under discussion on this occasion. I think it would have been discussed. In other words, I have no doubt in my own mind that, although the establishment of a republic was used as a convenient excuse for dealing with this matter, the policy of separate development would have been dealt with and would have led, sooner or later, to the same result — rather sooner than later, and probably now!

We must be under no illusions. This whole dispute concerned the colour policy. The outcome, too, is based entirely on differences with regard to the question of colour policy. Moreover, in the final analysis it is based not only on our party's attitude, although inevitably Government policy became the bone of contention, because we happen to be in power. In essence the reason for the clash was the unequivocal demand that the White man must not be allowed to protect himself anywhere in Africa or in the world by putting up barriers. That was regarded as being in conflict with complete equality. I admit that initially the critics would have been satisfied with "small concessions". In that regard I shall have a few more words to say. However, one must look beyond the imme-

diate shadow at the substance behind it, and the substance, the reality, was unambiguously that the White man must no longer be allowed to protect himself by erecting barriers, either here in South Africa or anywhere else in the world. There must be complete equality everywhere; full and equal political rights must be given everywhere. I know that the Tunku stated recently that he had no objection to the White Australia policy; in other words, to the erection of such barriers. I know that, but that is what is being said today. Like Mr. Menzies, I, too, fear that the self-protection of the White man in other countries will give rise to future attacks. I am as strongly convinced of that as he is.

I put forward the proposition that it was not our aim, just as little as it is the aim of the other side, to make one group of the population subordinate eventually to the other. I pointed out that we all sought, along different roads, to bring about non-subordination eventually. I tried to prove, in terms of our Bantu policy as well as our Coloured policy, that in every way we were seeking some means whereby co-existence would become possible. I said, just as I stated in my South Africa Club speech, that when a particular group, perhaps a smaller group, had acquired something for itself, it was entitled to its continued existence, without its being watered down in any way. Sometimes it can only retain its possessions and its independence, just as a small nation can only retain it next to a great nation, by a separate existence, with political independence and with its own geographic boundaries. That is why we must retain our borders, not only materially in terms of geography, but spiritually and physically as well. That is why I said that we were not fighting for anybody's permanent subordination. It is true that there is a transition period during which there are certain forms of separation and even certain forms of discrimination against the Black man within the White area and against the White man within the Black area. But these are transition periods. One also finds discrimination, however, in India and in Canada and in practically every country of the world where there are Black people and White people — or different kinds of non-Whites — although, perhaps in different ways. I pleaded that we should accept in principle therefore that everybody was in favour of ultimate free co-existence and that every one of us was striving towards this end in our own way, and that that should not be used as an argument to push us out of the Commonwealth. But even this clear statement and this revelation that the policy of apartheid was not aimed at subordination but at co-existence, at good neighbourliness, made no impression. I regarded this as proof

of what they contemplated. What they sought was not equality through co-existence and non-subordination in countries like South Africa, but the domination of superior numbers in the name of full equality and, therefore, eventual victory over the Whites by forcing out or swallowing up the Whites. It was there that we had to draw the line.

I said a few moments ago that they did not ask for all of this at once; that they did not ask at this stage for this complete surrender but that to begin with they asked for small concessions. They said that all we had to do was to make small concessions and then we could find a bridge. I know that this has also been said now in the British Parliament by the Prime Minister of Britain, and I shall refer to it again in a moment. It was perfectly clear to me, however, that those small concessions were to be made not only to overcome an immediate problem, namely to keep us within the Commonwealth, but also with an ultimate object. It was to be the beginning of undermining our policy and therefore the thin end of the wedge to create the prospect of full equality in the sense which I have just mentioned.

While on the subject of small concessions, I want to refer to an argument which has been used here in connection with something that we were allegedly not prepared to do and which would not have entailed an abandonment of the principle of apartheid. It was stated that we had even refused to receive diplomatic missions from the non-White states. We were told: "There is no apartheid principle involved here; if you accept, as you do, the right of existence of separate nations and that they are equal and members of one Commonwealth, then there is an obligation upon you to have diplomatic relations with them. Why is South Africa not prepared to receive diplomatic missions from those states?" In the first place I want to have it perfectly clearly on record that this argument was not advanced at the Conference as is often alleged. It was mentioned just in passing by various members. A specific question was put to me about it, however, by Mr. Menzies to which I gave a specific reply, which I shall read out:

Mr. Menzies asked why the S.A. Government has refused to exchange diplomatic missions with other Commonwealth countries.

He has stated in public that he asked this question, so I do not regard it as a violation of secrecy to say here that he asked this question, and I am entitled therefore to say in public what my reply to that question was. It need not be a secret. My reply is recorded as follows:

"In reply Dr. Verwoerd said that the South African Government could not establish diplomatic relations with unfriendly countries. The present situation had been brought about by the actions of the other countries who had placed obstacles in the way of contacts with South Africa, both in the economic sphere and in matters of international co-operation. He hoped that these obstacles would be removed. The Union Government was in the process of building a conference centre in the Union to which he hoped in due course to invite other nations in Africa to come together in consultation. If the unfriendly attitude of Ghana and other states changed, then friendly visits would follow, and as the public in both countries became used to this changed attitude, the exchange of missions could be raised between the countries concerned. The Commonwealth should not seek to interfere. Besides, India had had representation, but withdrew it. New Zealand and South Africa did not exchange missions, but were very friendly. Other non-White nations had representation, for instance the U.A.R. (United Arab Republic) and Japan would soon open an embassy."

In other words, it is not correct to say that I adopted an implacable attitude and was simply not prepared to think in these terms. I also want to add in the clearest terms that if the Commonwealth were to make itself an instrument to force member states to do this, that or the other thing, it would be acting wrongly. All of us have always admitted in the past that the Commonwealth has no right to intervene in the affairs of member countries. Diplomatic representation is a matter which concerns exclusively the states concerned and it is not something that the Commonwealth can force upon us, and indeed this issue was not raised specifically at the Conference itself. It was raised more specifically outside the Conference in as much as Mr. Menzies as well as Mr. Sandys discussed this matter with me outside the Conference. At those discussions outside the Conference I tried to explain to them in greater detail the difficulty of considering such representation at this stage in view of our circumstances. I pointed out that in the first place we should first make a little more progress with our policy of apartheid so that people here can see for themselves that there has been so much development in this direction that no confusion will arise, because of the reception of such missions, with regard to the relations here between ourselves and our non-White leaders and population groups. As their territories also become independent ("onafhanklike selfstandige") areas and the Bantu accept the idea that they must exercise their rights in those areas so that relationships will be in conformity with what is taking

place in the international sphere, so the whole position will become easier. The appointment of Commissioners-General who are practically ambassadors to our Native areas is already a sign that this is our goal. I went on to say that we must also bear in mind that at the moment the transition has not yet reached an advanced stage and that this might easily give rise to incidents and that such incidents may cause greater friction rather than maintain harmonious relations at a distance. I said that it was impossible at the moment to think of having perhaps five or ten or 15 missions, each consisting of ten or 15 non-Whites, all established in Pretoria. They would come from the various countries of Africa — not only Commonwealth countries — because if some countries claim this right, others will also claim it. It goes without saying that our position would then become a difficult one, but I went on to say that that was not the crux of the matter. The crux of the matter is this: In the first place we have the representatives of certain non-European countries here, or we are getting such representatives (Egypt and Japan). Secondly, India had representation here and India is a member of the Commonwealth but she withdrew her representation! She must not come and complain now therefore that she cannot have embassies here. She had them and it is her own fault that they are not here today and not ours. Thirdly, it is not a principle of Commonwealth membership that there must be an exchange of representatives. The example of New Zealand and South Africa proves that. We have friendly relations but there is no exchange of representatives because it is not a matter of great importance to either country. Representation is not claimed therefore. Fourthly, and this is important, diplomatic missions are always based on existing friendships. There is no exchange of representatives between hostile countries. I pointed out how Ghana was behaving towards us; *inter alia*, how she refuses to allow our citizens to land there unless they do something which is in conflict with their duty as citizens of South Africa. I pointed out how we were co-operating with the rest of Africa in the C.C.T.A. and F.A.M.A. and on every existing body, but that they were nevertheless taking action against us. In a recent case, in connection with a health conference in Accra, South Africa was not even able to attend the Congress because of the arrangements made by Ghana. In other words, there is every willingness on our part to help; there is every willingness on our part to go there, and we have given a friendly reception to countries' representatives who have come here. The hostility is all on their side, and what right have they or others speaking on their behalf to command

an exchange of diplomatic missions? And above all, what right have they to demand the right to have a diplomatic mission in Pretoria when they have said previously, as some of them have done, that they are going to incite the Bantu of South Africa against the present Government? Must we allow a diplomatic mission to come here and to subject ourselves to all the iniquities that took place when we had the Consulate-General of the Soviet Union here, with the result that we had to send those representatives out of the country? Does anyone think that such a thing promotes peace, or does it in fact lead to discord? I pointed out therefore that the basis of an exchange of diplomatic missions must be harmonious relations. I argued that they must put their house in order and see to it that there was goodwill and a changed attitude towards us. Then we can start thinking about ways and means of making our peoples accustomed to this change, for example by first appointing a travelling ambassador who would visit the various countries in Africa. These various countries could then arrange similar visits to this country. If we find that that works well, then we and the countries concerned can discuss the possibility of diplomatic missions. That would be something for the future. This reasonable approach to the situation is now being represented in South Africa as a blunt refusal!

That brings me to the discussion on policy and membership. There was, in the first place, the concessions which I made. I have already referred to the first one, namely to allow a discussion on our racial policy. The arrangement with the Chairman, however, was that the way in which South Africa's case would probably be discussed would be for the constitutional issue to be discussed on the Monday as a technical matter and then disposed of. On Tuesday, then, Africa was to be discussed and, as part of this discussion on Africa, South Africa was also to be dealt with. In other words, we were to discuss not only South Africa's affairs, but also those of Ghana and Nigeria and the Congo and other countries. The discussion on South Africa was to form part of the review of the African situation. That made my first concession all the more reasonable.

When we started on Monday, however, it was clear that the other countries wanted to link up the question of policy with the constitutional issue and to discuss it immediately. So as not to spoil the prospects of harmonious relations, I then made this further concession and permitted this discussion. That was my second concession therefore, namely to agree to the discussion on the lines on which the Chairman wished to arrange it. He arranged it in

this way only when he saw what the circumstances were and he then said, "Very well, then, we will discuss the two subjects together". That was not in accordance with what had been arranged; it was not what I had expected; it was not what I considered to be right. Nevertheless I agreed to it and I accept the responsibility for it. It was a concession that I made in order to avoid hitches over what would have been described as a technical objection and as an unreasonable attitude leading to a split.

Thereafter the debate took place. I do not want to say much about this debate. I just want to point out that I myself did not initiate this debate in any contentious spirit. This is what I said:

"I wish to inform the meeting that the Union of South Africa will shortly become a republic, and request the meeting to accept the wish of the Union of South Africa to continue to be a member of the Commonwealth. The referendum held on 5th October, 1960 has resulted in a majority in favour of a republic and this result has now been generally accepted as the final decision on this question. The necessary legislation has received the second reading in the South African Parliament and there is every expectation that it will be passed in the course of April. It is the intention of my Government that the Republic of South Africa will be formally instituted on May 31."

That is in line with the customary request, as it was made on former occasions. I strictly adhered to the formalities of the matter. Thereafter the discussion took place. The United Kingdom supported the request. Various others began to discuss it. Although the atmosphere was very calm — nobody spoke excitedly, nor have I any grievance against the atmosphere at the discussion — the fact remains that then already some inimical statements were made such as that there could be no effective co-operation with countries which did not accept a multi-racial community with equal rights; that a Commonwealth country could not accept the principle of no discrimination on grounds of race and act otherwise in practice; that the standpoint adopted by South Africa was abhorrent to the particular nation represented by the speaker concerned; that South Africa's continued presence would perhaps be regarded as lending support to, or at least as agreeing with, South Africa's racial policy and that this would be harmful to the Commonwealth, and even that it would assist Communist propaganda. Furthermore, it was alleged that South Africa was too hasty in applying and that it should really have done so after the Republic was established. Others again said: "No, you are quite wrong.

What South Africa is doing now is in line with the practice of other countries which became republics." Some Prime Ministers said that there might be international repercussions if the Commonwealth allowed South Africa to remain a member without any qualifications as to what its racial policy ought to be. There were some who said that the Commonwealth should adopt the policy of absolute racial equality, otherwise the value of the association would disappear. It was also alleged that if the South African Government really wanted to retain this link with other members of the Commonwealth, it should demonstrate it by accepting the policies the other Commonwealth countries believed in and shared. It was also said that South Africa, in contrast with other countries, had done nothing to assist other Commonwealth countries. (I later proved the contrary.) It was alleged, e.g. that South Africa did not give technical assistance and that it evidently wanted to remain in the Commonwealth merely for its own selfish reasons, and that other countries derived no benefit from it! (That of course is not true and that reply was given later.) In any case, all kinds of arguments of this type were advanced during the first day's debate. One country even adopted the attitude, right in the beginning, that the ability of the Commonwealth to continue to exist depended on its actually becoming a multi-racial association in each country, and that it would just be pure expediency to accept a country which believed in apartheid. It was further stated that if it is said that the expulsion of South Africa would break up the Commonwealth, the fact that South Africa retained its membership would also break up the Commonwealth, and that therefore eventually the attitude should be adopted that South Africa should be kept out of the Commonwealth unless it undertook then and there to change its policy. The attitude was also adopted that South Africa's racial policy was not really her domestic affair, but that South Africa should accept that this matter would continually be discussed unless she changed her policy.

This is how the discussion went on, until everybody had had their say. Then I replied. I am not going to deal with my reply at length, except to say that I stated South Africa's position as clearly as I could and as sympathetically as possible. Hon. Members know what my standpoint is. I stated my standpoint with the greatest courtesy, as everybody admitted. But it was quite clear that neither my statement of my conception of the function and nature of the Commonwealth, as I have put it here also, nor my explanation of how much more we do for our Bantu than any of those countries do for their underprivileged people, nor the

proof I gave of what was not being done in those countries, made any impression. I emphasized the fact that within ten years we will stamp out illiteracy on the part of our Bantu but that India will not do so within 50 years. I challenged the latter, in vain, to prove that it could do so. Despite all the further facts I gave about everything we do here as regards health, education, etc., and also what we do particularly in regard to allowing all our population groups to develop politically towards independence, all of this was simply brushed aside, and without taking it into consideration they just repeated: But you ought to evolve a policy of complete equality, even if in the beginning you only start in a small way, but it should hold out the hope of eventual absolute equality. I could only infer, because the demand for concessions was only in the political sphere, that we were being told by implication: "Just make small concessions now and then we will swallow your membership for the nonce, but we shall continue to exert pressure on South Africa until eventually one man has one vote in South Africa, even though that should mean Black domination."

That is how the debate continued all day, and then we adjourned. The discussions were continued on Tuesday. Tuesday was the day on which the decisions were to be taken, both sides having stated their case. A proposal was then submitted to us, which was divided into two parts. The first part dealt with the constitutional question, which led to the conclusion that there was nothing to prohibit South Africa technically from remaining a member; and the second part stated that the criticism of those who rejected South Africa's policy still had some connection, and that one could not really separate the decision as to South Africa's membership from the condemnation of its policy. In the draft proposal nothing final was said about the essential point as to whether South Africa could remain a member or not. I objected to this draft because in my opinion it had two great defects. The one was the lack of any clear statement in regard to South Africa's continued membership, and the second was because it gave a résumé of the arguments advanced against our policy, couched in such terms that it acquired the character of laying down the rules and principles of the Commonwealth. I stated very explicitly that it would mean that, if it were to be accepted in this form, no country could honourably remain a member unless it subjected itself to those principles. It would mean that South Africa would have to change its policy, and that we would not be prepared to do. Then the discussions continued.

Then there was a second draft proposal. This draft stated two

matters clearly. The one was that it stated the content of the attack in nicer words, and also in such a way as not to look like a formulation of principles but only like a summing up of the opinion of those who were against us. From this it was clear that only their opinions would be stated, and not new principles for the Commonwealth. Secondly, the draft clearly stated that South Africa would remain a member as the result of the constitutional argument that there were no obstacles in its way. That would, in other words, have given those who were opposed to our racial policy the opportunity to tell the world that they had taken up a clear standpoint against South Africa's racial policy; but it would definitely have had the effect of saying that in spite of the differences of opinion South Africa would remain a member of the Commonwealth for the sake of the common interests which exist. That was then discussed. Later on I said that I had no basic objection to it except that it seemed unfair that whilst the two sides of the case had been stated at the meeting, only one side of the case would be stated in the communiqué. It was then suggested that I could also give a brief résumé, in my own words, of our side of the case for incorporation in this second draft proposal. I accepted that suggestion. We then adjourned for a while, during which period I and my delegation briefly put our standpoint into writing, and then we brought back the amended proposal as the one which we were prepared to accept. But on our return we discovered that this specific proposal, which we were asked to accept as the basis for certain additions, was suddenly no longer acceptable and was simply being swept aside! I presume that happened as the result of discussions held during the interval, although I knew nothing about it.

They immediately reverted to the first draft which, as I have said, was unacceptable to me in its original form because it had those two defects I have mentioned. During the course of the discussions which then ensued it was, however, stated clearly that it was not intended that the second portion should constitute a formulation of principles, but that it was merely intended as a statement (and in fact a stronger statement than in the second draft), in their own words, of the objections of those who were opposed to us. I was then asked whether I would not be prepared to accept this draft, although I had already rejected it — because in my opinion it had a different character — and to say how I would like to have it worded in order to make it acceptable to me. I then asked very distinctly, firstly, whether it meant that I could insert in my own words the standpoint which I had already stated during the argu-

mental stage, but so as to fit in with this draft, because it would have to cover other points than those contained in the second draft. That was answered affirmatively. Secondly, I asked whether the necessary amendments could be made to make it clear that the first part of it dealing with policy only represented the stand-points of the other Prime Ministers but did not lay down new principles for the Commonwealth, and that was also answered affirmatively. The result was that by the end of that day I agreed to do what I had not wanted to do at first, viz. to accept that draft also as a possible method of arriving at a conciliation between the conflicting opinions as to our continued membership. Late that evening I still had to make a speech at a dinner, but during the night my delegation and I got together and drafted the amendments and submitted them when we met on the Wednesday morning. I showed the Chairman of the Conference the draft in advance. He recommended certain changes, which I accepted, and in the afternoon he submitted the result. When he submitted it he stated that he believed that a solution had now been reached, because I had agreed to work on a basis which had evidently been acceptable to the other members the previous afternoon, but in regard to which they had agreed that certain amendments should be made.

When we had reached that stage, suddenly direct objections to our membership, which perhaps should have been raised earlier, were voiced. Then demands were made that there should be an addition which would make it clear that it was impossible — the word used was “incompatible” — for a country to remain a member of the Commonwealth without it being stated as a demand that every member country should build a structure which would create a society in which equal opportunities in all spheres would be given to everybody, irrespective of race, colour or creed. In addition to that, Nigeria stated — and I would not have mentioned this if Nigeria’s representative had not since then stated this publicly — that if that proposition were accepted he would under the circumstances have to consider whether Nigeria should remain a member of the Commonwealth if South Africa nevertheless remained a member. Then the representatives of various Afro-Asian countries said, and it was said sharply — calmly still, but with asperity; the emotion became apparent, and that is why I called it vindictive in the statement I made later — that the question should now finally be decided whether it was compatible (and the word “compatible” was used again) with the spirit of the Commonwealth that South Africa should officially remain a mem-

ber. It was further stated on behalf of India that it must be made clear that India would at the first opportunity — Nehru also stated that publicly since then and therefore I can mention that country — raise the question as to whether South Africa's membership could continue whilst its racial policy remained unchanged. He also said that he regarded South Africa's policy as "inconsistent" with the basic principles of the Commonwealth — in spite of the fact that everybody up to that stage had spoken as if they admitted that there were no written basic principles. He wanted this now to be incorporated in the communiqué.

At that stage I warned them that if there was any talk of reserving rights, as Ghana has since openly stated she was going to do in respect of her membership, I must also reserve certain rights. I would have to reserve the right to attack Ghana if she did not practise democracy which I in turn regard as one of the basic principles of the Commonwealth, if there are in fact basic principles. But I also added, "What useful purpose is served by our attacking one another in this way or by reproaching one another?" Have I not constantly advocated that we should stop looking for points of difference? That was why I said, "Let us forget these points of difference and look for points of agreement".

Under these circumstances Mr. Macmillan as Chairman felt eventually that he should again adjourn the meeting in order to gauge the feeling which was now perfectly evident. What he had thought would be the solution was now apparently rejected by most of the Afro-Asian countries as well as by Mr. Diefenbaker. I mention his name only because he himself has since stated publicly what his attitude towards South Africa's application was and that principles must be laid down for the Commonwealth, in spite of the attitude adopted earlier. I then learned from the Chairman that the feelings were apparently irreconcilable. To sum it up, as I did the other day, we were faced with three facts. In the first place the members concerned wanted to reserve the right to themselves to regard South Africa's colour policy not as a domestic affair only but as one which they could raise and discuss at any time. Secondly, they predicted and threatened that they would come forward with a motion asking for South Africa's expulsion, whether at a subsequent meeting or earlier or even now. Thirdly, they reserve the right, if under these circumstances South Africa remained a member, to withdraw from the Commonwealth themselves. It was perfectly clear to me that we had arrived at the critical moment where it was necessary for me to take my stand, a stand which at the same time would also be in the interests of

the United Kingdom and our other friends in the Commonwealth.

I had the choice at that moment between four alternatives.

The first was to concede that the Government of South Africa would start making certain policy changes as the result of intervention in her affairs, although I believed that in due course this would wipe out the White man in South Africa, even though the concessions were described as minor concessions.

The second alternative was to concede that such demands and principles should be embodied in a written resolution in the communiqué, but without any intention on our part to change our policy and in that way ensuring our continued membership, in the knowledge that South Africa would then remain a member under a cloud; in the knowledge that everyone outside would say that South Africa was remaining a member in a dishonest way; in the knowledge that her domestic affairs would continually be discussed without her being able to prevent it; in the knowledge that the threat of a motion of expulsion would remain and continually hang over her head, and knowing full well that certain other countries might then perhaps withdraw, with the result that although South Africa would then be a member, she would remain a member with the continual reproach, from Britain as well, that it was her fault that the others had left. We would then have remained a member in the knowledge that in agreeing to such a resolution we had sacrificed our honour and that no friendship could be built up with anybody on that basis.

The third alternative was to sit back and to let the Conference vote, or to quarrel about the unanimity rule, and then to refuse or not to refuse our application for membership, just as they pleased, and to do nothing at all ourselves. I would then have placed Britain and our other friends in the critical position of having to choose, whatever the consequences might be to them. I would have had to sit back and let them carry on in the knowledge that whatever choice they made, there would be all the ingredients of a clash against, and rancour in the minds of, those who were rejected, whoever they might have been, and of reproaches against those who remained, whoever they might have been. In other words, the disintegration of the Commonwealth, about which there is doubt at the moment — some people think it will gradually disintegrate and there are others who do not think so — would then have been a certainty. The ill-feeling on the part of those who remained or those who were pushed out, would then have remained without any hope of reconciliation.

The fourth alternative was to withdraw our application. Firstly,

it would have this advantage that we would retain South Africa's chance to continue in her own way to strive for the preservation of the White man on a basis of co-existence with the non-White. (In this connection let me say to my Hon. Friends on the other side that on this occasion we were under fire because we happen to be the governing party but with their policy, which is also a policy of discrimination in the eyes of the world, they would have found themselves inevitably in the same difficulty, if not now then a little later, unless they were dishonest or unless they accepted the policy of the absolute surrender of the White man.) The second advantage of withdrawal would be that our friends in the Commonwealth, particularly the United Kingdom, would be saved the embarrassment of having to choose. By not forcing the issue we would be able to remain friends (which is already proving to be the case). The third advantage would be that we would remain a member of the Commonwealth until May 31, which would at least give us these few months to make our friendship arrangements and to pass certain legislation, as the British Parliament now proposes to do. This would not have been possible if there had been a sudden severance of connections as the result of a refusal of membership or rather as the result of a resolution expelling us. Another advantage of withdrawing our application would be that it would give me the opportunity of fulfilling all obligations of courtesy to the Queen. But I do not want to pursue that subject because custom demands that the Kingship should not be dragged into this matter. Fifthly, it would enable the United Kingdom, in her own way, to try to keep the rest of the Commonwealth together without our membership proving an embarrassment to her, and at the same time she could, bilaterally, retain her bonds of friendship and trade with us. In other words, this would ensure the minimum loss.

I chose No. 4 because I had no other choice.

The following is the statement which I made on giving notice of the withdrawal of the application:

South Africa is one of the senior members of the Commonwealth and has in the past heartily co-operated with its fellow members. No self-respecting member of any voluntary organization could, however, in view of what is being suggested and the degree of interference shown with what are South Africa's domestic affairs, be expected to wish to retain membership in what is now becoming a pressure group. Under the circumstances I wish formally to withdraw my request for South Africa to remain a member of

the Commonwealth after she becomes a republic on 31st May. My request was made in the expectation that it would be willingly granted without reservations, as was done also by South Africa in the previous cases of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Ghana and Nigeria, in spite of our great differences with them which we were prepared to subordinate to co-operation in matters of common concern. Furthermore, we were influenced by what we considered to be the genuineness of the sentiment expressed at last year's Conference of Prime Ministers, namely, that South Africa was welcome as a member of the Commonwealth, when her racial policies were the same and equally well known.

It is with great regret that I am obliged to take this step of withdrawing my request, and I wish to assure the friendly disposed Prime Ministers that South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth on 31st May will be deeply and sincerely regretted, not only by the Government, but also by the people of South Africa, and we hope and shall endeavour to co-operate in all possible ways with all those members of the Commonwealth who are willing to retain their former good relations with us. I am sure that the great majority of the people of my country will, under the circumstances, appreciate that no other course was open to us. National pride and self-respect are the attributes of any sovereign independent state.

I must admit that I was amazed at and shocked by the spirit of hostility, and at the last meeting even the vindictiveness, shown towards South Africa in the discussions, in spite of the lengths to which we were prepared to go in the various draft communiqués suggested. It is clear that, in the view of the majority of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, after the lead given by a group of Afro-Asian nations, South Africa will no longer be welcome in the Commonwealth after 31st May, when she becomes a republic. The character of the Commonwealth has apparently changed completely during the last year.

The opposition to South Africa's continued membership of the Commonwealth is based on alleged discrimination against and oppression of the non-White peoples of South Africa. I do not intend now repeating my strong denial of those allegations. I do, however, wish to state that it is ironical that those allegations have come from Prime Ministers in whose countries oppression and discrimination are openly practised, and where the basic principles of democratic government are flouted. In this connection I refer particularly to Ghana, India, Malaya and Ceylon, although certain other Commonwealth countries are also not free from

such practices which are sanctioned by legal enactments. In other cases, while not expressly permitted by law, little or no attempt is made to discontinue such practices.

In conclusion, I wish to state that the proceedings at today's meeting which have obliged me to take this regrettable step, in my opinion, mark the beginning of the disintegration of the Commonwealth. This free association of states cannot hope to survive if, instead of devoting itself to co-operation in matters of common concern, Commonwealth Prime Ministers are going to continue the practice of interfering in each other's domestic affairs, and if their meetings are to be made the occasions for attacking their fellow members. The practices which have led to the present unsatisfactory conditions prevailing in the United Nations will, I venture to predict, lead to the eventual disintegration of the Commonwealth, which all would regret."

Mr. Speaker, the rest you know. The communiqué which was then issued just stated the fact, and I do not think it is necessary for me to quote that. Then followed my discussions with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and those of Mr. Louw and myself with other members of the British Government. This demonstrated the desire on both sides very clearly to retain friendship and work out the necessary agreements and to give clear and direct assurances that trade agreements would continue undisturbed.

This brings me to the statement made by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom in the House of Commons on March 22, of which I have a full copy through the courtesy of the High Commissioner of the United Kingdom. I wish to say very little about this, but it must be quite clear to everyone that Mr. Macmillan tried his best to convince the Afro-Asian nations and Canada to accept the amended draft communiqué which he and I had agreed might be a solution. I think it is equally clear that he did not succeed. He did try to deal with this as purely a constitutional matter. He did feel that, in view of the strong feelings expressed on the racial policies pursued by the Government of South Africa, the discussion could not be narrowed to the constitutional point. I gave him full co-operation in allowing this discussion, and he acknowledges that in his speech. He said:

"Dr. Verwoerd himself recognized this. Although it is an established convention of these meetings that we do not discuss the domestic affairs of a member country without the consent of that country, the Prime Minister of South Africa agreed that, on this

occasion, the racial policy of the Union Government could be discussed. In this I am sure he was right."

It was impossible to overlook the racial issue, he said. As the House knows, it became the dominant issue and the purely constitutional point was overshadowed. It is also true that Mr. Macmillan takes up the standpoint that he does not believe that the Commonwealth will in future turn itself into a body which will pass judgment on the internal affairs of member countries. He says:

"I see no reason why the existing convention to which I have referred should not be maintained. After all, it was not broken on this occasion, for the Prime Minister of South Africa agreed that this discussion should be held.

I am glad that he has this confidence. I do not wish to incite the other members of the Commonwealth to discuss domestic matters in future. I cannot, however, see how this 'holier-than-thou' attitude of some of the members at the present Conference can be maintained if, in future, they are prepared to accept oppression by other countries of racial groups within their countries, on which much information was given me by representatives from those countries, requesting me to attack Malaya and Ceylon and India, for the oppression they were suffering. I cannot see how the 'holier-than-thou' attitude towards South Africa can be maintained by the other members unless they do interfere. I also do not see how it can suddenly be said that the only principle of importance to the Commonwealth is multi-racialism, but that democracy counts for nothing. If this must, however, become the next important principle by which members test and attack one another, then the military dictatorship in Pakistan must come under fire — however much I personally admire President Ayub Khan, and however wise an attitude he took up. How can Commonwealth members avoid looking at the situation in his country from the purely theoretical standpoint of the non-understanding person outside as they did with us? How on earth can they particularly avoid looking at the position in Ghana, with the leader of the Opposition in Holland and others in prison? Will his dictatorship be permitted in an avowed democratic Commonwealth? The enormity of the situation which has developed in the Commonwealth does not become decreased if, in future, no further interference in domestic affairs take place, but it becomes increased. Then it will be quite clear that principles do not count, but that certain nations were gunning for South Africa and South Africa alone, and that older members were powerless."

The Prime Minister of Great Britain always treated me throughout with the utmost courtesy, and I wish to pay tribute to him for the way in which he conducted his chairmanship . . .

I have no grudge or grievance against him. He did take up a clear standpoint against our policy. I do not object to that. It is his right to say (as he did again in his own Parliament) that he believes that the policy of separate development is wrong. He put it in very strong words. He referred to his speech in Cape Town, where he said he tried to put courteously what he thought was the British point of view. We all know what the reaction was amongst the White people of Africa to that speech. We all know that it was felt that Britain was leaving its own people in the lurch in various portions of Africa. He stands by that standpoint. I cannot blame him; it is his. He said this, however, too, and to that I must react:

"I am convinced, and I must say this, that had Dr. Verwoerd shown the smallest move towards understanding the views of his colleagues or had he made any concession, or had he given us anything to hold on to, or any grounds for hope, I still think the Conference would have looked beyond the immediate difficulties to the possibilities of the future."

It can be seen from this precisely what concession would have meant, namely, not small concessions as something final, but to provide "grounds for hope", in other words, to provide grounds for further future pressure if that hope was not fulfilled. He wanted to overcome immediate difficulties, by concessions — in other words, that we could remain in by making these concessions — but they would have looked upon them only as "possibilities for the future" and the pressure would be turned on continuously. How could we remain on such terms?

It is quite clear that he sees our standpoint as a dogma. I do not see the policy of separate development as a dogma. I cannot see that the preservation of the White man in his own country is a dogma. There may be various people who think there are other ways of saving the White man while I can see only this way.

The point of view we support differs fundamentally from the one he believes in. I ask Hon. Members of this House, as well as all those interested outside, to understand that since the Prime Minister of Britain can and does utter his criticism of the South African Government's policy, I may do the same with regard to his, especially where it affects us. I look upon his policy with regard to Africa as being wrong.

When we look at Kenya and see what is happening to the White man there, we see that his original policy of only making a small concession to the Black inhabitants, giving a junior partnership, just did not work out. I see as a result of his policy the White man disappearing from Kenya in the course of time, or being totally submerged. Starting with the idea of a junior partnership, that country has already reached the stage of early Black domination. And that is the path which will follow elsewhere when similar conditions exist. I fear for the position in the Central African Federation as long as this theory of the British Government remains the policy for that country. I have never said anything like this before because I do not believe that the leader of one country should criticize the policy of another country, but I must on this occasion, owing to the liberty he took, contrast very clearly and distinctly my belief that the policy or the dogma that Britain is following in Africa does not do justice to the White man, and ultimately will not be best for the Black man either.

I do not attack Britain's policy with regard to countries like Nigeria and Ghana, which are undoubtedly wholly Black man's countries, and should have become free. I wish to do the same for the Native areas of my own country as it becomes possible. I believe in the co-existence of people as separate entities, but not in the intermixture of nations. This so-called multi-racial or non-racial policy is not one which provides justice for all races. It leads to Black domination where it is applied, where there are several population groups and only numbers are made to count. If we in South Africa wish to preserve ourselves, which is a right we have, then this policy which Britain is applying in those other countries, would be fatal.

But let me also say this. I criticize also the British policy with regard to the Protectorates, and I have never done that before. In view of the fact that our policy is being discussed in the British Parliament, I think I may just say these few words. I believe that the Protectorates are the Black man's country, and that they should develop as such. If they were under our protection that would be the direction in which we would guide their development as we are leading the development of our Black areas, whereas in the case of Britain's policy there is an attempt to make them multi-racial countries. In Basutoland the 2,000 White traders who are being treated as second-class citizens because they cannot get ownership of land in future, may have some sort of vote, but I say that they should have no vote there. It should be wholly a Black man's country, and if it were under our protection then those

White people would get their vote in the adjacent White constituencies in White South Africa. In other words, there is a clear difference of outlook with regard to multi-racialism or, as it is sometimes called, non-racial government, as a solution for problems in various countries. I do not think it is anything of the sort, although we both seek fair treatment for all, the one in a mixed community and the other in separate ones.

There is for us in the future apparently only the following common sense attitude to take. We must agree to differ in our outlook on racial policy, but there is no reason whatever why in everything else we should not co-operate to the utmost extent. There should and can be, and I believe there will be, real friendship between South Africa and the United Kingdom and other members of the Commonwealth, particularly the older members. We shall even continue our attempts to develop good relations with the other newer non-White nations no matter what has happened now. I believe there will be the best co-operation at least between us and the United Kingdom in regard to trade and everything that appertains to trade relations. These assurances have in fact again been given by both Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Sandys in the House of Commons during the discussions just held, and despite critical attitudes in other matters. About that there need be no doubt. As far as other matters are concerned, we are accepting the suggestion in the House of Commons that legislation should be introduced whereby arrangements will be made to retain the present relationship while our experts on both sides investigate these matters in order to see how re-arrangements can best be made. A particularly difficult matter will be that of citizenship and in that connection both countries will have to go into the matter most clearly. The question of trade and preferential trade agreements need however not be affected by this temporary arrangement. They can and should continue to exist and I would like to quote Mr. Macmillan's words in this connection, when he said:

"Then, apart from these other matters, there is the question of preferential arrangements which affect trade both ways. These are governed by bilateral agreements concluded after the Ottawa Conference in 1932 and will be unaffected by South Africa's changed status. I am informed that the maintenance of this preferential arrangement is not affected by our arrangements under Gatt."

This is what we have always contended.

At the end of his speech Mr. Macmillan used a phrase, as re-

ported in the newspapers, which struck me as very wrong. He said that somebody wrote that the flag of South Africa must now be flown at half-mast. "So be it." It seems to me that in saying that he made a mistake. This is not the case. To us it would have been a day of mourning indeed if we had had to submit to our own destruction, if we had committed race suicide by giving way on a matter of policy and principle, if we had had to subordinate ourselves and our future to the wishes and the desires of an Afro-Asian group within the Commonwealth which, as far as this matter is concerned, the United Kingdom could no longer control. Now our flag flies proud and free at the masthead, and under it there will be justice for all — not only for those in whom the Afro-Asian nations who dominated those discussions were interested. They cared little for the rights of the White man in Africa or the world, notwithstanding the fact that it is the White man to whom all the progress must be ascribed of which people all over the world at present boast and in which all participate, White and non-White, and from which the freedom of all of them has sprung.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to close with an appeal and I make this appeal to the English-speaking people in South Africa in the first place, to our non-Whites secondly and to my Afrikaans friends in the third place. My appeal to the English-speaking people of South Africa is this: We have to go into the future together. We can do so in full friendship although we can still have our differences on various matters of policy, and perhaps particularly colour policy. On that we cannot apparently agree. But the situation which has been created is not necessarily to the detriment of South Africa. On the contrary it might be, and I believe it will be, better for all concerned. The one reason is that now for once and for all an end has come to the background of our fight of the past in regard to English-Afrikaans relations.

Now there is a chance of standing together in one free country and co-operating on a basis which is *the* basis that the English-speaking people desire above all, namely great friendship with Great Britain. I appeal to the English-speaking people of South Africa not to allow themselves to be hurt — although I realize their sorrow very well — not to allow themselves to be hurt too much by the fact that what is only after all a framework for friendly relations has fallen away, a framework which is not even in fact the one to which their sentiment was attached, namely the old family of nations. That framework has fallen away. What is of greater importance is the friendship itself with Great Britain and

growing together as one nation here, closing our ranks as White people who will have to defend their future together. This should be easy, particularly where it can be done within the newer forms of close bonds of friendship which are already developing. This feeling that the friendship between our two countries must strengthen, I may say, has already obtained much support overseas. I would not like to mention any names, but this desire has been expressed by people with the greatest names in the country with which my English-speaking friends have their connections. It should give joy to those English-speaking persons who still feel that connection strongly. I do appeal therefore for friendship between Afrikaans- and English-speaking South Africans.

I appeal to the non-Whites of South Africa, to every group of them, not to believe that South Africa and its Government do not want to be the protector of their rights. In fact it is the fundamental policy of this Government and of the voters of South Africa that each of them should have the right to govern their own area or racial group when they have developed to that stage, and it is desired that this development should eventually be complete for each of them. It is our object to have co-existence, and not domination. I appeal to them, seeing that they have no other guide to self-government and no other protector, to stop looking to foreign powers. Let them co-operate with us who, together with them, want to strive to give them their own independent existence.

I appeal to my Afrikaner friends in South Africa to get away from the conflicts of the past, the struggle against Britain, the struggle which we perhaps still have today between the Afrikaner and the Englishman, as he is called. The time for that is past now. Here we now stand as an independent country, not bound to Britain in any way except by the bonds of friendship which we ourselves forge, bonds which we ourselves create. That is the only reason why I, as Prime Minister, can speak today in a way that General Botha and General Smuts and General Hertzog and Dr. Malan and Mr. Strijdom could not speak, namely, to make an appeal for friendship between these two nations, because no longer can there be any suspicion as there necessarily had to be in their time. At that time the fear necessarily existed that closer bonds could result in the destruction of the ideals of the Afrikaner nation, such as to have an independent republic. That is no longer the case. Now the position can only be that one nation seeks the friendship of and gives friendship to another nation. Now both nations in all the negotiations and agreements can also keep in mind their own self-interest, materially and culturally, as is the

case when agreements are made with other nations. Therefore I appeal to the Afrikaner nation to consign these conflicts of the past to history. Let us go forward together and forge bonds of friendship and trade between our independent state, our Republic of South Africa, and the other state, the United Kingdom, the country of origin of many people in this country. We need each other if the White man is to have a future in South Africa.

Speech during the Consideration of the Budgetary Appropriation of the Prime Minister, April 10, 1961

The double criteria of the United Nations was one of the subjects which Dr. Verwoerd discussed during the consideration of the Budgetary appropriation in the House of Assembly on the 10th April, 1961. He replied to a speech made by the Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff. In his address the Premier also referred to the role played by the Afro-Asian bloc in the world organization and in that context he discussed the position of South Africa. The introductory part of the speech answers questions of members of the Opposition and refers to diverse subjects. It is therefore not included.

The hon. the Leader of the Opposition has said that I should adopt a standpoint on our relations with the UN. I must now say specifically whether we are going to remain a member or whether we will resign from that organization. Is it our policy to remain a member or not? I do not intend allowing myself to be tempted to make any untimely or imprudent statements in regard to that matter. The position is that we are a member of the UN to-day and that we remain a member. We will continually review our position in the light of prevailing circumstances. Our position in regard to the UN is not exactly the same as our position in regard to the Commonwealth was. The two matters have no connection with one another at all. And what we should do in the one case, or in the other, have nothing to with each other. I therefore do not intend considering any step to-day and playing into the hands of the Leader of the Opposition. It would do an injustice and harm to South Africa if he could force the Government to take a definite standpoint now.

At a time like the present one must consider the matter logically, from the foundation upwards. I shall now try to do so.

In the first place I want to ask hon. members to consider the UN. What sort of organization is it to-day, and what are the forces and the motives operating in that organization? In recent years a development has taken place at the UN which was not foreseen and

particularly not when that body was established: the addition of a large number of new states, particularly in Africa, but also in Asia. That created a bloc of countries which were completely inexperienced even in their own government, and much more so in international policy. These states began to stand together under the influence of a force which is tremendously dangerous to the world, Communism. There is clearly a Communist bloc of countries in the UN which is trying to divert civilization, as we know it, into a direction which they desire. Against that, we have the Western countries with which we are closely connected. In addition the position has developed that the Afro-Asian bloc of nations, often overhastily and without due consideration but with their own motives, have co-operated to attain their own objects. There is therefore the struggle between the Western bloc and the Russian bloc and both of them seek the support of the Afro-Asian bloc, those countries described as the uncommitted nations or states which have not yet chosen sides. Within limits it may perhaps be said that they are not committed, but I am not convinced in my own mind that they are all as uncommitted as they profess to be. It seems to me that many of them are becoming thoroughly committed, mostly to Russia, but in the meantime they still derive all the benefits from the Western nations they can possibly get.

South Africa is landed in the position where both sides attack her, not because it is really a country in which injustice is done, because in fact it is a peaceful country, but because in this way the friendship of the Afro-Asian countries can be sought. It is true that clashes arise here now and again, as they do in any other part of the world when law and order have to be maintained, but in general there is much greater peace in the Union than in most other countries and certainly more than in countries which, like us, have different population groups. The question one should really ask is: Why is this peaceful country which is uplifting the backward sections of the population, the non-Whites (although there are various ideas as to how that should be done), selected as being the one for which trouble should continually be caused? We have not had any serious racial clashes and still do not have them. However, racial conflicts have already been caused here to some extent and will perhaps be caused to an increasing extent. To an increasing extent we shall have to protect ourselves against that. But it is mostly instigated from abroad and sometimes by incitement from within, and this while the Government is trying to bring about reforms for their benefit.

One finds the reply to this "Why?" without any doubt in the

position created in the world by the struggle of Communism for world domination and not so much in local factors. The result is that the Western nations, in their anxiety to withstand the Communist forces (and I say their understandable anxiety) adopt every possible means to keep the Afro-Asian countries on their side or on their side as much as possible. That is now taking place to the detriment of South Africa. I am now referring to the harm being caused to South Africa in the sense that when the Afro-Asian countries (in many cases for their own internal reasons) attack South Africa and wish to have demonstrations to express their own ideas, then the Western nations take the attitude that they dare no longer dissociate themselves from the attacks on South Africa. They join in the attack even though they know that the grounds on which the attacks are made are not well-founded. Gradually, in their own political interest and for the sake of their own economic advantages, these nations are being dragged in on the side of those Communist and uncommitted states in their struggle against South Africa. In actual fact it is not really a struggle against South Africa but more of a demonstration by those Afro-Asian leaders for the sake of their influence in their own countries. They often have to hide the bad conditions in their own countries which they cannot remedy. Sometimes they behave in this way towards South Africa to gain the reputation of what sound, strong, leading Black states they are which can take action against a White state or against the White man. We are landing in trouble because of the interests and motives of other states. It is utterly unfair and utterly unwise of the Western nations to allow South Africa to arrive in that position and to let it remain there.

I say it is extremely unfair that we should be treated in this way at the UN, for diverse reasons. The following are a few of those reasons. The first is that in our treatment of the Bantu — in the first place, I am now going to discuss the Bantu in general, in regard to whom the UN is so concerned, and later I will discuss the urban Bantu, the Coloureds and the Indians, so that hon. members should not think that I am evading these problems — we as a Government have a policy which does not aim at oppressing the Bantu. On the contrary, it aims at giving the Bantu his own country. In other words, it is a policy which does precisely what those countries of Africa which attack us desire to have themselves. They have forced their colonial rulers to give them their freedom. That is what happened in the case of Ghana, Nigeria and others. They do not want the Bantu of South Africa to have what they themselves desired and obtained, and as the result of which they

now have the opportunity to attack us! The emergent African states want to force our Bantu into a sort of multi-racial community, whereas they did not want it for themselves. They wanted to have Black states, and we quite understand that aim. That is why we are prepared in terms of our policy to give the opportunity for separate development to the Bantu races of South Africa.

In the second place, these attacks are unfair because we do not seek to apply a form of discrimination which denies these people human dignity and human rights. We apply a policy which is in fact intended to give them dignity and rights in the highest form, namely through self-government and self-determination. It is true that during the transition period these problems will continue to exist, as in other countries. But in every country of the world we find discrimination to-day under the pretext that it is a period of transition. That is even the case in the U.S.A., the biggest and most powerful Western nation. This attack by the UN is unfair because insofar as its political objects are concerned the Government of the Union is striving to attain the very thing that the UN says is its object.

Thirdly, these attacks are unfair because in providing a good socio-economic existence South Africa has in fact done more and is doing more and intends doing more for its Bantu than any Black state of Africa or any colonial power in Africa has done for its territory and its people. I say without hesitation that the socio-economic situation of the Bantu is better in the Union of South Africa than in any Black country of Africa. I say, further, that in regard to the average economic welfare there are many Bantu in South Africa who live on a higher level than the ordinary citizens in many of the countries of the world, and their average prosperity is still improving. Do hon. members know why? Does the UN know why? Because there was a tradition of segregation, together with the principle that every group should be given the right to serve its own people. Can hon. members imagine what would have happened to the Bantu's right to possess land if throughout the past 100 years it was not our tradition to discriminate in favour of the Bantu? Would the Bantu of South Africa not have lost all their land under a policy of equality during the past 100 years? Would there have been a Transkeian territory? Would there have been a Zululand? Would there have been any Bantu area if the policy of equality had been adopted 80 or 100 years ago? In the light of this, the UN should at least give South Africa credit for this, that as the result of its policy of segregation the Bantu retained everything he had. That did not happen, insofar as the Native peoples are

concerned, in the other countries which now condemn us. It is not even the position in Canada, which took the lead in the attacks on us, in regard to its Red Indians or its Eskimos. Not only did the Bantu retain his land as the result of this policy of segregation, but on that basis the White Government also cared for his welfare in other respects. I have already said that the South African Bantu has a higher standard of living than any other Native population in Africa. That is according to the UN's own statistics, and the UN also knows that all these benefits are due to the Whites. If it had not been for White rule, if it had not been for White government and initiative, the Bantu would not have reached that higher standard of living. Is it right then that a country which has done so much, which can lay claim to greater credit with regard to the treatment of its Bantu population than any of the countries which now damn us, should be condemned and accused, as we are accused in the motion before the UN, of discrimination and oppression? Does that not prove that in attacking South Africa they are actuated by motives other than truth and moral justice?

Here in South Africa the standard of literacy amongst our Bantu is higher than in most of the Asiatic countries even with their centuries-old culture, and in the next ten years we will probably reach the stage where the Bantu generally will be literate in the sense that they will at least be able to read, write and do arithmetic. I challenge any one of those Asiatic or African countries, as I also did at the Commonwealth Conference, to give me the same assurance in respect of their own country. Not one of them was able to do so, not India, not Pakistan, not Ghana, not Nigeria, not Malaya. Is it right then that South Africa, which is already doing this for her Bantu, should be damned as is happening to-day?

The same applies to health care. Take the tempo of growth of the population: Nowhere are the health services such that it is possible for the population to increase as rapidly as it is increasing in South Africa. The White man has possibly brought misery upon himself because he has looked so well after the Bantu; because he has allowed the Bantu population to grow so rapidly by looking after them so well. Do we get no consideration from the UN for the fact that we have done everything that is humanly possible? Should they simply be allowed to fulminate against us and to call us oppressors, in the face of the clearest evidence to the contrary? What right, what moral basis, have they for these attacks? I could read out quotations here to show the backwardness in areas controlled by the best of them. I want to mention

the case of Basutoland. In the *Cape Argus* of April 8, we find this report:

“Hundreds have died of hunger in Basutoland, says official.”

Here, in a neighbouring territory, one of the Bantu officials talks about the extremely unsatisfactory conditions; he points out that they cannot get doctors, that the people are leaving, that there are 10,000 tuberculotics who cannot get assistance, etc. This is a British territory, a territory which Britain has looked after for years, a territory which has now been given some sort of self-government. It is on our doorstep. Mighty Britain has been unable to do for its Bantu there what we are doing here for our Bantu. Nevertheless we are damned and even Britain is going to vote for a resolution which says that we are oppressors. And nothing is said about her. We may be told that we have a colour bar here. Well, here I have a report which appeared in the newspapers recently and which emanates from the Acting State Secretary of the Swaziland Territory, Mr. J. C. Martin:

“Swaziland is full of these irresponsible rumours that on Saturday the colour bar is going to be lifted entirely in Swaziland.”

“Irresponsible” rumours that the colour bar in Swaziland is going to be lifted — in what is Native territory? The report then goes on to set out how only certain chosen Swazis with a high status are allowed to buy liquor and what restrictions and permit arrangements exist in connection with the purchase of liquor. It goes on to explain that the White population of Swaziland, on a percentage basis, has increased greatly since the war; that the White population and the Coloured population — on a proportion or percentage basis, of course — have increased much more than the Swazi population itself. In other words, there we have a gradual invasion of a Black territory by Whites — with a colour bar. That is allowed to happen in a Black territory but it does no harm and Britain is still allowed to exercise full dominion over the Black man’s Swaziland! Even in Basutoland where she has granted them a Constitution, she still has the final say — almost dictatorial control. South Africa, however, although she compares very favourably with the best — and I say the best because Britain is certainly one of the best Africa authorities — is still accused and slandered. We are damned for not making more rapid progress in the process of uplifting our Bantu, in spite of the fact

that this little country, the Union of South Africa, has tried to improve conditions as rapidly as possible. Is that fair on the part of a world organization? Can it expect us to have any respect for it, can it expect any inclination on our part to listen to it, if it passes judgment without taking these facts into consideration? When it acts in this way we know perfectly well that there are ulterior motives behind it.

Fourthly, one asks oneself the following question: Must we not bear in mind too that while this same body condemned what happened at Sharpeville and Langa and drags it in on every conceivable occasion, it passed no resolutions on Hungary; that no resolutions were introduced there about the million people who were ruined in the struggle when the partition between India and Pakistan took place; that no resolutions came before it on what happened in the Congo and the distress suffered by Whites there; that no resolutions were introduced when the Mau Mau activities were going on in Kenya and when they should have been suppressed with a firm hand? Can one get justice from a body, can one take notice of its resolutions, of its condemnation of oneself and of its attacks upon one when it closes its eyes to similar, more serious incidents?

Mr. Chairman, I say that the way we are being treated is unfair because apparently the only yardstick which counts to-day is supposed to be freedom. What freedom? Nothing counts except the vote — a vote of any kind! Let us take a look at the nations which sit in judgment upon us to-day. Although we do want to give the vote, but in different ways, although we want to grant self-government but not on the lines that they prefer, they condemn us. But who are the countries who sit in judgment upon us? Amongst others, Russia, Poland and Hungary — Communist countries. What is the franchise worth there? How many million of the millions in Russia are able to exercise the vote freely according to their convictions? Do we ever hear of resolutions passed at the UN in which they say that in these countries there is oppression of fellow-citizens, indeed of huge majorities of fellow-citizens? No, we do not hear a single word about it. The other nations which condemn and damn us, even our so-called friends, agree with these countries which damn us, knowing full well that the conditions in the countries which I have mentioned are so much less democratic, from the point of view too of the future plans of these governments. As a further example, what is the position in respect of the franchise in a country like Ghana? What is the value of the vote to people whose stage of development is

such that they have to vote for a crane or a rhinoceros, otherwise they do not know how to cast their vote? Of what value can the vote be to people who in many respects are perishing of misery? What is the value of the vote when the Opposition is imprisoned and the Leader of the Opposition is threatened to such an extent that he has to go to another country? Is that the type of country which is entitled to join others in condemning and damning our treatment of our Bantu, Coloureds, Indians or any other section? I do not know why the hon. the Leader of the Opposition should laugh about this.

One of the countries which voted here is the Congo. The representative of the Congo has the temerity to say in respect of us that they propose to vote for the 24-power resolution, the one which calls for punitive measures against us — the representative of the Congo! Everybody knows what is happening there. The representative of Cuba, who says that what exists in South Africa to-day is a state of war, is also popular now and that is why he too votes for such a resolution! That is Cuba, where there is strife and discord — and every American knows what to think about Cuba. But Cuba and the Congo are his partners in damning South Africa! Sir, can we have any respect for such a resolution?

In the fifth place, it is unreasonable on the part of our attackers there to attack us when in point of fact wherever this so-called freedom comes, it is usually accompanied by a flight of capital and the perpetration of injustices against the White man in various ways. I mention the example of Kenya and the Federation. Does it really improve the welfare and the prospects of the Black people in those countries when they are given this so-called freedom, which is accompanied by the vote, when the capitalists who are so much in favour of it withdraw from those countries in the long run? If there is any danger in the economic sphere in South Africa at the moment, then that is so simply because these people are afraid that we Whites will not be able to hold out. If they can only have the assurance that we shall be able to retain control, that these threats mean nothing, they will remain here and leave their investments here. It is because they fear that we will have to submit and that in the long run this may lead to difficulties and defeat and incompetent Black rule and disorder, that they fear a depreciation in the value of their assets. If they can only have the assurance that we are strong enough to hold out, they and their money will remain here. I just want to add that it has not helped us in the least to furnish information on everything we are doing. In 1959 the Minister of External Affairs ex-

plained our Bantu homeland policy at the UN. That was the first explanation that was given there. We did therefore go and defend our case there. I say that because the hon. the Leader of the Opposition has asked why we do not do so. Subsequently some of the representatives, including the representative of Ghana, approached Minister Louw and said that they had not realized this and that they were grateful for the explanation; that it had thrown new light on the matter for them. Within a year, however, they had forgotten all about it. because then it paid them once again to attack and to try to hinder and prejudice South Africa in various ways.

Again I ask: Why all this; why, in the light of these facts, do we find that even countries which should stand with us, are leaving us in the lurch? I say again that clearly the background is this, that Communism seeks to dominate the world and in that regard Africa as well as Asia is of the utmost importance to it. Communism can only thrive where there is unrest. It started by stirring up unrest in the north of Africa and then extended its activities further and further south until to-day it is interfering not only with our affairs but also with the affairs of neighbouring territories. The agitation which is taking place there and here, is partly due to direct incitement but partly also to the conditioning of people who have a liberal outlook and who do not realize that they are becoming an instrument in the hands of Communism. In that category I include, amongst others, certain Churches. They do not realize that they are preparing the way. They are preparing the way not for what they believe will bring peace in South Africa — a mixed state under the control of orderly, civilized people from the various racial groups, made possible by a rigid Constitution, as the members of the Progressive Party would have them believe — they are preparing the way for the ousting of the existing order by disorder, a state of affairs which will be to the benefit of those powers of darkness. In that way then the Western world will lose the powers ("kragte") in Africa — both South Africa and the African states — which they are now seeking to win over. The Western nations are playing their own game in an attempt to prevent this. I am convinced that that is precisely what America, England, France, Australia and the other Western nations want to prevent and to that end they have chosen a certain method, but that method is wrong.

Those countries are following their policy of appeasement for two reasons: International politics is not the only reason; there is also the selfish motive — their own economic interests. For the

sake of their own enrichment and their own international trade they would like to have the sympathy and friendship of these Afro-Asian nations, and not one of them — even though they know that everything I have just said is the truth, and even though they know that the action which is being taken against us is unjust — dares to act differently from the rest of the Western nations. They do not want to be branded too as supporters of anything against the will of the Afro-Asian nations, because they do not want to lose the chance of international trade with them or the co-operation of the Afro-Asian countries in the forums of the world. Let me now tell the Committee what I consider wrong in the method that they adopt, and I take as an example what happened at the Commonwealth Conference, because that illustrates to me what is happening in the world.

There were two courses that were open to Britain in her attempt and honest desire to keep South Africa in the Commonwealth. In other words, accept that she honestly desired to keep South Africa within the Commonwealth. This was also advocated strongly by Mr. Macmillan when he was here in South Africa. We had the same intention. We both acknowledged the other party's honest desire in this. The British Government felt that its best chance to persuade the Afro-Asian members in particular to keep South Africa within the Commonwealth was to adopt the following tactics: I want to say here that I am not making things up now; I was told that these tactics were going to be adopted. I say that I believe these tactics were wrong, but if they were going to follow those tactics I would have to agree because it was their plan of action. The tactics were these, that those who were not in favour of our policy of apartheid, because they believe in the policy of partnership, would not only say so honestly but that they would state it very strongly, even more strongly than they would have preferred to say it to us. Hon. Members will recall that in Mr. Macmillan's speech here he talked about the difference in the circumstances of South Africa as compared with conditions in other parts of Africa and he stated that he realized that we did not view matters in the same light as they did. If hon. members read this speech, they will find that paragraph in it. At the Conference, however, he adopted the attitude that they wanted to say in clear terms to the other members: "We differ from South Africa's policy, just as you differ from it." While saying this, the British authorities would go further and side with the other members, without reservations and without giving any indication that they realized that he viewed matters

differently, in condemning South Africa in every respect as far as her policy is concerned. The result of this was that although Britain believed that by doing this she would be able to convince the other Prime Ministers that they could follow her lead since Britain shared their views but nevertheless wished to retain the Union as a member of the Commonwealth, she did not convince them. Mr. Macmillan believed that like him they would say, "We are strongly opposed to the policy, but for different reasons we too, just like Britain, want to keep the Union as a member of the Commonwealth." Instead of working out that way, it appeared at the meeting, contrary to the expectations of the British leader as the result of their prior discussions, that the Afro-Asian nations, and Canada were adopting the attitude, "No, we are not prepared to join you in just condemning the Union and then nevertheless allowing her to remain within the Commonwealth. We want demands to be made that will force South Africa to abandon her policy." In other words, in that way the Commonwealth would then interfere with the policy not only by talking about it but by laying down principles which would require to be implemented or by expecting promises of concessions at the meeting itself before agreeing to continued membership. As I have already said, it was impossible to allow such a thing.

I am making this point only to make it clear that Britain thought that she would succeed in keeping us within the Commonwealth if she associated herself fully with the Afro-Asian countries in speaking out and attacking South Africa's policy. In that way she hoped to get their co-operation to do what she was anxious for them to do. She did not succeed, however, and in my opinion it was because of this very method of appeasement. It is and always has been my conviction that if Mr. Macmillan had not adopted those tactics but the following (which I believe he was capable of doing and in my opinion would have been more reasonable) we would still have been a member of the Commonwealth. In other words, he could have adopted the following attitude: "I disagree entirely with the apartheid policy of the Union Government because I believe in a policy of partnership, but I do accept, although I am going to attack it in that regard, that the Union Government with its policy is trying along different lines to do justice to the various groups. I believe that they are honestly and genuinely trying to do justice to the Bantu, the Indian and the Coloured. I do not think they are going to succeed in applying their policy but I do not query their good and humane intentions." If they had said that and strongly insisted that here we have two

methods of obtaining human rights, of which they prefer the one, together with the other members, and South Africa the other, a method which did not make South Africa an unsuitable member to retain, there would have been a different spirit. After all, the fact of the matter is that South Africa is not trying to destroy human dignity but she needs time to re-shape conditions by means of separation, just like any other country during a period of transition. If Britain had adopted the attitude, "Let us give South Africa time and see if those things work out as they say they visualize", and had not adopted the attitude of unconditionally choosing sides against us to retain her own strong position *vis-à-vis* these countries, whatever may become of us, then in my opinion the others would have agreed to this proposal. If she had tried to adopt a stronger attitude, in spite of her difference of opinion, in respect of the virtues contained in our policy, then the other countries would not have been placed in the position where they believed that they could make demands in the knowledge that they would inevitably drag Britain with them, because she would then have compromised herself already.

I am convinced that what is being tried in the world to-day is precisely the same. The Western nations would like to have the support of the African nations in their struggle against Communism. There are certain Communist countries which are using the White state of South Africa as a convenient target to besmirch not only South Africa but the whole of the West in the eyes of the Black man in Africa. There are certain African states which are using the same method to increase their prestige in the eyes of other Black states as the deliverers of the Blacks from the rule of the White man. The Western nations now come along and throw in their full weight by participating with this group of other nations in this condemnation of South Africa in the hope of winning over to their side the Afro-Asian nations. I do not believe they will succeed. The method defeats the aim, because in this way the hatred against all Whites is strengthened. I think those nations will make use of the West to the utmost, not only against us but in all sorts of ways for their own benefit, and then when it suits them they will drop the West like a hot brick. Furthermore, I am convinced that if the Western nations had adopted a different attitude and had said that they differ from our colour policy but are prepared to give us a chance to prove that we are capable of carrying it out, so that they can see for themselves whether, by means of our method of four parallelisms we afford opportunities of legitimate development to the Bantu

and the other racial groups, there would have been a better spirit towards us and towards all White nations. By representing South Africa to the African states not as rogues and oppressors but as people who are trying in a difficult situation to do the best for everybody and who need a certain amount of time for the transition period, they would have helped to build up our prestige in the eyes of the countries of Africa rather than help to destroy it. If they had encouraged the countries of Africa to make use of all the aid and assistance that we are prepared to give them in many spheres, then I am also convinced that their chances of winning friends in Africa for us and also for them would have been much greater than they are by adopting the tactics which the Western nations are using to-day, namely, this policy of appeasement at our expense.

Let me also add this: Hard experience may still bring it home to the countries of the world that in South Africa they have an outpost of civilization which, come what may, will stand by the Western nations, and that if this state is destroyed, the gateway between the East and the West will fall into the hands of the forces of chaos, which will bring about the very thing that they are fighting against. It may also bring home to them that we really intend fully to apply a humane policy, without practising discrimination, to all our colour groups, although on lines which differ from the method in which they believe. I believe that that is going to be brought home to them and I see a future for South Africa therefore in spite of all the difficult times that we have to experience to-day.

The next question that I want to deal with arising out of this is the following: It has been alleged that Britain's new attitude and that of Australia and perhaps also that of France is really the outcome of our withdrawal from the Commonwealth and that it is the direct cause of what is happening to-day in the voting at the UN. Let me assure hon. members that that is not true. The changed attitude to vote against South Africa now has nothing to do with that. Let me tell hon. members why I say that so specifically. When Mr. Macmillan came to us in South Africa a year and a half ago he came *inter alia* to tell us that, if in the future certain resolutions were proposed at the UN on apartheid and other issues, resolutions which were acceptable to Britain, he would have to sacrifice the principle of non-intervention, because in his opinion he could no longer offer resistance, having regard to his interests — the interests to which I referred a moment ago. In his speech here the British Prime Minister

lightheartedly dropped a hint in that direction, but in conversations with me he did not hint at it but said so candidly. It was not for me to disclose this before Britain proceeded to take such a step. I could not disclose this to my Parliament or to the public because, although this was a direct notification, it was a notification about something which had not yet materialized, and he himself hoped that these circumstances would not arise but that the position would be alleviated. Britain's changed attitude, therefore, is not the result of our withdrawal from the Commonwealth; it would have happened in any event. He adopted this attitude long before any decision had been taken about the establishment of a republic or almost the question of attending the Commonwealth Conference. At that stage already Britain felt that she could no longer regard South Africa's policy as a matter that was covered by Article 2 (7); it had allegedly become a matter of wider importance! I myself argued with Mr. Macmillan on this point. I said: "But what happens to your basic standpoint? For ten years we have fought together for the principle of non-intervention in domestic affairs and for the maintenance of Article 2 (7) in respect of our colour policy." His attitude was more or less the following: One cannot always cling to a principle, that when the time comes for him to yield, he must make adaptations. Call it political opportunism if you like but the Government of a country must trim its sails to the wind, and that is what has become necessary here. Mr. Macmillan adopted the attitude that one must not regard oneself as so bound by certain principles that one cannot adapt oneself to changed circumstances. That means trimming one's sails to the wind. The result is that what happened here did not come as a surprise to us. It is definitely not the result of our withdrawal from the Commonwealth. If hon. members think that I am not reflecting Mr. Macmillan's attitude correctly, I want to add that I reacted to it and said that I was not prepared to adopt such an attitude. In my opinion a Government must stand on the principles in which it believes and that if there comes a time when the electorate no longer believes in those principles itself, the Government must be rejected and replaced by a Government which does believe in the other principles which the electorate is prepared to support.

A further point that has arisen is the following: How does the voting at the UN affect South Africa's friendship with Britain? There are various newspapers which have adopted the attitude that this is a personal slap in the face for me. The *Daily Mail* in England said so. Other newspapers in South Africa have said,

"This beautiful friendship is over" and that we are isolated to-day. That was alleged by the *Cape Times*. I want to say how I think this will affect the friendship between Britain and South Africa and other members. It need not necessarily, and it ought not, to affect it. Neither do I think it will affect it, because as mature politicians on both sides we were fully aware of what would happen at the UN and what the attitude was of our different Governments and countries. In spite of that we were anxious on both sides to retain what we could retain, for the benefit of our respective countries, by way of goodwill and friendship and good relationships. That is the realistic attitude which any politician adopts, and has to adopt, in the international sphere. There are major clashes between Britain and Russia on the question of policy, but she nevertheless tries to maintain certain connections and friendship with Russia. She even clashes with her very good friend, the United States of America. Do hon. members remember the clash between those two countries on the Suez question? In spite of that clash, which even caused the downfall of the British Prime Minister, the same Government continued to remain friendly and to develop and even to strengthen that friendship with the U.S.A. as it is to-day. In other words, you have to guard against it that clashes in respect of a certain matter between countries who are friendly do not ruin that friendship in respect of other matters. Just because we have unfortunately clashed in respect of one matter, I disapprove of any politician or newspaper in South Africa or anywhere else trying to drive in a wedge between us and our friends, seeing that we still have so many things in common and share so many interests. It is my policy therefore to exert all my energies to promote that friendship and not to lose my perspective because of those clashes which I think were very unfortunate but which could not be avoided.

I want to say further that you should not be unreasonable about Britain's attitude at the UN. In many respects she still acted as a friend would, because those 24 countries introduced a motion which asked for punitive measures against South Africa, but Britain supported the motion of the three or four Asiatic nations and even added that she objected to two points. One was the request for joint and undivided action, the other the statement that our internal affairs would lead to international clashes. In other words, within the limits of what was in her own interests, she tried to prevent more serious steps from being taken. Surely I can regard that as a friendly act, in spite of the fact that I cannot agree that she should have acted the way she did act.

I want to make another point. In the case of Britain is there not friendship even between her and other Commonwealth countries with whom she differs on the one or other question? This has, therefore, not merely flowed from the recent happenings. Do hon. members think that Britain approves of Ghana's violation of democracy? Britain's political outlook on internal government is based on democratic principles and she condemns the violation of that democracy perhaps even more strenuously than she condemns our apartheid policy, but she nevertheless remains friends with Ghana and she wants to retain Ghana within the Commonwealth just as she wanted to keep us there. Friendship is not tested by actions in one or other respect alone, Sir, your outlook should be matured and balanced, and you should try to retain everything you can in the international sphere.

Sir, you ask yourself the further question why Britain has renounced the principle laid down by Article 2 (7). Why does she also adopt the attitude to-day that a matter which is an internal concern of ours, namely, how to promote the interests of the various population groups under a policy of uni-racial development, is no longer governed by the principle of non-interference? The excuse, of course, is that this has become a point of dispute amongst the nations and that it has repercussions beyond our borders and that it has consequently assumed a wider meaning and greater significance and that it is consequently no longer such a domestic affair as it was originally thought to be. I say that is nothing more than an excuse because, if you accept that that is the position, you must accept that if any country wishes to interfere in the internal affairs of another country, it is only necessary to raise a hullabaloo for a sufficiently long period for various other countries to start talking about it. In that case it will only be necessary for a dissatisfied country to introduce motions concerning the domestic affairs of another country at the UN year after year, to create the impression that it is something which is causing difficulty elsewhere. It is only necessary to create sufficient tension deliberately and any domestic issue can be elevated to international level. That is why I say it is simply an excuse. The real reason is that these friendly Western nations are afraid that by remaining aloof and by remaining true to their principles, they will become estranged from the vast number of Afro-Asian nations and therefore lose their economic and political influence. Perhaps some of them are afraid that they, like South Africa, will land in the dock because many of them themselves are vulnerable. In other words, this is a process of reconciliation, of

appeasement, and in this process they are even prepared to regard friendly countries as expendable or as countries to be sacrificed. Britain's approach towards the African countries which were under her control, is an approach from her own point of view. She was interested in various types of countries. She was interested in certain countries which would undoubtedly become Black states, such as Ghana and Nigeria and also in countries where there was a fairly large number of White settlers such as Kenya, and she was interested in countries like Rhodesia where there was a very large White population. What attitude did she adopt throughout? Initially she controlled and governed all of them and that assisted in keeping her international status high. When she could no longer maintain that she was prepared to relinquish her control. In the case of the Black states such as Nigeria and Ghana she was prepared from the beginning to sacrifice them completely in that she handed over independent control to those nations. But in the case of those countries where there was a fairly large number of White people she hoped to retain control indirectly through the White people who were living there, by making limited concessions. Towards that end she introduced her partnership policy. As a matter of fact she wanted the control to be in the hands of the White people as long as possible and that was why she tried to apply the policy of a "junior" partnership for the non-Whites. That was tried in Kenya but it did not work. Within a very short time the Black junior member demanded not only to become a senior partner but to have sole control or a form of participation in the control that would lead to it. As this process developed Britain no longer regarded it to be in her interests to resist the demands of the Black man. She was prepared therefore also to allow those states to become Black states and to relinquish control, under guarantee in a constitution, which she had through the White man, and even in the long run to sacrifice the White man's chance to continued existence. Unfortunately this process is even operating in the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, where we also have the position that Britain tried initially to retain control through the White man in the form of a junior partnership but as the position becomes more difficult she is beginning to reconcile herself to the fact that Nyasaland is potentially a Black state, and that is apparently also how she feels about Northern Rhodesia. It is true that they talk about a non-racial state, but nobody is bluffed by that. Everybody realizes into whose hands the power will fall if further concessions have to be made. Therefore we have the fact that Britain's interests (to maintain

its position and its influence with those whom it regards in such territories as being in the majority and potentially the strongest, viz. the Black people) make it follow that policy. It adapts itself to the changing circumstances. We in South Africa should realize what this policy of partnership will lead to in deciding which policy we think is the correct one for us.

**Speech during the Consideration of the Budgetary
Appropriation of the Prime Minister, April 10, 1961
(continued)**

That then brings me to our position. What are our circumstances to-day? What is South Africa's choice in the light of the actions of the UN. If I understood the Leader of the Opposition correctly when he criticized us by saying that our oldest friends are deserting us because of our policy and the world is against us, then it seems to me as if he accepts that we have a choice and that he favours some other alternative. To me there is a choice between two things. The one is to ease the pressure by making concessions whatever the consequences may be. It is true that it does not necessarily mean that all the concessions should be made immediately but first to make as few concessions as possible and then to live in the fear of greater and greater demands being made. That is the one alternative, viz. to reduce the pressure by making concessions in regard to our racial policy — not concessions within the policy of separate development, but in the beginning partly to sacrifice the policy of separate development itself. He finds it easy to say that he is prepared to do so because he was never in favour of separate development. The Leader of the Opposition has always been in favour of integration in some form or another. His followers advocated many forms of integration here. He does not even feel bound to any principle in regard to integration; he continually wants to adapt his policy when faults in it are pointed out. That is the one possible choice. The other is to say that this is a fight for the independent continued existence of the Whites as well, although recognizing the same sort of rights for the non-Whites. It is a struggle to ensure our own continued existence by giving to the non-Whites everything the world can reasonably demand; i.e. full development for their nations, but separate from your nation, and your own nation's development separate from theirs. It seems to me that the choice before South Africa is therefore again what it has often been in this period of external pressure which is being applied: Between reducing the pressure by making concessions and abandoning the policy of

separate development and destroying the White man, and secondly, the struggle to give everybody a reasonable existence by retaining the policy of separate development.

In regard to the first alternative, viz. reducing the pressure by making concessions, I must ask this question: Is there anyone who is so naïve as to believe that in the first place the Communist countries, and in the second place the Afro-Asian countries, and thirdly, if these two big groups adhere to their demands, also the Western powers which have to try to go along with them for the reasons I have mentioned — is there anyone who is so naïve as to believe that they will remain satisfied with small concessions? They will perhaps accept it and perhaps it will keep the wolf from the door for six months, but then one has allowed one's feet to be knocked out from under one and one will have to make increasingly more concessions in the direction of integration at an ever-increasing pace. Does the hon. the Leader of the Opposition really want to tell me that he believes, to give a concrete example, that if we allow Coloureds to represent Coloureds in this Parliament, Russia and the Russian bloc will halt their fight against us because of it. Will that be the end of any fight against us at the UN unless we sacrifice apartheid increasingly? Does he really think that Ghana and Nigeria and the other Afro-Asian countries including India will be satisfied if we merely do that? In other words, here we now have a concrete concession of the type he advocated. I say that he will not be able to stop at that; he will not even be able to stop after having done much more!

I want to test this against the Leader of the Opposition's statement of policy earlier and again to-day. The Leader of the Opposition appeals to the country — so do I. I am prepared to face the test as to whether the country supports the policy in which we believe, the policy of the four parallel streams, or whether it supports the policy in which he now believes, which he calls a racial federation. The Leader of the Opposition thinks that he will satisfy the world by what he now suggests. I also think that he will go far towards satisfying them temporarily if he applies fully what I now understand to be his policy. But I also believe that it will be the end of the White man's authority in this country if he does so. This is how I understand his policy: In the first place, that Bantu homelands will be developed similar to, say, provinces. In other words, he does not want full partition eventually with a possible Commonwealth link; he wants less separation; he wants to see South Africa as one common multi-racial father-

land. He therefore wants to have Bantu areas as provinces with a fairly large measure of self-government, but not complete self-government. Secondly, he accepts that the Coloured for the time being should still be on the separate roll, but that they will be represented here by Coloureds. He is evidently prepared to accept that this will be so merely for the present and that gradually the Coloureds should be put back on the Common Roll together with the Whites, jointly to elect representatives — Whites or Coloureds — in what I call White South Africa but what he does not call White South Africa; in other words, in that part of the country which he calls the mixed province or the multi-racial province of his federation. Thirdly he did not express himself very clearly on Indians in spite of the suggestion I issued when previously I gave an interpretation of his standpoint. I asked him to state his standpoint in regard to the Indians very clearly (something which he has not done yet), but I now understand that he does not want to give the Indians representation on the Common Roll at present, but is thinking of giving them representation on a separate voters' roll in what I call the White areas. Perhaps they will also later have to be put on the Common Roll, because I do not know how in the long run he will differentiate between the Coloured and the Indian in terms of his own view of his policy of political integration.

As I understand it, that will be the process of development for the future. In other words, I now accept that what we will have with a view to the eventual federation, when it gets to that stage, is Bantu controlled states or provinces — states in the American sense of the word — and one mixed, or a few mixed provinces, and therefore not one part of South Africa any longer which is exclusively controlled by the Whites. Then a federation will be established with these constituent parts, and that federation must lead to a super Parliament. That will be the real Government of the country, at least in regard to certain matters, like external affairs, defence, etc. That central federal parliament will therefore have Black representatives from the exclusively Bantu states or provinces and there will also be the White or Coloured representatives of the mixed states or provinces. Because the Bantu and the Indians and the Coloureds together form by far the largest section of the population, I must accept that, even though he creates a so-called inflexible or rigid constitution which initially tries to some extent to maintain the balance between majority and minority groups, as the result of which the Whites will have a reasonable say by means of their representation in their mixed

provinces, the Blacks must eventually and inevitably in this common entity represent the standpoint of the majority of the population. I accept that in the beginning he does not want this and that he hopes that the rigid constitution will be able to avert it for a long time. In the meantime I have of course omitted to say that he, as I understand him, wants the Bantu in the cities also to be represented in that mixed parliament or those little parliaments. In other words the authority of the Whites will be still further weakened by this. The representation may be through Whites initially, but gradually it will certainly have to be through Blacks. The question is: When we have this superstructure, this central government of the federation controlled by Blacks, will the constitution lower down not be broken down to give domination to the majority of Bantu who will then as urban Bantu also have the franchise in the so-called mixed or multi-racial provinces? Surely they will not permanently be satisfied if they do not have equal rights. As I now understand the hon. member insofar as his federation is concerned, it is again a system which must lead to Black domination. The Russian and the Afro-Asian blocs will urge him to arrive at that final point as fast as possible. He will therefore not be able to escape the present quarrel by that means. Natal will be the first of the mixed provinces to come under non-White domination if the urban Bantu and the Coloureds and the Indians are given political rights in this way in terms of such a plan. The world, as we know it now, will force the United Party to that final result in terms of its own policy. In other words, making concessions in terms of the policy of a racial federation may satisfy the critics temporarily but merely because they know that they will then have the basis eventually to obtain precisely everything they want to have, viz. a Black state or chaos in the state — one of the two — in the southern part of Africa.

As against that, even though it may lead to great difficulties, we again unequivocally state the policy of development of the different race groups. The Bantu will be able to develop into separate Bantu states. That is not what we would have liked to see. It is a form of fragmentation which we would not have liked if we were able to avoid it. In the light of the pressure being exerted on South Africa there is, however, no doubt that eventually this will have to be done, thereby buying for the White man his freedom and the right to retain domination in what is his country, settled for him by his forefathers.

The problem of giving political rights to the Coloureds and the Indians will then still exist. In this case I accept the rejection of

the old proposition that one cannot have a state within a state. I accept firstly that in our state we will have to give the Coloureds opportunities for development firstly by means of their own local governments, secondly by way of managing the sort of thing now falling under the control of the Provincial Councils, viz. their own municipal affairs, the education of their own children and similar matters.

Thirdly, I accept that within the White state, and therefore within the same borders, an institution should be established or a method should be evolved to give the Coloureds further rights of self-government over their national interests. The time to decide precisely how and in regard to what this must be done can wait until the development has progressed to that second stage. And precisely the same applies to the Indians. We have already said (I do not know why the Leader of the Opposition says that we never talk about the Indians) that insofar as the Indians in South Africa are concerned we will begin by making an adaptation in the Department of the Interior. As in the case of Coloured Affairs, a start will be made by developing a division which will in time grow into a Department of Indian Affairs. We shall be prepared to establish a council representing the Indian population to deal with the interests of the Indians, as we did in regard to the Coloureds. We have already said too that as the result of the establishment of group areas we want to give the Indians full control over their residential areas too so that they can have their own local governments on parallel lines, as we envisage for the Coloured community.

Dr. STEENKAMP: And representation here?

The PRIME MINISTER: No, no representation here. A moment ago I said very clearly in connection with the Coloureds — and I also say it in connection with the Indians — we limit their development to that of a council which will exercise authority over their own affairs, similar to the powers now enjoyed by the provincial authorities. If it is necessary to have further development on those same parallel lines, then we shall have to do so. But I do not visualize that there will be any necessity for representation in a common parliament because I foresee that a different method can be evolved — perhaps in an unorthodox manner — by which each of them can be given full authority and a full life, separate from each other in the political sphere.

What we also said very clearly at the same time is that there would be mutual economic dependence. One finds that development in Europe, as I often have said very clearly and unequivocally,

cally. The existing economic unit need not be broken up, although in the political sphere there may be this clear separation. I do not say that this system is the ideal one which we would have chosen if we could have had a choice 20 or 30 or more years ago, knowing what we know to-day. If it were possible to get the Indians out of the country completely, if one could have settled the Coloureds in a part of the country quite on their own, in their own areas like the Bantu, we would certainly have done that. If the Whites could have continued to rule over everybody, with no danger to themselves, they would certainly have chosen to do so. However, we have to bear in mind the new views on human rights, also present in our own country and in our own ranks, the increasing knowledge and standard of civilization of our non-Whites, the power of the world and world opinion and our desire to preserve ourselves. Then there is only this one method of parallel development which can give us all a peaceful future. The idea of a racial federation of the Leader of the Opposition, as against that, is just as dangerous to the Whites, the Coloureds and the Indians and the Bantu masses, as when all these racial groups are represented in a unitary Parliament of this kind. One does not, for example, gain anything in the way of safety for the Whites by means of this idea of a federation.

Mr. HUGHES: Will the Coloureds also eventually lose their parliamentary representation and be in the same position as the Indians and the Bantu in the White areas?

The PRIME MINISTER: Until we have reached the stage of development to which I referred, where the Coloured council fully performs its functions, no decision will be taken as to what further steps should be taken in regard to the Coloured representation in this Parliament.

The proposition I am therefore stating is this: We simply have the same old choice again, the choice between handing over our fatherland to the non-Whites, eventually to the Bantu and to the Bantu dictator — as the result of which the Coloureds and the Indians will suffer together with the Whites — and separate, parallel development, each on his own lines. We must either satisfy the world and sign our own death warrant, or we must be prepared to endure the difficulties and the pain which our standing firm may cause us. Shall we face the dangers resulting from our struggle for self-preservation, as Britain had to do when she was in trouble and stood with her back to the wall?

I think I have now shown hon. members that there is in fact hope for our country provided we are prepared to remain con-

sistent, provided we have faith in our nation and trust that the world will not forever remain in this state of confusion in which it is now. I believe that the state of conflict in the world and of the uncertainty caused by the present crisis will not continue. I have confidence that, to the extent that relations between the states take on a new form, they will become more inclined to judge us fairly in terms of what we do and want to do, and to understand what we are actually doing. We must continue trying to get a better understanding. Leading public figures must also stop trying to frighten the people here, as so many of them do to-day. Much of what happens at the UN to-day causes one concern, but much of what happens there is also reassuring. Let us just read the arguments used by country after country when their representatives got up and said why they would vote for the Asian motion and not for that of the 24 powers. Then one realizes how many of the most important states are not prepared to participate in any form of drastic action. In other words, they are also keeping the door open for understanding. It is true that this door is being kept open by them in the hope that they can convert us to their way of thinking and they are trying to make us appreciate their views by exerting pressure on us — that is certainly true — but at the same time it has the advantage of giving us an increasing opportunity to let them see and know what we are really doing.

When hon. members say that the implementation of our plans for development is so slow, I want to remind them that we are dealing with one of the most colossal reforms ever tackled by any nation. Eight, nine or ten years ago, we inherited a terribly chaotic housing situation in so far as the urban Bantu are concerned. I immediately started remedying it. Hon. members opposite then just as venomously and bitterly opposed the basis on which the whole solution rests as they are doing to-day, if not more so. I am reminded of some of the Acts they opposed. Through that we lost quite a few years, because we first had to fight to get so far that the means and the powers would be available and to get the sympathy and co-operation of the city councils controlled by the United Party, which was essential. It therefore took us ten years to do just one thing, viz. to build more than 150,000 houses and schools and public buildings for the Bantu right throughout the country and to rescue them from the chaotic conditions in which they lived in shanty towns. Now hon. members expect us to be able, just as soon or even sooner, to complete the colossal and diversified development of these homelands which are entrusted to us and to prove the success of the policy of separate

development in every sphere. Countries like Ghana are colossal bluff in certain respects, in the sense that what they can show is a Parliament elected after a certain fashion and a Government which is Black, but in regard to the actual development of the country Ghana has not really progressed further than the stage to which Britain brought her. Giving a name to the new state and having an independent system of government is a quite limited reform. We are not expected only to demarcate an area and to establish an authority and then leave it on its own. It would be easy to demarcate an area and to give it a government and simply to leave it on its own, but we cannot do that because the inhabitants would perish. We must uplift those people and educate them and teach them to be self-reliant in all spheres. We are trying to do it gradually so that we do not get Congos in our midst by an overhasty freeing of those who are not ripe for it and who still do not have the necessary material background and the knowledge. We are busy with the whole process of uplift: that includes education; it demands the giving of experience. The masses must not only learn to know the democratic principles; they must also learn to exercise them, first on a small scale in the sphere of local authority and school boards, with the object of gradually training them for the greater task of being able to govern their own state. All this takes time. Where hon. members to-day praise us for having built enough houses for everybody in ten years' time, they expect too much when they say that we must bring about this enormous constitutional development and these changes in a very short time. They ask the impossible not only in terms of physical capacity but also because of the human problems which must be solved. Those members of the Opposition who formed part of the previous regime ought to know with what enormous difficulties one has to cope when one wants to train the Bantu in general to do something for themselves or for their own people. But I have hope because we are making progress in spite of all this, more progress than most people realize.

Now I want to conclude by saying something of a personal nature. The members of the Opposition, including the Leader of the Opposition, and the Press and others, have tried to concentrate this fight on me personally. They adopt the attitude that it is only I who stand in the way of a solution, viz. the solution they want. It is alleged that only I stand in the way of peace with the outside world. Let me tell those hon. members this very clearly: If I were convinced that I did not represent the will of the people, I would not remain in this place a moment longer.

It cannot be pleasant to anyone in these difficult times to occupy this responsible position. It results in days and nights of worry and pain; it gives one no pleasure; it cannot mean anything to one personally. If I were to be selfish and consider my own comfort I would get out of here as quickly as possible. I stay here only because my conscience tells me that I dare not run away from the task with which my people have entrusted me. The day, however, my party or the voters outside give me the clearest indication that they consider that the course in which I believe, and earnestly believe, is wrong, they need not get rid of me. I shall leave of my own accord. The fact is just that I am convinced that whoever sits here should be prepared to endure trouble for the sake of the future of his country. I am convinced that he will have to be prepared to suffer for his convictions. I am convinced that the policy of separate development is the will of the people, not only of the Afrikaners or of the Nationalists but of 80 per cent or 90 per cent of the White voters of our country. I am also convinced in my heart that the course we are adopting is the best for our Coloureds, because I am afraid that they will be destroyed if any other policy is applied. I am even convinced, although I have had less contact with them than with the Coloureds, that this policy is also best for the Indians in the country, because they themselves will be oppressed if the whole of the country should have a Bantu government. I am also convinced that our course is the best for the great majority of the ordinary Bantu in our country insofar as their welfare and prosperity are concerned, because I am perfectly convinced that receiving the franchise at an early date will not ensure for them all the prosperity we give them and that there will be a dictatorship, just as in Ghana, from which the mass of the Bantu population will derive no benefit. I am therefore convinced, from the best and most honest motives and by the dictates of my conscience that it is my duty to remain on as the Prime Minister in the best interests of all sections of the population. For my own sake, for my own selfishness, I certainly do not choose to stay on. I wish that I could be spared what is now my duty.

Participation in Debate, Budgetary Committee, April 14, 1961

On this occasion the Prime Minister took part in the debate both in the morning and afternoon and responded to numerous questions from members of the Opposition. The answers to questions not concerning central policy are not included in this chapter and the two parts of the Prime Minister's speech have been joined together. The colour policies of the United and the Progressive Parties were analysed by the Prime Minister and against them he put forward the Government's policy of separate development and also referred to the development of border industries. Other issues referred to by the Prime Minister were the role played by Radio South Africa and the freedom of the Press in South Africa.

This whole debate deals with the Opposition's submission that we must be realistic and that our policy does not comply with world opinion and is not in consonance with the basis on which we were able to retain our membership of the Commonwealth. The gravamen of the attack upon me at the moment is that we are being unrealistic. The Opposition, however, is supposed to be very realistic. It has also been stated that the reason why we are having all these difficulties with the Commonwealth and with the UN and why all these questions have to be raised here about defence and the dangers facing us, is because we are discriminating against the Bantu and the Indians, and the Opposition allegedly does not want to discriminate.

Mr. S. J. M. STEYN: There is not one party in this House which does not discriminate.

The PRIME MINISTER: I am pleased to hear that admission. I have always contended it but have never heard an outright admission from them. Here we have a specific admission that the United Party policy deliberately discriminates against non-Whites in South Africa. If they deliberately discriminate, I am 100 per cent right in my contention that they would have been obliged to withdraw from the Commonwealth just as we were obliged to do so. The fact of the matter is — I have said it previously and I want to repeat

it — that when the Tunku and all the others indicated that they would have been satisfied with minor concessions, they meant, as Mr. Macmillan also put it, that they would only be satisfied because there would then be “hope for the future”. In other words, they would have accepted a certain amount of discrimination now provided it was not the policy to apply discrimination permanently, but that further changes would follow. The Tunku also wanted representation for the non-Whites by their own people, even though that representation was small. Hon. members opposite have now told us that it is their policy to continue to apply discrimination in the future and to have White representatives only. That, however, is at the root of our struggle here and overseas. That is why I constantly try to explain that I believe our policy is one in terms of which it will be possible in due course to avoid discrimination. Hon. members opposite do not believe that that is going to be the outcome of the policy of apartheid. I do believe it.

The Opposition has now come forward with another policy, and that is the policy of racial federation. It is true that my Vote is under discussion now, but when the Prime Minister's Vote is attacked, then the Opposition should tell the country at the same time what they propose to do about the essential points at issue if they should come into power. They cannot, as this Opposition always does, simply remain negative. An Opposition must become positive, otherwise it cannot be weighed up as an alternative government. The hon. the Leader of the Opposition has now accepted that that is his duty and that is why he has said: “I am going to adopt a positive attitude now and I am going to put my new colour policy to you, namely the policy of racial federation.” All the criticisms which have been directed at our policy should be used as a yardstick now to test their policy, to see which of the two policies will give us peace with the nations which are our friends and peace with the world.

What is the policy that they put forward? They put it forward as a policy not only for the moment but as a policy for the future—a policy which is to develop in the future and which is to solve all our problems. That is the attitude the Opposition adopted. I want to add that when I stated in connection with the Coloureds that I had only outlined the development up to a certain stage—it does not indicate the absolute limit of development because I believe that at that stage one will be in a better position to judge how to go further along the same road—the hon. the Leader of the Opposition reproached me for not having given a final blueprint. In other words, I am expected to describe every detail of our

constitutional planning up to the very end, but when he himself referred to his policy he stated that that was how he saw the position in the immediate foreseeable future, and that one must leave future developments to be determined in the future. In other words, he adopted precisely the same attitude as I, that it is not necessary to describe all future development in advance. Yet this reproach was levelled at me! Illogically enough, he demands that right for himself.

To-day it has come out more clearly than ever before why he adopted that attitude. It now seems that the Opposition realizes that their policy will lead to one result only, but that they dare not admit it to-day. The hon. member for Yeoville must be aware that he has put his foot into it to-day, in this respect: The Opposition's claim that it has given a reply, satisfying the world, to all the questions on colour policy by putting forward a policy which it now calls racial federation, can only succeed if this policy will result in complete equality of rights, and the member for Yeoville cannot tell me that his party supports that.

I put it to the hon. the Leader of the Opposition how I understood his racial federation and thereafter, although in fairly vague terms, he explained what he meant. What he said he meant did not differ much from what I said I had understood him to say. I want to repeat it. I understood in the first place that in that federal government the Black representatives of the Bantu reserves would sit as co-rulers. That is the first place therefore in which there will be Black people in his central federal government, and in the same way there will be Coloureds. There will also be Indians in this central federal government. If they are not going to have direct representation there, I said it then meant the following: that there will be a mixed area, which I call White, and in the Parliament of that mixed area the Coloureds will have to be represented; the Indians will have to be represented and the Whites will have to be represented and, as the Leader of the Opposition stated, the urban Bantu will also have to be represented. I went on to say: I understand the intention is that to begin with the representation will be through Whites, but that in due course it will be through representatives of the people themselves, in other words, Whites by Whites, Coloureds by Coloureds, Indians by Indians and the urban Bantu by Bantu. The hon. the Leader of the Opposition did not then say that I was wrong in this interpretation, but it is now being stated that I was wrong, except insofar as the Coloureds are concerned, and that that is not the policy of the United Party; they do not know how their future congresses may change this,

but it is not their policy to-day. That was fair enough; it is the same as I had said previously, that as far as the Coloureds are concerned, direct representation by Coloureds themselves is not the policy of my party. Congresses may change it, but the policy of this party as it exists at the moment, is that, for all time to come, Coloureds will not be represented by Coloureds in Parliament. Hon. members opposite, in order to be consistent, have to say the same thing. For all time to come, therefore, their policy is that the various groups (except the Coloureds) must be represented by Whites. If that is so, then the whole racial federation is a fiasco, on the one hand because it will give no satisfaction at all to any one of those groups. The Coloureds will not say that they can now support the United Party because it offers them a future, if United Party members say: "Under our policy you personally will be kept out of Parliament for ever; there will always be Whites here to represent you."

Similarly the Indians will not be satisfied and India will not be satisfied; the world will not be satisfied, and the Commonwealth Conference would not have been satisfied with a United Party which says that the Indians will be represented forever by Whites only. Neither will the urban Bantu, who think they have an ally in the United Party because they think its intention is that eventually they themselves will be able to come to Parliament, be satisfied. In other words, it will not be possible to obtain peace in South Africa along the lines of this type of so-called racial federation. Hon. members on the Opposition side adopt this attitude, of course, because they are afraid of the voters of South Africa, because they know that the electorate is not prepared to have a mixed Parliament. But then there is another point that I made in my previous statement that still stands, and that is that since the United Party says this is going to be a racial federation and that therefore there must be a federal parliament — and in this connection they admit that there are going to be Bantu homeland areas which may be represented in the federal parliament and therefore also in the federal government—Black people will at least have to come from those areas into the central federal parliament and into the federal government. The supreme parliament and the supreme Cabinet will therefore be mixed in spite of White representation of Indians and Bantu in the present parliament, which will then be a provincial parliament. The United Party cannot get away from the fact that, in the supreme government of the country, they are going to institute a mixed parliament and a mixed government in South Africa. All the consequences that they visualize in connection with our

policy will then also follow in their federal plan. They continually ask us how the Bantu homeland areas, as its neighbours, are going to act towards the White state. Those arguments are going to apply to the United Party policy too. After all, the Bantu who represent those homelands in the federal government are going to oppose it if the Bantu in the mixed parliament of this mixed (or White) area under the United Party plan cannot be represented by Blacks but only by Whites. Their whole policy has therefore collapsed like a pack of cards this morning. It has now been proved to be no genuine solution for South Africa's problems, either in our race relations or in our relations with the outside world, if the aim is appeasement by way of concessions. All these concessions that the United Party would be prepared to make under this plan, will not be good enough unless they go further. At the same time such a federation would give rise to discord and strife in South Africa such as no other plan that we have ever heard of.

Let me warn hon. members opposite. They should look at what is happening in the Federation of Central Africa, the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. There they also have a federation, and this federation has at least one Bantu homeland in it, namely Nyasaland. Not only is this Federation collapsing in the sense that that Bantu homeland wants to be out of it and become simply an independent neighbour—in other words, it wants what we want to give our Bantu homelands but what the United Party refuses to give them—but we also notice that in Northern Rhodesia Barotseland, like Nyasaland, is striving to become an independent Bantu homeland, entirely separated from the Federation. These Black territories want what we want to give but what the United Party refuses to give. In that existing Federation one sees the consternation, the outflow of capital, all the evils that flow from that sort of federation idea. There the Bantu are fighting for a share in the government and direct proportional representation in these admittedly mixed partnership territories. In Northern Rhodesia, one of the two mixed partnership areas, they are already demanding rule on the strength of their superior numbers. They are not demanding it in Southern Rhodesia yet, because as a first step it does not suit them to do so, but they will demand it, just as they will demand it here if such a partnership federation comes into existence here.

This example of what is happening in the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, because of this partnership policy, is the clearest sign of what would happen here if this United Party federation idea were accepted. The Federation of Rhodesia and

Nyasaland has already gone one step further than the maximum concessions which the United Party is apparently prepared to make to-day, because the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland do allow Black representatives in their Parliaments and in their Cabinets. In other words, that Federation, which is under pressure because of the dissatisfaction it creates, has progressed a good deal further in satisfying the Bantu's ambitions than the highest ideals cherished by the United Party with its federation idea, as set out by the hon. member for Yeoville. In this first analysis of the United Party's racial federation plan it has been shown this morning that South Africa is going to be placed in great danger of experiencing the same economic and political setbacks as those experienced just north of us. We have always contended that. The United Party cannot go to the country and argue that with its policy it is going to create harmonious race relations. It cannot go to the country and say that it would have kept us within the Commonwealth after what we have now heard from the member for Yeoville. It cannot go to the country and say, "We will have political peace and racial peace and harmonious relations here" after what we have heard to-day about White representatives. It will not be able to say that there will be no withdrawal of capital here and that no financial problems will arise after what we have heard to-day about its policy of deliberate discrimination.

After all, we have the clearest example just north of this country of the consequences of this type of policy. I say therefore that the United Party's policy is an iniquitous policy. Apart from all the arguments I have mentioned, it is based on the acceptance of permanent discrimination and permanent domination by the Whites, because the hon. member himself said: "Who says that we do not want to discriminate?" Their policy of racial federation, as it has been explained to us this morning, implies deliberate permanent discrimination and permanent domination.

The hon. member for Parktown has said that discrimination and domination are the soul of this whole debate and the situation in which we find ourselves. It is the soul. And the Government is trying with its policy to escape from this dilemma. During the transition period we may still have to apply certain forms of discrimination, and during this period there may be White domination. But the basis of our policy is to try to get away from it. That is why we adopt the policy that the Bantu, wherever he may live in various areas of his own, must be given political control and domination or dominion over his own areas and people. Just as the Italians in France retain their vote in Italy, so the Bantu, who are

living temporarily in our urban areas, must have a say in their homelands. They should be able to get it up to the highest level and we want to help them to attain that position. After all, there cannot be domination by Whites over Blacks where there are two neighbouring states, the White state and the Black state. We are also trying to solve the problem of the Coloured and of the Indian by accepting the principle of a state within a state so that within the borders of one territory for these two groups, each will be given the fullest opportunity to control its own interests. I admit the difficulties in that connection, and I have always admitted them. But I have said that when one finds oneself in that dilemma, one has to choose between these three alternatives: the United Party's stand of perpetual discrimination and domination; absolute equality and Black domination; or apartheid. To a large extent discrimination is also inherent in the Progressive Party's stand if they want permanent White leadership to be retained.

As far as the United Party is concerned, its policy theoretically therefore includes a form of perpetual domination and discrimination by the Whites, even though I do not believe that that will remain the position. They will lose against the powers that they are letting loose. The same applies to the Progressive Party unless they accept Black rule as a further aim. The inevitable result of such a democracy in a country with a mixed population, as in a country without a mixed population, must be majority rule. That is the only true democracy in a mixed fatherland. Any form of mutual arrangement whereby, by means of a constitution, one seeks to deprive a majority group of its rights by limiting its rights to lesser representation (even though it is by members of its own race) so that another group which is smaller, although more skilled or civilized, can retain an equal or a major say, is and still remains discrimination. In due course at least it must disappear as the other advances in civilization. The moment you say, "I want to give equality; I do not want any domination" (which is the same) then you cannot claim that by legislation you can give a group of 10,000,000 Bantu equal rights with the White group of 3,000,000 and equal rights to a group of 1,500,000 Coloureds and equal rights to a group of 750,000 Indians. It simply cannot be described as equal rights. The consequence of an attitude of "no discrimination" and "no domination" and "absolute democracy" in a "mixed fatherland" is "one man one vote". That is the only consequence. If you do not accept that but a sort of so-called rigid constitution in which you place each group in separate compartments and lay down the limits within which each group can acquire authority,

however civilized these people may become, with the object of being able to say, "I am protecting the equality or the supremacy of the Whites", then there is still discrimination and domination.

That is why I say to the hon. member for Parktown that he and his party are in precisely the same difficulty as the United Party and that they are faced with the same dilemma. One should try, however, to get out of this dilemma. The only alternative is our way, and that is to see that every group is given complete control over its own interests. When members of one group come into the other man's area, or on to the other man's terrain in the case of the Coloureds and the Indians, they must be prepared to accept that they are guests there. If the White man goes into the Bantu areas he cannot expect to be given joint control there. And this is what I believe to be a mistake in Britain's handling of Basutoland, and it may become her mistake also in the handling of Swaziland. The former cannot become a multi-racial state. As far as the latter is concerned an attempt is apparently being made, instead of sharing it and giving the White man and the Black man each full authority over that portion which he occupies or which is his, to create a multi-racial authority and then to try by means of all sorts of legal provisions and measures, to see that the Black man does not get sole control. I see only one road, however difficult it may be and whatever further consideration it may require as one progresses from step to step, and that is the policy of separate areas.

Then the leaders of the various racial groups can meet, as is done at a Prime Ministers' Conference or when different nations meet, on a basis of absolute equality in a consultative body to discuss matters of common interest. That is why I said I foresee that the eventual outcome of this policy will be no discrimination and no domination. Each group will look after its own interests, and they will then meet in a consultative body where they can sit together to eliminate as far as possible all points of friction and difficulties by means of discussions and negotiations. That is the only way, and hon. members who have tried to ridicule this, as the hon. the Leader of the Opposition has also tried to do, are being superficial. What they themselves propose has been proved to be completely ridiculous. Every argument of ridicule, every criticism that the hon. Leader of the Opposition and other members have tried to put forward in respect of our policy can be applied to their policy, as has been done here to-day. For the umpteenth time therefore I say that no solution has been put forward by the Opposition. Along the road which we are following, we are squarely facing all the essential differences which confront us; there is no

bluff; this road offers protection to the White man because along this road we recognize the fact that there must be differentiation. The minute you refuse to recognize and to accept the necessity for differentiation, and you make equality the basis of your policy, you find yourself in the difficulty and the trouble that I have outlined. Whether you want it or not, there will ultimately be Black domination. I do not want to pursue that any further.

I want to deal now with specific points raised by hon. members in regard to colour policy. Before doing so, however, I want to deal briefly with various other problems which the hon. members have raised. Reference has been made to our country's defence and hon. members have said that I owe it to South Africa and to this House to tell them exactly what we are doing to ensure that we have proper weapons and equipment to ensure the safety of our children, who may perhaps be called upon to carry them. I am expected to say exactly what alliances and agreements we have entered into, both with neighbouring states and other countries. I am also expected to say exactly what we intend doing if we have to defend ourselves against some attack or other, etc. Everyone will realize that these questions were asked only to embarrass the Government, because no Government can reveal the details of its state of preparedness and of its plans in the event of trouble. What hon. members are entitled to ask is whether our country's defence enjoys high, or perhaps even first, priority. Are we squarely facing any possible danger that may threaten the country, whether internally, near our borders, or from distant parts? I am prepared to say that we regard the present position as very serious, and that we should be properly equipped to meet it. We should plan in advance for any eventuality, so that we will be prepared when difficulties do arise, which we trust will not be the case. In other words, I can give hon. members the assurance that the Government is giving all its attention to this problem and that it has instructed the organization at its disposal to prepare the most detailed plans. We also want to enlist the assistance of the industries in this country for the manufacture of armaments so that we shall not be solely dependent on countries abroad, and so that we ourselves will be able to supply what we can and what we regard as necessary. We shall not hesitate to ask Parliament for the necessary financial assistance that we may require from time to time for the proper protection of our fatherland.

I want to add another thing. A great deal has been said about the protection which we allegedly enjoyed in the past, particularly from the Commonwealth, and what continued membership would

have meant. I can only say that we have not received such a great deal of protection in the past as hon. members allege. The position has rather been that we have given assistance and co-operated with other countries. In the second place, in the case of the potentially biggest struggle that is engaging the attention of the world at the moment, namely a possible struggle between the West and the Communists, there is no doubt as to which side we will support. Right from the beginning we have stated openly that we stand by our friends of the West and they have said they will stand by us. In such a struggle, therefore, we will be allies; there can be no doubt about that. However, the whole world trusts, as we do, that that danger will be warded off. Every new scientific development, such as the recent flight into space, makes one desire all the more ardently that the position will not develop into a state of actual war. As for problems of a more local nature, for example, with regard to the Black states of Africa, or whatever these problems may be, hon. members know that whether we had remained a member of the Commonwealth or not, we could not have expected much help from that quarter. Whether we were a member or not we would not get much help there, for the very same reason that we got only limited support towards our continued membership of the Commonwealth (where it was much easier for them to assist us). Our friends in the Commonwealth have interests there and they have to look after those interests, interests in the first place which make it necessary or desirable for them rather to support the Afro-Asian states on certain issues. I do not for a moment believe that they will support them in a war against us. Indeed they will not do so, just as they have adopted a clear stand at the UN against sanctions. But one doubts, Sir, whether they will help us if we are attacked from beyond our borders.

It should also be realized that in the cold war, our main opponents are within the Commonwealth. Those who attacked us most strenuously at the UN are members of the Commonwealth. It is not only now that we are leaving that they are acting in that way; they have been doing so for a long time. The position regarding the help which South Africa could expect in the event of any future trouble has not changed because of our present position. We will stand with those with whom we would have stood; those who would not have helped us, will not help us to-day. As in the past we will now have to stand on our own feet. We realize all that. We are wide awake and we are equipping ourselves properly.

I have been asked by the hon. member for Constantia whether it is our intention to exercise Press control. I may say that the Press

is certainly not making it easy for us, for the simple reason that the Press is going far beyond what freedom of the Press means, and is approaching very closely to what "licence of the Press" is. Consequently, when one reads the newspapers, one only hopes, although it seems to be in vain, that the Press will organize some form of self-control itself. I am not referring particularly to Press comment. Anybody who has read the *Cape Times's* leading articles during the past week, or some of the commentaries in that newspaper must, however, be amazed that South Africa can be called a police state when such comment is allowed. But we do allow it. We have allowed it all these years. I am not sure that we have been wise in allowing such malignant comment during all these years. I am not sure that our present situation with regard to the Commonwealth, with regard to the United Nations, is not the result of having allowed such licence of the Press during all these years. I want to say that nobody can regret this more deeply than I do, because I believe in the freedom of the Press, and I believe in not imposing external control. I have always hoped and still hope that it will not be necessary to call the Press to order. I hope that the Press will take this to heart and that those in control will get together and will find means of avoiding further harm to South Africa by going further than they should. Mr. Chairman, I am not referring to political comment which is reasonable. I am referring to criticism from any side. I don't mind criticism, neither from my opponents, nor from my friends. Wisdom can often be gained from the criticism which comes from many sources. I don't object to that. I do object to untruth; I do object to libellous comment, because a leader does not easily sue when libel is found in the newspapers; I also object to distortions in the Press of what the policies are, of the Government or other parties. In fact, I object to anything which can harm our country. Particularly do I object to false news and news being sent overseas through the channels of the South African Press. I don't think South Africa is benefiting by much that is found in its Press to-day. This is a grievance in many countries. Nowhere unfortunately has so much wrong information been sent and such distortion of policies taken place to the detriment of a country as in South Africa. Therefore I say that while no government wishes to intrude upon the freedom of criticism, while no government wishes to restrict the freedom to present news properly put, any government in this country must view with great concern, and may be forced to take steps, if South Africa is harmed by what goes beyond the exercise of freedom.

I now want to deal with the attacks on the Broadcasting Corporation. The complaint is apparently that the Broadcasting Corporation shows partiality in its news broadcasts. I will not refer to what was said about my arrival. If hon. members are jealous because so many people attend gatherings where I am present I am sorry but I cannot do anything about it. I cannot assist them in attracting people to their meetings.

Unfortunately I seldom have time to listen to the news over the radio but to judge from what I have heard, on the few occasions that I have listened in, and to judge from certain news items about which I have received written information because they had been criticized, I wish to say this. Hon. members opposite are so accustomed to getting their news in the form in which their prejudiced Press has been presenting it to them, that they do not recognize and cannot tolerate objective news. There have been radio reports, like reports on Parliament and other events, which I myself have objected to because I considered them partial in favour of the other side! I take it therefore that the Opposition also regards certain reports as partial in favour of this side. Every newspaper in the world that I know of, including those of the highest standing, are sometimes accused from various quarters that they have been partial in one or other respect. It all depends on the angle from which you read the news, Sir, however, if you get away from your personal opinions, you must realize, as I as a former newspaperman do, that this organization and its officials are trying to do the best they can—with due regard to human fallibility—to give news impartially. That is why I think that the attack on the Broadcasting Corporation is based on fear on the part of hon. members opposite. Where Afrikaners generally read both Afrikaans and English newspapers and consequently see the position from both points of view, and where the English-speaking section is not so well informed, hon. members opposite are afraid that the English-speaking section will now get what they have always wanted, namely, impartial news. I am convinced that the attack by hon. members on the Broadcasting Corporation is without substance.

There has also been an attack in respect of the appointment of members to the Transvaal school boards. Let me say at once that I am very sorry that there were no English-speaking people amongst those who were appointed to the Witwatersrand School Board. I am sorry that the Administrator did not appoint English-speaking persons when he made those appointments to the school board. But I want to say immediately that our critics opposite lose sight of the fact that even before one word was said in favour of it, the

very Administrator and Executive Committee that they are now attacking, seriously tried to treat the English-speaking sections in the whole of the Transvaal more justly. It is a fact that for all the school boards throughout the Transvaal, quite apart from what has happened in the case of the Witwatersrand School Board, the English-speaking minority was completely ignored in the appointing of members to the school boards. The Administrator and the Executive Committee then deliberately changed the ordinance so that it will not only be possible, but essential, for the minority group to be represented on every school board. In other words they ensured that the English-speaking section would be represented everywhere, not over-represented on a single school board, as the position was in the past. By introducing this method of election, they have ensured that the minority group is represented on every school board. Not even the United Party have done what this Administrator and his Executive Committee have done for the English-speaking section in the Transvaal, namely to ensure that in all areas where there is a school board, the English-speaking people are represented so that they may know what is happening and so that they may play their part in all matters affecting their children. There is definite proof, therefore, that there is no malice towards the English-speaking people, as the propagandists would make us believe. In saying, therefore, that I am sorry that they did not appoint English-speaking people to the Witwatersrand School Board, so that we would not have had this hullabaloo, and so as to demonstrate in a practical way that we are striving for unity, I deprecate the fact that what happened there is now held out to the country and to the people as a deliberate act to thwart this attempt to create goodwill between the Afrikaans-speaking and the English-speaking sections.

The Prime Minister continued: Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Menzies are said to have condemned us for apartheid. That is true. But we have just as much right to condemn them for the policy they apply. If we were to say that the policy of partnership as applied in Kenya and the Federation unjustifiably causes great trouble to those countries, that is also true. Would hon. members infer that we speak with greater authority than Mr. Macmillan just because we criticize? No, they would not do that. If Mr. Macmillan talks about South African conditions, about which he knows very little because he does not deal with them every day—as I told him at the time after his Cape Town speech—then it is, however, described as being authoritative. But when we talk about this or about territories under his control we are not speaking authoritatively. Mr. Menzies

also has his problems. In fact, in Papua they also have apartheid. They have the advantage that it is an island, separated from their continent. Therefore the similarity is not so obvious, but the policy applied there is practically identical to ours. Then there is the White Australia policy. Just imagine that if a policy which in a sense runs parallel to ours, the White Australia policy, were not to have been implemented in the past and was not maintained, what would have happened to Australia if the masses of Red China and India could have gone there to seek a home? If that were to happen, would Australia tolerate it? If the world is to become one, with one world policy and with no chance for a nation to protect its own separate existence, so that a nation can disappear as the result of other people coming into its own country, then all the White states will disappear. If a country like ours is not allowed to evolve a method by which its different population groups can be allowed to exist as separate nations next to each other, then surely Australia as a White nation cannot protect itself against non-Whites either. In other words, if plans cannot be made to counteract the consequences of an immigration policy of the past or of the future, surely that country will be in the same trouble as South Africa is. Therefore when Mr. Menzies criticizes South Africa because he still does not have this problem, but he still takes steps to obviate being faced with that problem because he knows what the consequences will be—the same as for South Africa—I feel that he cannot be quoted as an authority when he condemns South Africa.

Now hon. members opposite have asked me to explain a few further points in connection with the Native reserves. I would like to do so. One point was raised by the hon. member for Jeppe, who said that I referred to the curve of the Tomlinson Report in regard to the Bantu in the cities, in connection with the increase or decrease in their numbers, but that we had not complied with the conditions set for the development of the reserves inasmuch as we are not spending approximately £120,000,000 within ten years. That is just a repetition of the old trick of hon. members opposite of continually raising arguments here which have long since been disposed of. Over the years I have often shown how that expenditure of £120,000,000 was arrived at in terms of the old-fashioned method of paying for everything done by the Bantu in their own areas for themselves. I have proved that if betterment works are tackled in terms of the system which has been in operation since 1956, by which the Bantu authorities do work which is intended for their own benefit by means of their own labour and do the upkeep themselves, the same amount of work (according to the

calculations of the Department on the two systems) can and will be done for an amount of £30,000,000 over a period of ten years. Why must this argument, which is based on the ordinary direct estimates and can therefore be disposed of on a practical basis, be repeatedly rehashed?

Then he also made an allegation about cities in the Bantu areas, viz. that they are only figments of the imagination. Very well, he can call them that. If an architect draws up a plan for a house, that plan is also a product of his imagination, but the house is built. In this case, where the Department is busy developing no fewer than 60 townships which we can develop into urban areas, as e.g. in the vicinity of Newcastle—just as soon as industrial development comes in that border area—we have to do with something similar to the planning of an architect. In other words, these are not merely figments of the imagination, but planned projects which are already partly being put into practice, which is something quite different.

I must say that the hon. member for Jeppe used an expression here which I must deprecate in passing. It is that he referred to our policy as one of "enslavement". In other words, he tells the world, whatever the consequences might be, that we are creating conditions of slavery here. I do not quite know what he meant by that. Certainly it is not true. He was merely trying to debunk the Government, but I still think that even when a Member of Parliament tries to debunk his opponents he should cast his eye beyond the borders of South Africa and think of the effect his words might have when it is said that an intelligent Member of Parliament, who is an economist himself, states that South Africa enslaves its non-Whites.

The hon. member for East London (North) also made certain allegations. I will deal only with those which seem to be the most important to him. He said that the way in which the Bantu homelands are demarcated means that they will not be able to develop fully, because there will be four or more such separate areas. I have repeatedly made it clear that one should compare the development here with what happens in Europe where smaller national units become dependent economically—and even some which are bigger—but where they, while retaining their political independence, ensure their own full development in the cultural and other spheres by means of intimate mutual economic inter-relations. That is how I see the position here too: that one can satisfy the ambitions of the racial groups in the political sphere separately, even though they cannot all be economically independent but must accept continual mutual economic dependence. Our

development of border industries is intended to create sources within the White area, which we are able to create at a fast tempo, where the Bantu living in the Bantu areas can earn an income which he can spend in his own area and which therefore will assist him in the initial stages of the development of those areas. That results in benefits being derived from mutual development apart from what the industrial development in the Bantu area can give to the Bantu areas. On the one hand industrial development by the guardian, which is the Union, will be established, and on the other hand it will be undertaken by the Bantu himself, assisted by special financial and investment facilities which the White guardian or neighbouring state will help to provide. In other words, I accept that one cannot give economic viability to each of these areas, economic independence, but I say that this is not necessary for their development because they can enjoy full political, educational and cultural development as well as mutual economic development in South Africa as a whole, in the same way that a broader economic unit than the separate nations is increasingly developing in Europe.

The hon. member intimated that one could not consolidate these areas properly. In regard to the removal of the black spots, certain ridiculous statements were made, to the effect that it would take 300 years. The circumstances in which those statements were made are completely different from what the case will be when the development takes place, with which we are busy now. Let me deal with that first. The clearing up of black spots is difficult as long as the Department has strenuous opposition from the Bantu living in those black spots and there is no support from the magnet which must draw them nearer, viz. their own central Bantu authority. The Bantu simply think, and certain members of the Opposition sometimes also say so, that the Government is stealing land and cheating the Bantu. And through their conservatism they have become so accustomed to living in these areas that they refuse to go to other areas which are even better residential and agricultural areas. When we adopt forceful methods by removing them for their own good, we have the whole world against us. Therefore the process of gradual persuasion must be adopted. In that way we do in fact remove them and later they are mostly very grateful, but that process is very slow. The moment there is a Bantu authority, say of the South Sotho group and that authority itself is anxious to have all its people staying together in one area, so that it assists in clearing up the black spots because it wants its people to live together, this can be done much faster. I therefore believe that the consolidation will be much easier as soon as these large ethnic

authorities come into existence. Nevertheless, I believe that certain areas will always be separate from each other. I think, e.g., of the Zulus who have areas in northern Natal and southern Natal. That will cause a certain amount of difficulty, but it is the same problem Pakistan had but which it managed to solve. In the case of Pakistan I believe that the two parts of the state are separated by 1,000 miles. This will cause difficulty, but it is not insurmountable.

I think I must now come to the hon. member for Springs. With reference to the concept of a state within a state, he asked whether that meant that the Coloureds would have a separate area. I said quite clearly in the beginning that that is the case and that it is in fact an unorthodox idea because it has nothing to do with "separate areas". I would not have used the words "a state within a state" for true separate areas. Then my parallel would have been that of neighbouring nations, as my argument is in regard to the Bantu. The hon. member raised the further point that the Indians should have political rights in some form or other, and that these would have to be in the central Parliament. My reply is that that is evidently United Party policy. I dealt with that in the beginning of my speech. But as far as we are concerned, I say that those hon. members always make the mistake of thinking that the only type of political rights is to have rights in the same Parliament, whereas I consider that political rights can be given in the other ways which I have explained.

The hon. member for Pinetown asked whether I would explain the programme for industrial development in the border areas near the reserves, and he asked certain questions. I want to point out that I have an economic adviser who continually gives me advice. At the same time he acts as the liaison officer to the Economic Advisory Council, and that Council is also informed about the planning of border areas. Together with that body certain further conditions for development have been evolved. The Economic Advisory Council will meet from time to time and what has happened in the meantime will again be discussed with its members. Therefore the economic advice and machinery are in full operation. Apart from that, as the result of consultations and requests, a special body has been established under the chairmanship of Dr. Viljoen, which investigates and takes action on all kinds of steps on the decentralization of industrial development. This has broader implications, but it includes the border areas. This body asked for certain privileges from the Government for border area development and it has already been announced—I need not repeat it—what the Government had to say in this regard. I understand that

the hon. member is also concerned to know whether Pinetown falls within the area which will be granted such privileges, because he said that Durban did not fall within it. The fact is that Durban is of course already a highly developed industrial area and it would be unfair to grant privileges to it which are not given to Cape Town or Johannesburg, because it is not necessary to provide a stimulus there to bring the Native workers nearer to their own areas so that they can live in the reserves whilst working in the industries. The object of border development is of course to hasten the process of withdrawing the Bantu from the White areas. At the moment I cannot say whether Pinetown merely adjoins a city location, or whether it is near enough to a Bantu area or reserve and whether it complies with further requirements. This is the type of question which should be put to that committee of which Dr. Viljoen is chairman, which is concerned with the details. He will be able to say whether this particular area falls within the privileged areas or not. I must therefore refer the hon. member to the body specially appointed to deal with local matters. It is true that in Natal most of the urban areas are within a reasonably short distance of such reserves, and under those circumstances it is true in my opinion that Natal will perhaps derive greater benefits from border development than other provinces.

He asked a further question: Will Indians and Coloureds have the right to participate in border development insofar as industry is concerned, or will each of these groups merely be limited to industries in their own group areas? The group areas are mainly residential areas. Trading is still allowed in certain other areas, but in general we try to reserve the trading rights in the group areas for the group which lives there. However, as far as I can remember, it has not been decided that Coloureds and Indians may not establish undertakings in the industrial areas. That is the position up to now in all the various cities and I do not believe that this committee has arrived at a different decision. It is not the case that these three groups which must live separately are prevented from establishing industrial undertakings in the industrial areas. I think that disposes of this point.

The hon. member also asked whether this would not lead to Natal becoming quite Black now. My opinion is that Natal in this way, by better segregation, will make its White areas whiter and its Black areas blacker.

In the afternoon Dr. Verwoerd again participated in the debate. He said:

We accept that our problems in the Commonwealth and at the UN have been caused by the belief held by the outside world that we do not wish to act humanely towards our non-Whites, that we want to be oppressive and that we do not realize that the human dignity of the non-Whites should also be recognized; that they want it to be recognized and that there is a general belief that we as White people want to apply unlimited discrimination and domination. These are the conceptions which cause the trouble. It is also misapprehension of this which in our own country apparently leads to the constant mutual recrimination. This morning we tried to get clarity as to how each of the three groups here stand in this cardinal test: Is it our motive to oppress, to dominate and to discriminate? My reply to that was that it was the very circumstances in which this happens that creates the dilemma for which we are all seeking a solution. I first said on behalf of my party that we all realize that in our history, for which the forefathers and all of us were responsible, the position was that the White man ruled in South Africa, and just like Britain in its Empire, governed all the nations over which it had obtained domination. Of that period one can say that there was discrimination and domination applied by everybody. However, no one in the world is innocent in that respect. Now a new period in history has dawned. In this new period those who were subordinate are trying increasingly to get rid of domination. This process of emancipation was relatively easy for clearly separate nations, but it is very difficult when there is more than one racial group within the same geographical borders.

In many of these countries there is still discrimination, including those which say that they are the enemies of discrimination. Amongst those countries where the position is really bad, our accusers are in the forefront. In India, that is true for various groups; some of them have already been mentioned in public. The Nagas are the youngest section, but there are also others like the Sikhs. In Ceylon there is discrimination against the Tamils. In Malaya there is discrimination against the Indian section of the population, and even to some extent against the Chinese there. Britain also is not guiltless of still practising domination, as e.g. in the Protectorates. Australia is not guiltless of ruling over others. It is the guardian over the population of Papua in New Guinea. Canada is not guiltless of discrimination in its behaviour towards the Indians and the Eskimos. All these countries say: Yes, that is true, but it is not the policy of our Government; it is only characteristic of a transition period. Now my standpoint this

morning was that the Government in fact tries to find a policy whereby, whatever might happen in the transition period (just as in other countries), it is the object and the motive to evolve a method as a result of which eventually there need not be discrimination or domination. That is just as much a motive of the Government here as there is a motive of any of the other countries in the world, *inter alia*, those I mentioned. However, those countries do not want to view our policy in that light. They want to view our policy in the way they interpret it: that we want to dominate and oppress for ever.

All of us are co-responsible for this wrong impression, all the parties here, and I do not exclude my own party, nor do I exclude myself personally. The fact is that previously we spoke a lot about domination. We used words like that. As we developed our policy and put our case more clearly, having regard to the latest world developments, we arrived at this clear standpoint that discrimination must be eliminated by carrying separation far enough. That is an attitude I put forward at a very early stage (something for which I have often been reproached by the Opposition), namely, when I stated on the occasion of the dissolution of the Natives' Representative Council, "Our policy of parallel development is aimed at domination for you in your areas, just as we want domination for ourselves in our areas". Therefore at a very early stage I indicated that our moral basis was that we were trying to give everyone his full rights for his own people. That is the goal we are striving for—just as other countries which, like us, are still in a transition period—say they are doing. I tried to emphasize clearly again this morning, and I do not propose to go into it again, that our idea of four kinds of parallel groups of authority eventually, is that you then actually follow a method whereby the one racial group will not permanently rule the other, but that every racial group will be given self-rule of its own people, in an area of its own, where possible.

Hon. members may differ from me on the practicability of our policy, and they may differ from me on the possibility of the application of some part of the policy. But they cannot continue to proclaim to the world that we are being dishonest in saying that that is our motive. They have no right to do so. At this stage I cannot enlarge further upon our attitude. I simply wanted to explain this point.

I went on this morning to talk about the Progressive Party's policy. On that I adopt the following attitude: The members of this Party say that they are against discrimination and domination.

I accept that they are being honest and that their motive is to get away from these. But just as they try to test my method either in the light of its practicability, or by some other yardstick, so I am entitled to test their stand by the same yardstick. In testing their stand I say again, as I did this morning, that although they say and mean that they do not want discrimination, they will not, as things will work out under their policy, be able to get away from discrimination or domination, viewed from the angle of the Black man, unless they visualize as their ultimate goal a democracy in which the principle of "one man one vote" applies. If they accept that form as the ultimate goal, which according to them they do not, then the Blacks will of course govern South Africa by virtue of their superiority of numbers. Then of course the Black man will achieve domination over the White man and over the Coloured and over the Indian. According to them they do not want that. That is why I contended that if they do not contemplate that, and if they say that their policy will not result in that, then I must accept that what they want to do implies discrimination (namely, to have a type of Constitution under which, say, 10,000,000 Bantu will have only limited control for ever).

They say they do not want to discriminate on the ground of colour. The Progressive Party wants to discriminate only on the basis of a civilization test. If, however, they want to discriminate on the ground of civilization tests only, then they must either accept that those 10,000,000 Bantu will never all become civilized or they must accept that at some time or other they will all become civilized. If therefore the Progressive Party is always going to apply a civilization test only, then they must accept that eventually the Bantu will all be able to have a full share in the government of the country, and then it must mean that they will have the decisive say in the government of the country by virtue of their superior numbers. I personally cannot see what else could happen. If the Progressive Party now says, "Yes, but we believe that the Whites to-day are the most highly civilized group and that they must therefore remain in control for all time to come, and that is why we want to introduce a rigid Constitution under which the rights of everybody will be permanently entrenched", then I say that if they stand by that, they are just as prepared to discriminate as any other party. After all, it means that by way of that constitution they guarantee a measure of control and power to one group, whatever level of civilization the other group may reach. Surely by providing now for a rigid constitution, which is the Progressive Party's intention, a constitution which cannot be changed easily,

they guarantee certain rights and concentrate those rights in some way or other in each of the various groups. This is because they admit that unless they do so they cannot guarantee White authority to the extent that they do. Although they do not use the word "colour" they give protection, behind this protective wall of civilization, to the colour groups according to the different degrees of civilization that they have to-day. They fix these rights for ever in that rigid constitution. Then surely the only object is to discriminate against the non-Whites. They cannot get away from it.

Now I come to the United Party. The United Party has been vacillating a good deal lately with regard to this new allegedly "revolutionary" idea with which they have come forward, the idea of racial federation. I have yet to discover what is new in it. What is revolutionary in it, as it was put to us this morning, I still have to discover too. Neither can I understand how it can interest South Africa in the least, as their newspapers boast it does. The simple facts are simply these: Previously hon. members opposite stated that for the time being they wanted the Coloureds to retain separate representation. Now I believe they are in favour of placing them on the common roll again. I believe they are constantly saying too that the Coloureds should be represented by Coloureds. Insofar as "racial federation" is used as a term therefore, it does not apply to the Coloureds at all then, because, after all, in that way the Coloured will become part of the White community as one political entity. If those two promises are carried out, there can be no alternative.

Then we come to the Indians. In this regard they were very far from clear. But the hon. member for Yeoville has told us this morning that according to their policy of racial federation, the Indians will be put on a separate roll—for ever, as far as their policy goes to-day. Their congresses may change it later on—they do not know—but as far as they themselves and their motives are concerned, their own United Party view, the Indians will for ever be represented in this Parliament by Whites for whom they will vote on a separate roll.

Thirdly it is clear that the urban Bantu will be represented in the same way in this Parliament. As far as present-day United Party policy goes the urban Bantu will for ever be represented here by Whites. The United Party leaders do not know what their congresses are going to do in the future, but as far as their basic policy is concerned, it is their deliberate policy, the policy with which they persist and for which they seek public support, to have the Indians represented for ever in this Parliament by a few Whites,

and the same applies to the urban Bantu. In the light of these statements which were confirmed this morning by the hon. member for Yeoville, I then said that surely they could be accused of practising discrimination and domination. In that case there was more justification for accusing them than us, because no matter how hard the Government has to struggle to carry out its policy, it at least aims to do away with discrimination and domination, because according to its policy the four separate groups must eventually govern themselves. The attitude and aim of the United Party, however, is to discriminate and dominate for all time, because they say that there will always be limited representation by Whites and the White minority will always dominate in a mixed fatherland. In that case the United Party members, and not we, are the people who should be in the dock at the UN. In that case there was more reason for putting them in the dock at the Prime Ministers' Conference than there was to put us there.

I went on to say that this concept of a racial federation policy was open to criticism not on that ground alone. There are other grounds condemning the idea of racial federation. It still embraces the idea of Bantu homelands and there will be local Black parliaments in those Bantu homelands, just as this piebald parliament which I have just described will be established in what I call the White area, but which he calls the piebald area. There will have to be a federal parliament for the whole country — a central federal parliament — in which this discriminatory parliament of the piebald area or of the mixed population will have to be represented, and in which the parliaments of the Bantu areas or the Bantu people will have to be represented. A piebald super-parliament must lead to a piebald Cabinet and that will be the super Cabinet of the country. In other words, the contention of the United Party that the White man will remain in power is not correct either, because he will not remain in power in that federal parliament — only in the parliament of the smaller piebald area. Once that federal parliament has been constituted with a preponderance of non-Whites further pressure will be exerted to ensure that White domination also ceases in the piebald area and in its parliament (which the hon. the Leader of the Opposition says will happen under our policy). This idea of a federation therefore collapses under the impact of the first accusation I have made, namely that there will be discrimination and domination. In the second place it collapses because it will still give South Africa a mixed central parliament in the long run. (So they need not try so hard to win the by-election at Swellendam by telling the people that the colour

groups, apart from the Coloured people, will be represented in that parliament by Whites only.) The United Party has been caught in its own trap because it advocates a central federal parliament with Black and White members, a parliament which will be superior to this parliament.

In the third instance I said that to ascertain its value to South Africa this idea of a federation could be tested in the light of what is happening in an existing multi-racial federation. And that, Sir, is a race federation, in which more concessions have been made to the non-Whites than will be made under this model race federation of the United Party, as the hon. member for Yeoville has outlined it. The federation that we know, namely the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, has already manifested certain characteristics. In the first place it appears that the separate Black states, such as Nyasaland, do not wish to remain members of the Federation. Their leaders as well as the people want to secede. Our policy foresees that the Blacks will want to rule quite separately. His does not. His policy wants to keep them in compulsorily, as they are doing at the moment in the Federation, where it is causing trouble. There too a Black territory is being forced to remain a member of the Federation. Barotseland has similarly indicated that she does not wish to become a member of a multi-racial federation. As far as the piebald areas are concerned, it has been proved in Northern Rhodesia that the Black nations do not want to remain a piebald area, with a rigid constitution, in which the Black man plays only a limited role. It is true that the Black man was told that the reason for this was that he had not reached the same standard of civilization as the White man. In spite of that he wants to govern the country. They are already making further demands in Southern Rhodesia in spite of the fact that the concession has already been made to have Black members of Parliament and Black Ministers. That is why I said it has been tested in practice whether this type of federation will work or not. If the Black man does not even want that federation where he has so much power because of his numerical strength, how can you expect him to be agreeable to accept a federation less favourable to him here? I say therefore that it has become clear this morning what this struggle is about. I am more convinced than ever that the only road along which South Africa will find its salvation is the road which this Government is following. That is the only road, no matter how difficult it may be; to get away from discrimination and domination. That is the only road that will lead to a situation where the White man will not ultimately be subjected to Black

domination. All the other methods will fail, as far as the moral and practical aspects are concerned, as I have pointed out in analysing them.

I therefore appeal to the people of South Africa — and in doing so I am not disregarding the Leader of the Opposition or the Leader of the Progressive Party; it is not really important whether or not they are disregarded — I appeal directly to South Africa, as their present leader in the political sphere, not to fall for battle cries such as race federations. From the outset the National Party has given a meaning to the idea of separate development. Hon. members of the Opposition have omitted to give full content to their colour policy, but insofar as they have, this race federation idea of theirs is doomed just as much as the Senate plan. The Graaff Senate plan failed. The Graaff race federation plan is equally weak. That is why I appeal to the people of South Africa not to be misled by slogans such as that in the place of a positive policy, and not to be misled by emotional accusations accompanied by an unjustifiable moral claim that the Government policy is wrong. Let the electorate go down to the roots of this struggle in regard to policy, as we have done, particularly to-day, and if they do that they will stand by the Government, come what may, because the Government offers the only hope for the survival of the White man.

Toast Proposed to the Republic of South Africa and the State President, Civic Banquet, Pretoria, May 31, 1961

The inauguration of the State President, Mr. C. R. Swart, took place in the Grootkerk, Pretoria, on 31st May, 1961 and was performed by the Hon. Chief Justice L. C. Steyn who, after reading the oath of office which was then signed by Mr. Swart with a gold pen, put the sash of office around the State President's shoulders. A ceremonial escort consisting of six high-ranking Army and five Police officers formed flanking lines in front of the pulpit. The service was conducted alternately by the Rev. P. Z. S. Coetzee, of Bloemfontein, and the Right Reverend E. G. Knapp-Fisher, of Pretoria. In softly falling rain the ceremony moved to Church Square where the State President, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Verwoerd and other dignitaries appeared on the balcony of the Palace of Justice at exactly 11 o'clock. Here Mr. Swart was welcomed by Dr. Verwoerd and introduced to the crowd with the words: "Mr. State President, the first opportunity of addressing you in this way has come." That evening the Mayor and City Councillors of Pretoria held a banquet for the State President in a flower-decorated City Hall, the Prime Minister proposing a toast to the Republic and the State President.

Mr. State President, your Worship the Mayor, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen.

On this particular occasion the toast will not be formal. It is a special occasion on which we can couple a toast to South Africa with the name of a new Head of State, and I shall ask you in the course of a few minutes to drink to the health of our new Head of State, thinking at the same time of this great South Africa of ours and its future. But before doing so, I wish to thank, on behalf of the Government of South Africa, all those friendly states throughout the world, many of them represented here tonight, who have so kindly thought of us during these past days, and who through their heads of state or heads of Government have congratulated us on this most momentous occasion.

I also wish to thank you Mr. Mayor and the city of Pretoria for

this banquet in honour of the State President which you have given us here tonight. I wonder whether such a banquet could have been presented anywhere else in surroundings so beautifully contrived as we have here tonight. Pretoria has treated us most wonderfully, and it is fitting that the Administrative Capital of South Africa should be the first to honour the first Head of State born in South Africa.

When I ask you to think of South Africa, I wish you to think of South Africa as this beautiful country in which we live; the country we love so dearly and so well; the country we inherited from forefathers who not only fought for it but worked for South Africa through generations extending over 300 years, who have built from open veld a most wonderful homeland for us and those who will follow us; the country of rugged mountains and far-reaching open stretches of veld, with its beautiful and varied animals which we have tried to preserve for posterity, and may ultimately be the only state in Africa to do so. Think of this beautiful South Africa with its blue skies, its white shores stretching round our country, with beauty everywhere — even in its harshness — when this is looked on with love. May I ask you to think of South Africa as this prosperous country we inhabit. You must not look at share markets to see whether South Africa has a general basic prosperity! Think of the natural resources and think of the people who inhabit it who can exploit those resources, for after all, prosperity is made by man and it can be done only if a country has citizens with the initiative and the preparedness for self-sacrifice, to build with hard work if necessary, and with the strength of their arm defend it if it must be so. It depends upon the people of a country whether the country can be prosperous through long lengths of time.

I wish you to think of South Africa as a charitable country, a country whose people do not live for themselves alone, a country whose inhabitants and whose government think in terms of all for whom they are responsible. The outside world is inclined to look at South Africa as an oppressor nation. You who live here know that it is not so. We have our various racial groups, backward still in many ways, but perhaps nowhere else in the world has a nation kept alive and sought to develop the backward people in its midst, as South Africa has done for generations.

Perhaps nowhere else in the world have the indigenous people not only survived, but so increased as to become the problem with which the outside world does not have to deal but which is our problem and which we are prepared to solve, but in our way and the

only way in which people who are at different stages of civilization, can live together, — people who have different ideals, whose way of life and outlook differ so tremendously and yet, as nations which though differing one from the other, can work together and live next door to each other and be friends. So we shall find our way and are already finding it in this country, and also in our relations with other states in Africa, who as they grow more mature, will also find their own ways of living together without trying to oppress or use a neighbouring nation for selfish purposes.

May I ask you to think of South Africa as an honest country. We could easily bluff the world by apparently adopting policies which would seem to satisfy its demand but which, when looked at properly, as in so many of our critics' countries, would be found to be the very opposite of what they superficially appear to be. We in South Africa are honest because we cannot be anything else. We like to face our problems openly, to state our policies clearly, to do what we can for each other and for ourselves, to face the whole world if necessary.

May I ask you to think of South Africa as a country of steadfast people, people who believe in what they say and try to do what they believe is right. It may cause us much trouble and misunderstanding, but in the long run it is truthfulness and honesty of purpose and clarity of ideals which make a nation what it must be.

You, Mr. State President, are called upon to face the world with us, and to let the world know that whatever we do, we do as a Christian people, as people who are prepared to profess our Christianity and to live it out according to our way of understanding. You, Mr. State President, are the symbol of this nation and may you and we all gradually become better understood. May we regain the friends we have had and retain those we have, because I know from experience, that although to the world outside there are many who apparently disassociate themselves with us, in their heart of hearts and behind the screens they find themselves very close to our hearts and close to our minds.

Mr. State President, I have said that for this once we are not only proposing a formal toast to you, but to South Africa and to you, our State President, our own first head of our State. We are doing this tonight because it is a very unique occasion. For us this is a climax. For years we have been climbing to the top of a mountain. We have eventually reached a position, not the highest in the life of our nation, because we are still on the road to bigger things. But for us it is a pinnacle that we have reached; we see a fulfilment of ideals in now being able to address you as our own State Presi-

dent. You have lived with us. With us, you grew in this country. You know our problems. You know our weaknesses. You know our virtues too. You, too, share our weaknesses and virtues and it is for this reason that the Head of State and his followers can be one in our life as a nation which lies ahead. While there is mutual respect and love, love as co-citizens and fellow-countrymen, we shall be able to advance together.

But now you, the State President, will in a certain sense become lonely. You were part of our national group, the mass of our people, but now you stand out as a symbol of the whole nation. You will no longer have the closer ties, ties with the smaller circles, the ties with local groups whom you loved and who were near to your heart. For you party partiality falls away. You stand as the symbol of the whole South Africa. Nothing that is petty, nothing that is limited, nothing that is sectional will in future be for you. Your interest is in the whole nation. But in the measure of loneliness which you must of necessity undergo, there will at the same time be a big reward and that is the reward of the loyalty and the love of the whole nation — not only of a part thereof. But although you will be withdrawn from the battle which will of necessity be the fate of many of us, the battle for South Africa and its future, you will play an essential role in our country. Because we who must build and fight will inevitably have different ideas about how South Africa's future is to be developed. We shall inevitably, from the depth of our conviction, quarrel with one another. But notwithstanding all this, there will be the basic unity of one people of the Republic of South Africa and you will have to be the tie to bind us all together. And when the days of sorrow come, you will see how we are not only bound together by ties of blood, but also by the ties of being one nation. And when there are days of joy, you will see us rejoicing together like today, because we shall then realize that in our joy, as in our sorrow, we are one people, the people of the Republic of South Africa. Wherever or from whichever countries of origin we may come, however long we and our forefathers may have been resident in South Africa, there is and there will be among all of us one tie, the tie of the love for our fatherland.

And now I ask all of you to drink a toast with me to South Africa and its new Head of State.

Speech on the Occasion of the Inauguration of a Bust and Plaque at the J. G. Strijdom Building for Engineering at the University of Pretoria, September 15, 1961

On the 6th December, 1955 the Cabinet decided, at the suggestion of Adv. J. G. Strijdom, then Prime Minister, that a Faculty of Engineering should be founded at the University of Pretoria. At the beginning of 1956 students registered for the three main courses — Mechanical, Civil and Electro-Technical Engineering, while the erection and planning of suitable buildings commenced immediately. On the 6th April, 1957 the stone was laid by Adv. Strijdom who also inaugurated the building which after his death was to be named after him. The unveiling of a plaque and a bust of the late Prime Minister in a niche in the entrance hall of the building was performed by Dr. Verwoerd.

Everybody present here today probably knows better than I do what kind of ceremony this is. It is not quite clear to me whether it is an inauguration ceremony or a christening ceremony. It cannot, however, be an inauguration ceremony as I understand that the building has been in use for some time.

So, if anything, it is a christening ceremony. We shall have to give it a name, and link the name of a great South African to this building, which has yet to accomplish much for South Africa through the people who will leave through its portals, not through those who enter. When they enter, we do not yet know what we shall make of them; it is only when they leave that we know what we have achieved.

Adv. Strijdom laid the foundation stone of this building. I am sure that it must have given him much pleasure for as Minister of Lands and Irrigation he was amongst others continually troubled by the fact that he could not find the experts, the engineers that he needed for the accomplishment of the manifold ideals which he cherished for South Africa in that field.

Throughout the years, the Government has realized that we in South Africa still have much to do for which we must train our own experts. Practically each country in the world suffers a

shortage of scientists, experts and practical people of every description. It is, perhaps, in the field of engineering that we feel the deficiency most, and we therefore had to realize that we in South Africa would ourselves have to provide for our needs and not extend beggar's hands to other countries albeit that they have in many respects recorded greater progress than we. In laying that foundation stone Adv. Strijdom must surely have felt that his wish would be fulfilled even though only after a period of years, and that we would then eventually have sufficient manpower in this field.

But I know I must admit that in evaluating the position a number of years later than he, I am still not sure that even this well-progressed undertaking which you have here, and which bears his name, will be able to satisfy the tremendous need. Daily one becomes more and more aware of the tremendous potential for development and of our duty towards realizing it and daily one becomes more and more aware of the great effort it will take not only in acquiring the opportunities or the financial means, but in finding the people to train for what we wish to do. For that reason I am very grateful for what we can supply here today. And may I express the hope that we will never be so modest as to be satisfied with what we have acquired up to now.

The name of Adv. Strijdom is being linked to a great and imposing achievement; not to the building itself, but to what this building can do for the country which he loved so much. Here we must educate people who will not only render their services progressively to the state, but who will also create opportunities for work for so many who will not have the privilege of training that would make of them leaders in their own field. After all, the healthy progress of a state and happiness of its people is dependent on the opportunities for making a living, which may lead to great achievements.

I am glad that the University of Pretoria in this way seeks to honour a great son of South Africa, a man who was also a son and a friend of this institution, and who had a special interest in the development of this specific faculty. This is a tribute that was earned, a tribute which we, his former colleagues and co-workers, today appreciate.

Friends, while on the one hand we pay tribute and on the other hand realize what it will mean to educate young men to serve the state in this field, we would like to look ahead and ask ourselves to what purpose all this is. For it is a fact that this development is taking place at the beginning of our development

as a republic, and it is the desire of all that the Republic should grow to real greatness — greatness not only in the political sphere, but also in the economic sphere.

Many possibilities have been entrusted to us which we may not neglect. At the same time it is the ideal of this young nation to make of this young state a prominent one. We cannot do it by boasting of a dense and mighty population, but we can do it through the greatness of the achievements of which a small nation is capable. We must strive to accomplish more than can be expected of us. It is clear, too, that this is what we wish to do, and what we will do.

In passing I would like to refer to the planning for the next ten years, which is already known and which is closely linked with the shortage of, and the employing of these engineers which have to be trained. Consider the ambitious plans of our commission for the supply of electricity, and the great preliminary work which Iscor has to establish within the next 10 years. I am reminded of the plans in connection with the development of our chemical industry, so closely connected with the name of Sasol, of the ideal of building up Foskor into a concern which will make the country independent as far as the phosphates are concerned. And in naming only these few great undertakings, I am talking of the bestowing of R2,000,000,000 for development. For South Africa this investment of millions of rands in development implies something very great, but this is not the end of it. For this and for many other things, young engineers will be needed. Our Department of Transport, as well as the Department of Posts and Telegraphs and Telephones, show signs of expanding. Apart from that, our broadcasting service will necessarily have to grow. When we add up the sums of money which the state, semi-private undertakings and private undertakings will have to spend, and if we think of all the private industries which will be resultant, we can see what lies in the future.

Those pessimists who have no faith in the future of our country and who think that we have come to a period of struggle, will be put to shame in the years to come.

Up to now I have not even referred to what will happen in the field of agriculture where there will also be a demand for the services of the experts we are training here. Many of the plans will be impracticable if we cannot obtain the necessary services. As an example I would like to mention that scheme which was so closely linked to the name of Adv. Strijdom, namely our dam building projects for the future. He determined that in his time we should

rather build smaller storage and irrigation dams in the various parts of the country in order at first to help as many communities as possible. But as far as he was concerned this was only spadework to pave the way and which should be followed by those great undertakings for which the country has longingly been waiting. And now that he is no longer with us, that time has arrived. We are very near to and have already partly started the development of the Pongola Dam. The prospects are good for a reasonably early start on the development of the Orange River Scheme which will, once in full swing, take at least fifty to sixty years to complete, but the first stages of which will have to proceed speedily. In this we see great prospects not only for the provision of possibilities for settlements and the probable provision of electricity, but also for the possibility of making our white population strong and prosperous within a short time. We shall be able to improve the carrying capacity of our country to such an extent that we will have no need to worry about what we have to do with those who come to us to aid us in our struggle for survival.

We cannot do all this if we do not have the experts to create this, first on the drawing board, and then on the soil of South Africa.

These are only a few of the tasks which await the people of the immediate future.

But then, my friends, the fact that we are making a start here with their training, has also another meaning for me and perhaps for many of you too; and that is that we have to see that our own children of South Africa stay here and put their services and their knowledge at the disposal of South Africa. In saying this I am referring to reports which we see in the press from time to time, some perhaps not justified, but others probably well warranted, of learned persons who had served our universities well, but who now seek positions overseas. Of course, there are various reasons why they leave. Many reasons are being brought forward, some of which are possibly not true. But it remains a fact that from time to time South Africa loses the services of people connected with universities or other establishments which they and South Africa would rather not lose.

But why does it happen? We will understand it best when we find out which institutions lose their people. It is those institutions which follow a policy different from some of our own universities. Some of our universities hold the point of view that we have enough brainpower to develop amongst those who love their

fatherland and who will despite struggle and despite lesser opportunities, be eager to stay here because it is their country. Those institutions which rely on young South Africans educated both here and overseas, and which offer them posts as lecturers or heads of establishments, today have no trouble with an exodus overseas. Our own young scholars do not seek more money, higher social status or other advantages and opportunities in other countries. Neither do they flee, like some who become frightened at the first signs of danger. Their attitude is one of "here we are, here we stay and here we serve".

It is important to me and I welcome the fact that in those fields where in future the need will perhaps be greatest, we will be able to make ourselves less and less dependent on overseas countries for our leaders and our intellectuals.

We welcome all those who want to join us and share our destiny; we shall always continue to welcome them. But basically we shall have to stand on our own feet in all fields, so that we shall never be landed in the position of not being able to carry on, should those who are strangers leave us. For it is our people, our young people, our young people of South Africa who will eventually have to build up their own future of which we are laying the foundations.

But, apart from that, our task will entail even more. South Africa is by far the best developed part of Africa. If we forget for a moment all the political factors rife in Africa just now and concentrate only on the basic essentials of living, we realize that people will become rebellious if they are hungry or unemployed. Prosperity, happiness, work and food, on the other hand, are conducive to peace and satisfaction. Seeing the progress we have made in South Africa we realize that we, together with others, can contribute much to bring needful peacefulness and prosperity to Africa. But we can only do that through knowledge. We must not try to bring it through any aspiration to leadership in Africa.

I become impatient when I hear people say "We will and must be the leaders of Africa", for in the other parts of Africa, every state wants to stand on its own feet, just as we do. Like us, they do not want a leader from outside. By saying (if she should say it) "I want to be your leader", South Africa would be implying that she wants to inflict upon them a form of submissiveness, if not physical, then spiritual. And we must realize that the desire and self-respect of evolving nations will be similar to ours. As we demand and expect recognition, so do they. Just as we would not like any other state, even if it should be a mighty one, to

claim to be our leader, so no one else would like us to make similar claims. Therefore, it would be wrong if we should imply by word or deed that we regard ourselves as the leaders of Africa.

This is not the spirit in which I imply that we have a task in Africa. It is meant in another sense, namely that a great, strong and well-developed nation can be a friend to others which have not advanced so far and are in need of help. It can give service, not leadership, but service, co-operation, collaboration and aid. And the help we can especially give is in the field of knowledge; the knowledge of handling different practical problems peculiar to Africa. This type of knowledge is best acquired in a country which is more or less similar to one's own. Perhaps there is much more knowledge spread over different countries in Europe than here in South Africa, and more skilful people to spare, but their knowledge based on their conditions is not always applicable to Africa. For that reason we could actually be a more suitable friend and helper. Thus we must, in training experts not only provide for ourselves, and for our own rapid growth and development, but we must have enough to spare for others, should they be willing to accept it from us — even those states which at the moment prefer to have no help from us.

For this we want something in return. What we want is not much, but it can mean a lot to us. All we want is goodwill and friendship. Friendship between the major countries of the world will ensure peace, but friendship between neighbouring states is greatly to be desired, especially in times to come. In a world which can be either dangerous or progressive the basis of success and happiness will be peace. It is through knowledge and not through military prowess that we can be of service to western culture.

Now I have taken you a long way from the christening ceremony of a building and from bringing homage to a great statesman who preceded us. I hope it was not too far. For greater appreciation of what we see around us physically, and for greater appreciation of those who were the builders of our future, we cannot do better than offer our service towards achieving the highest ideals of mankind.

I shall now unveil the bust and plaque of a predecessor who thought as I do or would probably have spoken in similar terms as I have here today. In so doing, we pay homage to him, just as the work which is being done here in the service of South Africa, will be a tribute to his name and his memory.

**Opening Speech at the Annual Congress of the Afrikaans
Trade Institute Held in Pretoria on September 19,
1961**

The Afrikaans Trade Institute was established in August, 1942 for the purpose of uniting Afrikaans businessmen, looking after and furthering their interests, and approaching the authorities on their behalf. Inevitably, the result of its interventions was more of a national than sectional nature. Thus, in its short existence, the Afrikaans Trade Institute was able to play an active part in the realization of great undertakings such as the Orange River Scheme, the sending of trade missions abroad, the Export Promotion Convention and the establishment of the Economic Advisory Council.

The subject of my address will be the Government's attitude in regard to certain fundamental principles which are, according to my view, involved in our economic development. I want to make certain points and indicate in which direction the Government attempts to influence policy, especially with regard to my own department. A new task awaits the Prime Minister and his department when certain big constitutional and other problems have been handled. This task is to take a lead in planning and co-ordinating the steps required to solve certain central problems in regard to the country's economic development and which affect the life of the country in all fields. We don't want to encroach on the special activities of other ministers and their departments. But there are certain domains of life which not only arouse interest, but also constitute the sphere of work of a series of departments with their ministers. If there had been something lacking in our form of government in the past, it probably was proper co-ordination of the diverse investigations and plans which everybody could undertake on his own, but which could, in the absence of organized co-operation, lead to friction and even clashes. For this reason, provision, particularly, is made for co-ordination and central planning in the gradual expansion of the Prime Minister's department. I want to say a few words concerning that.

What has the Government achieved so far? The test is what actually has occurred in the country. The Government has been in power for 13 years. It has been 13 years of expansion and progress for the economy of South Africa. I am fully aware of the criticism, which is often made, that this Government is so pre-occupied with ideological questions that it does not pay enough attention to bread-and-butter matters, that is, economic affairs. My viewpoint is as follows: Firstly, it is perfectly true that the Government does and should keep an eye on certain matters which could be described as ideological, although actually they are extremely practical insofar as they affect a sound way of life for the community and its economic progress. We most definitely consider it our duty to safeguard the survival of the White man in South Africa at all costs, although we also see it as a condition of economic progress. It would, in any case, have remained fundamental, even had it meant economic setbacks. It would hardly be to our advantage to build up prosperity in the republic and at the same time ignore this other task (whether one regards it as ideological or not), only to discover, after a time, maybe a very short time, that everything we have built up is taken from us. Of what benefit would that be to our people? That this is not simply a rhetoric question is proved by events in other parts of Africa. There, prosperous agricultural, commercial and industrial enterprises were developed, but because their right of survival as a White race group was not sufficiently safeguarded, the possessions of these people were lost.

Therefore it is true that the South African Government pays a great deal of attention to the survival of the White man and his authority. In this connection it also aims to provide economic scope for the other race groups in the greater South Africa in which they all live. This includes the development of Bantu homelands and of border industries. At the same time, such a policy will be advantageous for the White community and for the Bantu community. Also important is the training of non-Whites in such a manner that they can work in their own communities as leaders to develop these communities in such a way that they can be an economic asset to the whole country. Call all this ideological if you will, but in essence, this and economic progress dovetail very closely.

I submit that the Government has, in spite of this kind of criticism, in actual fact, under the slogan "South Africa first in all fields of life" achieved a tremendous amount in the past 13 years. The following are some examples of our economic progress.

They are all known to you but deserve to be repeated. Consistent rise of the real national income per capita of the population; consistent expansion of our industrial production in the midst of all the problems that have arisen; a constantly rising curve indicating increasing exports; and there was a steady rise in the output of our mining and agricultural industries.

There was also the consistent progress in the provision of the amenities without which the direct economic progress would not have been possible. These are: the improvement and extension of our roads, the improvement and extension of all types of transport vehicles and systems which put us on the same level as the most modern country. There were the provision of more water and electric power in more extensive areas to meet all requirements; the erection of public buildings everywhere to enable the public sector to provide the services required by the private sector; housing for Whites and non-Whites was provided which ensures more productive labour and a happier life. Educational and training facilities were consistently improved for all sections of the community. The State corporations have expanded all the time, building in ever-increasing fields the foundations which private enterprise could use to expand enormously. I could continue to tell you about this phenomenal development of the past years. The policy of separate development did not in any way retard this development. I say this with emphasis although I realize that this contention may be held against other opinions.

I make this submission although some people claim that, but for the policy of separate development, there could have been a South Africa which, economically, could have been much bigger and stronger. I disagree. And I disagree not without taking into consideration all the problems which South Africa as well as other parts of Africa and the world experienced, financially, as well as in other spheres of economic life. I know about this. I also realize the effect of the suspicion, regardless of how unfair it was, which arose in regard to South Africa's treatment of its non-Whites. I also realize the confusion which arose in the minds of foreign investors as a result of the close proximity of South Africa to other parts of Africa which are in turmoil. I realize the effect of race conflicts here in our own country from time to time.

Certain tests enable us to see that all this is part of many influences which play their part, but the policy of separate development itself is not the cause of delay in economic progress. The one test is whether there had been, during these 13 years, economic and financial problems at any time or in any way in other coun-

tries where the policy of separate development does not play a part. If they had experienced such problems without the apartheid policy it would be proof that other more fundamental factors affect the progress of all countries. You know, as well as I do, and the whole world knows it, that more serious financial and economic problems than ours had occurred in countries without any colour groups and therefore without colour problems.

A second test is whether there are countries with colour problems, but which follow a policy opposite to ours and which have had the same or more financial and economic problems than South Africa. There are such countries, e.g. the Central African Federation and Kenya. It is indeed true that South Africa has had its troubles and fortunately they were not as big and as serious as in some other bigger countries. But the other type of country, which follows a policy of integration, also had them. This is the first fact of importance.

Secondly, if we had had a government in South Africa with a different policy, would such a policy have been accompanied by fewer economic problems apart from the general influences which I have mentioned? I submit: "No." I submit that the measure of uncertainty and suspicion which existed regarding South Africa (from that one specific angle, namely dissatisfaction with our colour policy) could have been removed in those other countries in one way only — total capitulation politically and socially after absolute equality by accepting the principle of one man, one vote. Without such a complete surrender by South Africa, critical people and countries would have continued the pressure and dissatisfaction. The pressure would probably have been more intense once it was discovered that the Government was prepared to capitulate under pressure. A Government which proves itself capable of withstanding the pressure, will experience it to a lesser extent, which actually was the case. In other words, one would have had, for this reason, more trouble with an integration government in power than with one applying apartheid.

There would have been a less stable government in South Africa in such a case because of the dissatisfaction which would have arisen among the electorate. This was proved by the fact that the apartheid party became steadily stronger while the protagonists of integration continued to break up. Foreign investors look at the stability of the government rather than the policy of the government. To my mind, foreign investors would have been more frightened of an integration government which was hesitant and uncertain than an apartheid government which stood firm.

Foreign investors also realize, and they even state this in connection with Black states, that the measure to which White ability plays a role in industry and administration of a country, determines their faith in the investment value of the country. African states without White administrative officials and no White industrialists are not attracting a cent investment capital from other states for economic purposes. Only political investments take place which the investing government virtually expects to lose. The simple fact that the White man is determined to maintain himself here is not a factor against investment, but a factor in favour of investment. The world does not understand our problems. I don't deny the world reactions against us. I am not overlooking the extent and seriousness of the agitations of the Afro-Asiatic nations against the White man. Nor do I deny the effect of the unrest in Africa on our country and on opinions about South Africa. But I am convinced that I am correct in submitting that apartheid has not retarded our economic expansion. In fact, it gave us the measure of stability which was responsible for the amazing development of South Africa in the past 13 years.

Now I want to briefly describe the Government's policy for the future. The essence of our policy is that we shall continue on our way of success. This road to success has at least the following nine characteristics:

Firstly it was and will remain our policy to encourage factories as far as possible. Several measures will be taken in this regard. I will mention a few. We shall continue, particularly, to apply selective tariff protection. Measures will be taken to ensure more extensive utilization of our raw materials. More and more of the raw materials will have to be used in the articles which are apparently only assembled here, but which to an increasing extent are already being made of our own materials or products. We shall also make better use of our labour. We will have to make greater use of our own markets in various ways and this includes our Bantu market with its potential growth. I am not going into details about the Bantu market. It actually is a result of our whole Bantu policy. It is not sufficiently realized that the policy of uplifting the Bantu, in their own territory and wherever they are, must lead to increased purchasing power and increased economic prosperity for the whole country. Therefore I say that our primary objective is to ensure in various ways that our internal industries are encouraged to the utmost extent possible in South Africa.

Secondly, the encouragement of locally produced goods will receive a very high measure of Government attention. Sufficient attention was not given to this in the past.

The Government will, in the third place, continue to create a healthy investment climate. This sounds like pretty words which indeed it is unless there are fixed ways and means according to which this goal can be achieved. For this reason I want to mention seven examples of lines of action which we will follow or attitudes we shall adopt to encourage the investment climate. Firstly, we stand firm in favour of the protection of private initiative and the profit motive in commerce. Secondly, we will ensure political stability. An election is part of this plan to ensure political stability for a considerable time. In the third place, the Government wants to ensure labour peace and satisfaction. In this connection provision is to an increasing extent made for proper housing for White and non-White. An excessive influx of Bantu to the urban areas is prevented so as to eliminate low wages, unemployment or lack of housing for the Bantu worker. The attempt to ensure labour peace is made by the application of many measures which affect the various race groups. Fourthly, the Government will endeavour to keep the taxation level as low as possible. In this connection South Africa is in a favourable position already, but here I want to point out that we have already during the past two years followed a special taxation policy which aimed at the development of the industrial areas especially. We will continually take into account any additional practical suggestions to enable the taxation policy to work in favour of the development of our country. In the fifth place the Government will continue, as it has done up to now, to make adequate services available. This applies to transport, power, posts and telegraphs, water and all the various services. The Government will in the sixth place provide training facilities for those who have to work and those who have to take the initiative. Our manpower must be productive to the highest degree. In the seventh place, the Government will have to help to ensure that there will always be a healthy system of financial institutions in South Africa.

These seven lines of action can help to achieve the third great goal, namely to create a healthy investment climate in South Africa or to strengthen the climate insofar as it is already here.

I am busy sketching the Government's policy for the future point by point, and up to now I have mentioned as first point the advancement of industry, as second the advancement of export, and as third the creation, development or improvement of a

healthy investment climate. In the fourth place the Government will assist, in all ways available to a government, to develop the creation of our own capital. Of course, we welcome real investment capital from overseas. We especially welcome this real investment capital if it is accompanied by technical ingenuity, technical skill and technical knowledge. But we are not blind to the fact that foreign capital is in a certain sense unpredictable and is in that sense not an unmixed blessing. It has the nature of a fair-weather friend. We recently experienced how, when difficulties came, a part of that investment capital acts like flight capital. For that we have no great liking. One cannot determine beforehand what is "panic" capital by nature, and what is of a more constant nature. However, we can (while welcoming such foreign investment capital, together with the technical skill and knowledge which may accompany it) try to the utmost of our ability to satisfy our own capital needs, as far as possible, by our own thrift and own provision. In this respect, as you know, great progress has already been made. Insofar as the means are available to the state to aid such formation of capital, our own capital, the Government will, as far as it is able, participate directly and deliberately.

In the fifth place the Government will continue to study the deficiencies in our economic life, especially also in our industrial enterprises. Where the deficiencies, the gaps, are found, purposeful action will be necessary to fill them. In the past there has already been a degree of fixity of purpose. Some of the industrial corporations in the Republic were established as a result of discoveries after research into the needs that had to be satisfied. Previously, when the gaps were large and conspicuous, one could hardly help seeing them, even without a serious search. As industrial progress takes place, however, a more and more systematic search will be necessary to find gaps that can be filled locally.

In the sixth place the development and advancement of the border industries are undertaken — industries that simultaneously satisfy all the requirements for decentralization. In this way, the industry is also taken to the source of labour, especially in the case of industries making intensive use of labour. Furthermore, the border industries will fertilize the development of our Bantu homelands in nearly all the ways in which industries within these areas could have done. The economic life in the White parts of our country will then again gain from this progress. Much has been said about this in the past and in the near future more will

be heard about it. I am therefore not saying any more about it now.

In the seventh place the Government wishes to be of assistance in connection with our mining development. Special attention will have to be given to the local processing and the refinement of mining raw materials, possibly with a view to export. It is also a common statement, but important to reaffirm, that South Africa has to export her raw materials in the most processed form possible so that as much as possible is paid for the labour of our hands by the people who need the raw materials. It should no longer be exported in crude form if it can possibly be processed partially in South Africa. In the past it did not even happen, and later only to a certain extent, but processing can take place to a far greater extent than at present. It will have to be our deliberate task in the future to encourage to the utmost effort in this field.

In the eighth place the Government will have to help increase general confidence insofar as it does not now exist, or maintain it to the extent that it is here. South Africa's reputation in the economic and financial sphere is of great importance. South Africa has indeed always had a good name in the economic and financial field. The fact that certain steps had to be taken recently in connection with capital outflow, was presented by certain critics as a step which damaged South Africa's good name. Many of our experts who have been in touch with the most prominent leaders in financial spheres in Europe, however, returned and reported that the measures we had to take here to protect our own position, have often been applied by other, even greater countries. Furthermore, the Government of the Republic took the steps so discreetly that it was not detrimental to our reputation in this sphere. There is also no doubt that we shall, as our difficulties decrease, restore the situation. The Government will, however, act as it might seem wise and at the right tempo. Then proof will again have been given, not only of how South Africa insists upon doing right, keeping her word in all respects, but also how she, while protecting her own assets and the assets of other investors by restraining flight of capital in time, at the same time allows capital freedom as soon as it is within her ability. By this action South Africa will maintain and expand her good name in the economic and financial fields.

In the ninth place our policy in the future will be to do what is also done in other countries with excellent results. Where they might have greater ability in this field than South Africa, we

shall still try, within the limits of our ability, to harness science in the planning of our future life and our economic endeavours. Science in our country is not properly organized and planned as is desirable. Much more central consideration has to be given to, on the one hand, the protection of our scientists and our scientific enterprises and, on the other hand, the utilization in our practical projects of abilities, knowledge and talents in the scientific field. Eventually we shall have to get away from purely idealistic research, and science can be made useful in terms of what is profitable for South Africa. Thus part of the Government's central planning and co-ordinating tasks will also be bringing science in our country under strict, honest and purposeful examination.

While I am telling you about the different directions in which the authorities plan to pamper the economy, the same authorities should be allowed to have some expectations from the South African entrepreneur. It is not only the one that has to do everything for the other; the other also has to do something, not for the authorities, but for South Africa!

We expect, firstly, of the South African entrepreneur that he should not adopt the wavering or wait-and-see attitude of the overseas investor who does not know our circumstances. Our local investor, our local entrepreneur, knows circumstances in South Africa. He knows when wrong reports are sent into the world. He knows when people overseas are confused and for example think that the Congo and the Republic of South Africa are neighbours and that the one could threaten the other! He need not harbour the same hesitation or adopt a wait-and-see attitude although there might be doubt outside his country. He should not hesitate to take the initiative, and wait until foreigners take courage, so that he can follow them. There is rather too much of this attitude in our country. The people who have to have the courage, who have to take the initiative, upon which the confidence of foreign investors shall follow as surely as the night the day, are the people to whom I address myself now, namely, the South Africans themselves. We should stop arguing that only when confidence is shown overseas, we shall follow. We have to show that we believe in our country, then they will follow.

Secondly, we expect that the South African entrepreneurs, if they have political differences with the Government, should not allow this to develop into economic pressure or political pressure. The fact is that we all realize that there are great differences between us in the political field. There are many South African entrepreneurs who do not agree with the Government policy and

it is entirely within their right to carry out their ideas, according to their conscience, in the political sphere, in the political life, at the polls. There they can resist the Government if they wish. We do not deny them that right. We are democrats and we accept the fact that the same person who can one day co-operate and negotiate with the Government in the economic field, can oppose him in the purely political field the very next day, even as a member of Parliament and as a direct opponent. What has to happen further, however, is that the deeper patriotism should predominate to such an extent that, when the person acts in connection with the prosperity and welfare of his community, i.e. in connection with economic actions, he should not allow his political differences to predominate. He should not take revenge in the other field for his political defeat by seemingly injuring the authorities but in reality harming his people and his country.

We expect South African entrepreneurs to maintain their political opinions. We shall understand it perfectly and shall not take them amiss. However, we also expect that they should all co-operate with the Government when it is necessary in the sphere of economic activity.

This brings me further to the point that the Government and the authorities in general were elected by the people to carry out a certain political policy in which the majority of the voters of the country believe. Now the South African entrepreneurs should not continue to submit proposals of how they will co-operate in the economic field on condition that the authorities give way in connection with that political policy.

The entrepreneur, the South African entrepreneur, will have to accept that, as he comes with proposals for the improvement of South Africa's prosperity, he must bring proposals that are practicable within the policy of the then ruling Government. If entrepreneurs of National Party convictions should come forward during, e.g. the rule of a Progressive Government, saying: "We shall co-operate, but we shall co-operate to do this or that, only if the Progressive Government applies apartheid", their offer to help will be a monstrosity! If South Africa should have the bitter fate of getting such a Government, the members of your Institute who think differently, will be compelled to still help building the prosperity of South Africa, to go on developing their own enterprises and to go on furthering the interests of their shareholders. They will only be able to come to such a Government with such proposals as do not clash with that to which that Government is willing to pay attention. It might be difficult for you, but you will

not be able to do otherwise. I think it is far less difficult for most of the South African entrepreneurs today to fit in their plans, their co-operation, within the policy of this Government. During the past five years, many of them even gained an insight that in many respects we had been right all the time in connection with certain points of policy which they had at first opposed, i.e. levy fees to finance Bantu housing, border areas, border industries, etc.

In the fourth place the Government can also rightfully expect from South African entrepreneurs that they should not panic at every trifle, and follow overseas trends to flee with their capital to temporary safety. Actually we can advise them that no country on earth is as safe for their capital as South Africa. Those that flee to Europe with their capital, possibly flee to greater danger. The point that I wish to stress now, however, is not such advice, but the fact that it is not fair of someone who has achieved prosperity and profit in a certain country during a period of many years, to, at the slightest sign of trouble, increase those difficulties by at that stage selfishly taking his possessions and sending them out of the country, and to bring his money back when the others, who have stayed loyal and retained faith in their country, have helped to return the country to prosperity. Then they want to come and share in the prosperity. We do not want them then, for then they only come to share in the prosperity as looters, as exploiters. Then they are no longer developers. Then they are no longer people who have a right to share in the prosperity and development of even their own country.

In the fifth place we shall expect the South African entrepreneur always to be willing to tackle expansion schemes. Of course, the owner of an enterprise that does not dispose of the necessary finances or market, cannot expand. No one expects that. Neither does one expect people who do not have the capital or the ability to enter blindly on any undertaking only because people say: there has to be expansion. We only expect every South African entrepreneur to apply all his mental power and energy to determine how he can develop and expand his own enterprise or others on an economic basis and profitably.

We talk about overseas investors who have to come here. What do they have to do here? They have to avail themselves of the opportunities this country offers. And if there are opportunities here that the outsider can see and utilize, why can't many more of those opportunities in our country be used by our own people? There are excellent examples of such a spirit of enterprise, this tendency to tackle expansion schemes, among our own people. We find this

especially in our large corporations. Think, for example, of the tremendous plans of Escom, Iscor, Sasol and Foskor. Within the next 10-12 years, if not sooner, according to plans that they already have, an expansion of R2,000m. will take place. If we should ask them, as I think we perhaps ought to, to undertake those developments in a shorter time, they will be able to. Think of the beneficial effect it will have on all industries that serve them but also on the various industries that have to supply them with the raw materials and with the products that they will need for their expansion. Think of all the possible new by-product manufacturers that can develop from their expansion. Think of all the labour possibilities that will be created. Furthermore, an increase in income means an increase in buying power. This has an obvious value for the farmer, who will have better and larger markets for his products, and he will again be a better client for merchant and industrialist. The expansion schemes of large enterprises or of smaller ones, if spread throughout our whole business life, can bring about the most tremendous revival in South Africa that can be imagined. Therefore I say: we expect of our South African entrepreneurs that everyone will examine his branch of industry to see what he can do, without in this way undermining his industry by speculation.

I also want to say a few words about the inherent power that the South African economy has, and has revealed. We are all proud of what has been proved during the past few months, after the strongest attacks on our economy. After so much doubt had been expressed about our economy, after difficulties had been experienced in this field in most countries of the world, and more so in Africa, we nevertheless experienced a sudden, new, early revival after May 31, of a nature and extent which we only expected rather later. Our economy's power of recovery was far greater than our faith in it. I do not deny that even now we still have problems. I am for instance conscious of the problems in our building industry and also of the resulting labour problems, including unemployment to a certain degree. Fortunately, the prospects in these fields are more promising and fortunately the growth in other industries is such that it helps to decrease unemployment which, in any case, is lower than normal — viz. lower than that which is regarded in other countries as a state of unemployment. We are, however, not insensitive about, or unaware of the hardship and even misery to some degree, which is being caused by unemployment to families in the meantime. Therefore, the Government is trying to combat this purposefully,

but is glad and comforted by the fact that there will be new employment opportunities within the next months in the building and assembling industries.

In spite of difficulties, South Africa may boast an increase in its production, in its total production. There is still something to make up for that which is lost in respect of certain products. Apart from the continuous increase in production, this symptom of growing prosperity and of the inherent strength of the Republic's economy, there is still another favourable symptom, namely the sustained demand for consumer goods. It is interesting that when agriculture was afflicted by severe drought on a rather large scale recently, there was almost immediate reaction, especially in the rural trade, which was felt in industry very soon. But when a nation-wide financial problem arose, a balance of payments problem, we found that the sustained demand for consumer goods had not changed. In other words, in that respect our economy was internally less affected by the financial problem we had to go through during the past months, than by the disadvantages caused to agriculture. This is an enormously impressive indication of the strength of South Africa's economy in the broader sense of the word.

The increasing exports and the decreasing imports are also significant. I admit that this is partly the result of Government measures, but it is also the result of something which is taking place in the economy of South Africa.

Lately, we are also experiencing an increase in gold and foreign reserves. Furthermore, there are signs of a revival of foreign interest and confidence. Interest in new industries they want to start here is found among foreigners. This interest concerns industries we have not yet had. There are people who are coming to investigate with millions of rands' capital behind them. Everyone knows by now of the favourable experiences of our three trade missions whose reports practically mean that everything will depend on ourselves (not the chances but the utilization of these chances) whether or not we will enjoy greater prosperity in our export trade. In every field, therefore, we have the proof that our country can progress. It is true, our problems were bound to a financial circumstance, that of greater outflow of capital over a certain period, but it can be controlled by Government measures, so it has been proved, and then the inherent strength of South Africa's economy will put in an appearance.

When one sees the faith in South Africa's inherent strength reaffirmed, then one wonders whether one can help encourage and

whether it can be assisted in the future, not only through the work of entrepreneurs, but also through study by Government experts. The Government believes that this is surely possible. We do not only believe that it can be done, but that it must be done. In South Africa up to now we have been very busy with short-term planning. Not enough consideration was given to planning on a long term. The principles which work against the growth of the country in the long run have not always been noticed. There was no specific and purposeful study of these principles. The Government, i.e. the Department of the Prime Minister under the supervision of an economic adviser with research officials, has started a study of the great trends in our economic life. They are also looking for the obstacles on the country's way to progress.

Two specific obstacles which are at the root of many of our difficulties were mentioned to me by this section. One is that we use the country's natural and human resources uneconomically. This uneconomical use actually stems from our history. As in the case of other European countries, South Africa began with an economy gradually extending from the original activities to the stage of manufacturing industry. Progress was made from the primary industries to the secondary. While our country was so busy developing we had, however, a situation which is different to that in most other countries, namely that there is not only a White community, which is entirely absorbed by, and which grows together with, that development in its entirety. In South Africa there was at the same time a Bantu community lagging behind that development. That community remained behind at a subsistence economy and practically continued to supply only unskilled labour. If our economy is to flourish in the future then the standpoint is that (even if the pace is slower than that elsewhere because of the psychological deficiencies as well as shortcomings in management, ability and capital wealth) those communities must be developed in one way or another, on similar lines to benefit sufficiently the whole of South Africa's economy. Because of the psychological deficiencies and slower pace of development and partly because of many other problems, among others, our survival problems as White people, that development cannot take place as part of the development of the White community to the capacity of its development ability. The other races will then be like a brake on a wagon and will hold back the White community economically — thus, apart from the known socio-political difficulties, this must be avoided.

By coincidence, the policy of separate development fits in with

this idea because it is based on being able to give those people the economic development which is right in every stage according to their ability and which, within their own circle is at a pace which is psychologically suitable for them. Within this limit there are those who will reach their peak in every field; these can be found from their ranks from among those who have ability in enterprise and can build up their own capital. Where that development of their ability can take place in their own homes, conditions will be the most favourable. In other words (I am not going into details now), the policy of separate development is not only useful as a political and social concept; it is useful as a means to a direct economic principle: how to use in South Africa the country's nature as well as its labour resources to the utmost, taking into consideration the psychological variety of abilities among the various race groups in the country.

There is also a second obstacle. It is that there is a discrepancy between the internal production structure and the pattern of our balance of payments. At the moment there is still a dependence on the yield of the export earnings from our primary products for the payment of what we want to import and need, as well as for the development of our new industries. Obviously, the yield of our primary products could not provide for that and therefore the capital inflow from foreign investors has to provide for the difference. This is a very uncertain and unstable foundation on which the whole growth of the country is built. It is also necessary to take into consideration that primary products, whether they come from mining and have, like gold, a more or less fixed price, or whether they may be agricultural products, like wool, which may have a fluctuating price, supply an income which is uncertain and variable, and which is in any case insufficient to pay for everything which South Africa has to get from outside or which South Africa wants to develop locally. How then can stability be brought about in our economic life in the long run? It is clear that we should be prepared to avoid a long-term dependence on the export earnings of our primary products which are subject to too many fluctuations, and the prices of which increase at a lower rate than imported goods. A capital inflow will not always compensate for that. What is South Africa going to do now?

There is only one method and that is to provide for sufficient compensating exports. It is, therefore, necessary to establish industries to earn income by exports and industries to replace imports. These investigators, therefore, stress that when we aim

at growing industrialization, we must be selective. Firstly, one must select the type of industry which will earn exports and replace imports so that on the one hand the country will obtain a steady income which will enable South Africa to pay for what must be imported and local development. Also, imports must be less or as little as possible, so that the income which can be earned is not too heavily handicapped by imports.

South Africa must also endeavour to increase in various ways the productive power of its capital and to accomplish bigger savings. Various methods are suggested. They are being investigated. In passing I may mention one example. When an industry has its factory and plant which, however, only works one shift, then perhaps the production could be doubled or trebled by working more shifts. In certain circumstances this could become dangerous to South Africa, e.g. if it should lead to a situation where in the interior of the country the number of White overseers or White keymen remain the same while only the number of Bantu workers in such a factory is increased. Then it would increase the problems in other spheres. But this is one of the types of problems that will have to be investigated. It will have to be ascertained whether in cases of capital shortages, higher production with the same capital will not be possible by making better use of the capital.

All that I as a layman want to say, is: South Africa is beginning the second phase of its industrial development. The first one is past and the second one must be less by chance and more purposefully planned. The state machinery is being tuned for specialized planning.

In the Department of the Prime Minister, an Economic section has been established with a view to broad planning and co-ordination. That economic section co-operates with an economic advisory council. This economic advisory council, because of its constitution, makes possible co-ordination between the private sector and the public sector. It consists of representatives of the various state departments and the various entrepreneurs in the various fields in the country. In that connection, there also exists a co-ordinating committee of the various state departments so that their activities in this field dovetail properly. Already much progress has been made. Much of what is taking place today, much of the improved attitudes towards plans previously propagated, but which, at the time, could not obtain the co-operation of the private and public sectors, as in respect of the border industries, are due to the creation of this machinery. By the agency of the

economic adviser and all who assist him, certain programmes to attain our aims are being drafted. Plans, which set a certain aim in which direction the country wants to move in a fixed period of time and by which it can be determined whether or not sufficient progress is made, are of very great value. Improvements in respect of financing methods have already been made and ideas in respect of further adaptations are being obtained.

Experts have started a new direction in research about which I do not consider myself capable of saying much. This is done by means of the drafting of co-relating industrial tables. This is a new system of research where data is co-ordinated in such a way that the mutual relations of industries, the dovetailing of their production, the mutual stimulation and the possibility of mutual savings by the various industries or industrial groups in the country, are studied. Big tables are compiled which will evidently be of enormous value to planning. If we want to increase our national production, if we want to set about it systematically, then we will have to build our future on this type of economic-scientific study.

With this I want to say that the Government accepts its duty. The Government accepts its duty to indicate the course. It accepts its duty as co-ordinator. It accepts its duty to assist in the widening of the greater welfare possibilities of our country.

Where the Government is accepting this, it realizes that none of its actions could have any success if the willingness to achieve is not ultimately supported by individuals. Germany has had an enormous economic growth. This was due to clever planning, to many able industrial leaders, to a clear insight into economic factors, but were it not for the activity of the whole German people then the country would not have realized this economic strength.

No citizen of the Republic of South Africa may now overlook that this is the proper time for his renewed ardour and dedication and courage. Now is the time that everyone should exert himself in support of the country's economic activities. The possibilities open to him are great. It will be profitable for himself, but that is not the reason why I appeal for his co-operation. It will be profitable for South Africa and that is why I appeal to him. It is of no use only to change South Africa into a republic. It is even of no use to us if we succeed only in holding our own as Whites. We must also be prepared to convert everything in ourselves into dedication and ardour to make our country prosperous. Ultimately, racial peace in South Africa and our survival will depend on whether we are able to make our country pros-

perous. Therefore I say to everybody in South Africa: From now on we will have to be ingenious; we must make use of our utmost capacity for work; we will have to show our will-power; we must show that we have the courage to take risks. Confidence, ingenuity, will-power, capacity for work, willingness to put the shoulder to the wheel; these will ultimately enable South Africa to succeed. It is the human being who makes a country and its economy, not the other way round. A country may be very rich, may have many resources. A country may have a sound economy. A country may have many future prospects. However, if the people are unable, or if they do not want to make use of these prospects, no good will come of that country. We, South Africans, may face the future with confidence, determination and faith that economic prosperity lies in front of us, if we, the people of South Africa, do our duty.

Speech on the Occasion of the Unveiling of the Monument to Freedom at Vereeniging, Transvaal, October 10, 1961

The longer the Second Anglo-Boer War lasted, the more obvious it became that the Boer forces had come to the end of their strength. The war was not, however, to be ended suddenly. At the beginning of 1902 Dr. Abraham Kuyper, Minister President of the Netherlands, attempted to mediate with the British government in the interests of the two Republics. The British government did not react but sent the correspondence dealing with this matter to Lord Kitchener who in turn sent it to the acting President, Schalk Burger. In this way a chain reaction was set in motion, the first move being the meeting of a number of representatives of both Republics on the 9th April, 1902 at Klerksdorp. Before any decision was reached, the two governments were invited to Pretoria where discussions were held on the 12th April. Since the Boers present were not in a position to speak for the citizens on the field of battle, it was agreed that the commandos of the two Republics would each choose thirty delegates who would meet at Vereeniging on the 15th May, 1902. After much discussion — among themselves and with British military chiefs at Pretoria — it was decided to come to peace terms which were not only unacceptable to the Boers, but were also, in many ways, humiliating. The discussions at Vereeniging were concluded with the signing of the peace treaty on the 31st May, 1902 at Pretoria. Almost sixty years later a monument was unveiled at Vereeniging, but it was not a monument of humiliation!

It has seldom, if ever, happened anywhere in the world that a monument has been erected on the site of a defeat. It is, however, not a defeat which we are commemorating here today, but the joy which sprang from grief. This joy is not only for today, nor is the inspiration of this monument merely for today. It is a joy which must go forth into the future, and it is the inspiration which we must keep to make possible other victories. It is a unique monument created by the hand of an artist, born out of the heart of a people with a will to live and a determination to live

in the future. At the outset I would like to prevent any misunderstanding about this monument and to forestall any misunderstanding developing. There are signs of there being suspicion about it. And there should not be any suspicion about this monument nor should it come into being. It is a monument which may and should have meaning for all of us in this country. For this reason I would like to state right at the start that it is not intended to humiliate anybody or to create grief anew, but a monument for all of us — one-time enemies of both sides.

There are perhaps three reasons for doubting whether it is a monument which speaks for everyone and will be able to speak far into the future. The idea exists that it is a creation to emphasize the coming of the new republic. That is not so. The idea was born in years past when the realization of the republic still seemed to be a dream of the future. It was felt, far back, that at Vereeniging, the place where peace was made — a symbol should arise which might show that the nation is still alive and still has ideals for the future. The idea for the monument was born more than 10 years ago, not to commemorate the present Republic though the present Republic fits in with the idea. This is no cause for shame or opposition on the part of anyone. It is just so and should be acceptable to all of us.

The thought might also have arisen that it is intended as a symbol of triumph of the Afrikaner over the English-speaking section, whereas the Afrikaner actually suffered defeat. Neither was this the intention. It was realized, however, that a monument should arise out of the Afrikaner people, here where the two Republics had to sign away their freedom; a monument which would show that the human spirit triumphs over the worst things which can happen to a man; a monument symbolizing the power which remains in man even in the deepest slough of defeat; and in the midst of great grief. It is common to mankind that those in opposition may grant this quality to one another and even honour one another: that out of the transitory is born the eternal, that the spirit is greater and more powerful than the body, that the bearing of wounds may give rise to an unsuspected strength.

But there is perhaps a third reason for suspicion. And that is because the monument, which sprang from the Afrikaner, through his institutions, is being unveiled on a day which is the day of his heroes. It is seen as a sectional monument in the sense that it is likely to be recognized by the Afrikaner as being for himself. Because such an attitude would not be fitting for the unity of the nation which must be stimulated by the new Republic, sus-

picion has been aroused that the desire for unity could not be genuine if the monument were to be unveiled on this particular day.

For this reason, I would like to make known my personal attitude towards the manner in which we may and should maintain our differing institutions in the future, in the presence of the whole nation consisting of diverse elements; also as to how we may and should commemorate our history without harming one another and without hurting the newly-made unity. We would become a poverty-stricken people and we would enter the Republic empty and hollow on both sides of the language barrier, if it were not possible to continue to build with the help of our own languages, our own institutions and our own national festivals. Do not think that in the unity of the people of the Republic of South Africa, there is no longer any room for those things which are the inheritance of both sides.

We should be able, as one people, to share in the inheritance of each other. We should be able to care for our own inheritance, whether it is language, or cultural, or spiritual riches which we have inherited. Whether it is pride in our past, or the honouring of heroes who have preceded us — we should be able to maintain this on both sides, and be able to tolerate it from one another. We are not the first nation to be born out of differing and at one time contradictory elements. The English people themselves are a product of more than one ingredient. If we go back into their history there is to be seen the clash between the Anglo-Saxons and the Normans, the one the conqueror of the other. But they came together and grew together and created a new nation which had a very glorious history thereafter. At the beginning of that fusion, each element attached great value, without a doubt, to its heroes, its language inheritance, its customs, its churches and other institutions, and kept on cherishing them. The new nation which came into being, continued to honour these two histories, these two ways of thinking, until they flowed together as one stream in which both had a share.

Thus it should be with us. We should, as Afrikaners, be able to celebrate our national festivals openly and allow our various societies and organizations to continue openly during this period of change. We should be able to keep on loving our language and our churches. In the same way our English-speaking fellow countrymen should honour their language, their churches, their institutions, their heroes and their part in the history of South Africa. We must aim at overcoming smallness and reach for great-

heartedness. Only in this way will we be able to become the people of the Republic of South Africa, capable of maintaining itself against the whole world.

Since I have, I trust, cleared up any danger of misunderstanding and suspicion, I would like to let my thoughts go back, with you, to those days long ago when the bitter decision had to be taken here at Vereeniging, and when the leaders who had to make the bitter decision for the people found themselves in two camps. The one group believed that peace was necessary for the continued existence of the nation, the other could not buy peace by giving up its independence. In both groups which fought to the bitter end for the continued existence of their people there was dismay and grief. The discussions, day after day, did not lessen the pain and dejection. It only brought the hour of decision — the fatal hour — nearer for everybody. The evening before the voting was to take place, General Beyers, who was of the opinion that the fighting had to continue, was sitting in his tent and the Bible fell open before him at Zachariah 4 verse 6. And he read: "This is the word of the Lord unto Zerubbabel, saying, Not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts". And suddenly, so he said later, he realized that by signing the peace treaty, freedom would return some day. In this way he was able to reconcile the one point of view with the other, and changed his attitude and raised his voice in favour of peace.

It is that basic outlook that we here are symbolizing today. Freedom has risen out of peace, victory from defeat. This monument is a symbol of courage to die but also of the will to new life. It is the seed which had to die in the bosom of mother earth before a new plant could grow to bear new fruit. Out of death comes life.

It is typical that it should happen in this way with a farming people — a people with the terrific courage to face up to anything, who had learnt this not out of fighting and war but out of the fight against nature. Here it learnt to rise up anew each time it suffered a setback. The farmer who has to survive in drought and flood, who has to suffer hailstorms and sickness among his cattle, who has unperturbed to see the destruction of a year's work in a matter of moments, who has to see the skeletons of his cattle with tears in his eyes, and still be able to look up to the heavens from whence his salvation has always been sought and found. A farmer nation has often to suffer wounds in its life but each time it girds itself for fresh victories in all walks of life. Such a nation was capable of suffering defeat at Vereeniging, and of being able to erect a monument there; a monument dedicated to

the courage of fighting again, of rising up again and going forward to victory.

My friends, let us look for a moment at the monument and that which it symbolizes. On the one hand it stands for humanity in general. You do not see the body of a defeated fighter, but one who is wounded but not overcome, because even at this moment his thoughts are seeking into the future, his soul rising to higher service. The monument does not merely symbolize the struggle of the felled individual to live again. We are actually paying tribute to the fighter for his nation. We are paying tribute to the grief of the grievously wounded. We are commemorating the new life which enters into him, if he is spared. We are paying tribute to the spirit which leaves him if he passes away and the inspiration which he thus leaves to his children and his descendants. This we pay tribute to. But this is not all. We are not merely commemorating the rising up of a nation though this monument, which goes back 60 years, refers to everything that has happened in the interim. The monument refers to the victory over the two Republics, to the honourable defeat of a small nation which fought for its ideals and its possessions, but according to God's will was unable to keep for itself the way of life which it thought and hoped it might.

What an honourable defeat! For this reason we are commemorating a nation which rose up immediately afterwards; doing so because of its faith and its courage to die. Out of its zest for living it tried to overcome the problems of daily life and faced up to the problems of national life, building up new ideals for itself, higher ideals than ever before, more extensive and deeper than before. This monument, therefore, symbolizes the resurrection of a nation. But it is not only the symbol of the fighter coming out of victory, not only the symbol of a people out of whom victory could also spring in a broader sense, it is, and must remain a symbol of victory on the road to the future for every person. No one is able to live without suffering and grief. There is no one who does not, in the battle of life, experience times of discouragement and defeat. And if the monument to Freedom at Vereeniging is able to free every man of that which depresses him, if it can keep alive the faith which continually may inspire him in his life, then this monument will do something more for everyone in South Africa than merely commemorate. It will inspire and give strength to carry out our task; the task of every man in his daily life, the task of all in the service of our nation; the task of the nation in the service of mankind. It is therefore, the sym-

bol of the everlasting courage of man, of the willingness of man generally to sacrifice himself, to give of himself to others. In this way the memory of an event in our national life, a big event which has passed and which cut deep wounds in our lives and in the lives of our descendants, can be elevated to something so much bigger.

My friends, if we think of what we have gone through in these 60 years, of the re-building which has taken place in the material field alone, how wide has South Africa's life not become! Here in Vereeniging, the growth of the whole region is symbolical of the growth of South Africa, our fatherland. Here in the development of the steel industry, one has not only a symbol of material prosperity, but the creation of something which has laid the foundation for many activities which have become the life-work of many people, and upon which the prosperity of our fatherland rests and which makes possible the resistance of our country to attacks from outside.

This monument symbolizes the rising up and the rebuilding of our material prosperity, the continual growth, the spirit and the inspiration which must come from a people who wish to be themselves, who wish to be independent. No one can be independent while stretching forth the hands of a beggar. It is therefore right that this sign of victory of the spirit should also be a symbol of renewal and growth in the material field.

When we look at this symbol and take courage for the road of life ahead of us, both politically and materially, we may not forget that at the same time it is a freedom monument. A monument to freedom which symbolizes the freedom which we gained as a state and which we must retain, the freedom for which we must work and for which we must also be prepared to die if necessary — not only the Afrikaner people, but all the people of the Republic of South Africa. It is a freedom monument for all of us, a freedom monument which makes one think of the many things of which one should become free. We want to be free of conflict and strife in our own country which was born out of conflict. The monument does not symbolize the continuance of that conflict or of the wounds which we inflicted on one another. It symbolizes the victory, not so much over others, as over ourselves, our selfishness, our pride and our desires. We are a young nation, a new nation in a new state, and our task lies ahead. We must take out of the past that which is good and use it to build the future. Gathered here today around this monument, we are looking at the past as represented by the courage of our

forefathers; their courage to fight, their courage to suffer and their courage to build. We are gathered together here, and the people of South Africa who are with us here in spirit wherever they may be, to draw fresh inspiration from a monument which has been born from the past.

But inspiration is something for the future. Inspiration must go further. It must never cease. It must not merely offer more. It must never cease to offer. My solemn wish for you and for our people in the difficult time ahead, is that we shall become united, stay white, be able to build up our prestige in the world. And for the world to realize what this nation stands for. It is my solemn wish that this monument will give us the courage to face the worst even in the most difficult times ahead, and that it will really mean inspiration to all of us.

We are unveiling today a great monument. Great because it wishes to hurt nobody, because it is not aimed at anything small in our national life. We are today unveiling a monument which must always be to the honour of this nation, must always inspire it to those great deeds to which its history has called it.

Address on the Occasion of the Opening of the Hendrik Verwoerd Tunnels, November 18, 1961

The Hendrik Verwoerd tunnels are two of the longest road cuttings in South Africa, linking Cape Town with Messina by means of an uninterrupted hard road surface. The construction of these tunnels became essential after floods in 1958 completely washed away the road through Wyllie's Poort, which had been constructed over the river bed in places, and disrupted traffic altogether. During their visit to the north, where Dr. Verwoerd delivered an interesting opening speech and Mrs. Verwoerd cut a ribbon which opened the tunnels and Wyllie's Poort to traffic, the Premier couple were decorated with floral garlands by the Indian community of Louis Trichardt, according to oriental custom a special form of tribute. Earlier in the day Dr. Verwoerd had addressed a rally of 3,000 children in Louis Trichardt.

Mr. Chairman, esteemed colleagues and friends, I want to thank you very much for the tremendous honour shown to us by your presence here, and I also thank my good friend, Minister Schoeman, for his words directed to me personally. More about that a little later.

We stand here at the so-called Great North Road, but the highway to the north is at the same time the highway to the south, and this double meaning signifies something very special to South Africa. Here we are a nation, planted at the southern tip of Africa, having developed a state which is the first and the mightiest and the greatest state of Africa. There is no doubt that when one looks at the development of this country and compares it with what is being achieved in the other older and newer states of Africa, it is the Republic of South Africa that stands out. But this imposes a duty on our state, a duty towards the whole continent, a duty to transmit some of its privileges, its development, its prosperity and its knowledge to the remainder north of it. This the Republic of South Africa is willing to do. Whoever may be against us at the moment, whoever may be talking against us at present, the helping hand of our knowledge, of our friendship,

of our counsel and our assistance still remains available. This must be mentioned; we are willing to give! That means that here at the southern point of Africa lies a state which casts its eyes northwards and makes its roads northwards. But for the rest of Africa, and especially our immediate neighbours, there is also the need to look southwards and come south — to come here — to accept the help we can offer, to come here when they need recreation and facilities which we can already offer; recreation which the beauty of South Africa and its coasts naturally bestows — a gift to our country by the Almighty which we should like to share with all who, together with us, want to enjoy it and gain health. That is why we always welcome those whose wheels roll southwards, whose eyes are turned southwards. Hence I say, that the highway to the north is also the highway to the south.

But, my friends, nature put a barrier in the way of movement north and south, the barrier of the Soutpansberg Mountain, and this barrier, in all its majestic splendour, had to be overcome. Years ago there were efforts to avoid the mountain and to travel around it. In the olden days, when there was still little development just north of this pass, the ministers of Pietersburg travelled on foot, by bicycle and by mule wagon for pastoral visiting to the individuals who lived up to the borders of our state. The time, however, came when a road had to be found through the mountain; this could not be developed fully, but when it was developed, it shortened the connection with the north, but it was a connection which could not everywhere resist the power of natural barriers. An obstacle was placed on the physical road northwards and this barrier idea is symbolic of what is to be seen in our world today and in our relations in Africa. The hearts of the people of South Africa are open to the north and are also open to the movement from the north to us. But a barrier has been put in the way, a barrier caused by hate, by envy, by enmity, by ignorance and by unenlightenedness — mental barriers. But the barriers are not in our minds. With us, the tunnels are open. The barriers still lie in the minds of the people who need us, but do not comprehend it. They want to teach us what we have to do but have not yet discovered that they cannot do it. They do not realize yet that we know best what is good for the fortunes of our nations and of all whose welfare has been entrusted to us.

It is that barrier on the spiritual road northwards and southwards that we have to break. I am not speaking of our friends just across the Limpopo. Between them and us the roads are open and we are glad for that. I am speaking of others, further

away. But the barriers should not continue to exist. A road must be made — and tunnels through the barriers, however hard the granite of their resistance may be. That is why this road construction and this tunnel construction are symbolic of what we want to do and should do and shall do in the creation of right relationships. No matter what obstacles the world and all the states of Africa lay in our way, the human mind, through all generations has overcome obstacles and been undeterred by them. So, my friends, do not let us be upset by the world and what it has to say about us; let us be upset only if in ourselves we do not have sufficient fighting power and working power and thinking power to overcome the obstacles thrown in our way.

To me, the symbolism of this highway northwards and southwards is that it opens up vistas of the work that awaits us. The physical barriers we have overcome, the road lies white, as our Bantu say; the road lies white and open for us to build. The road, is to the hearts of people, white. Symbolically one struggle has been won, the easiest one. One can cleave a rock more easily than human hardness of heart, but like the one, the other can be drilled through. We believe in our future and we believe in our good relations with everybody, everywhere in the world and in Africa, irrespective of what they think and say of us.

Friends, with regard to this road, the thought was expressed to name it after me personally. I wish to thank those who thought of this, and also the road authorities who agreed thereto, very much. In this connection I especially want to thank the Administrator of the Transvaal and the Minister of Transport, my good friends, for their share in this decision. But I may say that when the thought was raised I really hesitated to give my consent, because I was aware that many names, and great national names, are linked with the history of Northern Transvaal. We should pay tribute and commemorate them because they opened the way northwards; they triumphed over mountains, sometimes not only leading their ox-wagons but even taking them apart and carrying them bit by bit to win access to the other side. I felt that honour was more due to them, and that the name to be perpetuated here should be found among them. But it became clear to me that while the past, which has lessons for us, has to be honoured, we the present generation, are also doing something for our country and for our nation and for the future. This should perhaps be commemorated, even if it is only by making one person from the present Government a symbol of the continual struggle which the whole Government and our nation has to wage, but more

particularly, to commemorate South Africa as a country which serves and can serve, a country which looks northwards and travels northwards and welcomes those looking southwards. So I consented to my name being linked herewith, not to honour my person, not to perpetuate my name, because I do not deserve that, but rather, by using my name as present leader of the Government to show that our generation has also accomplished a few great things for South Africa. It has fallen to the lot of our generation and the Government of which I have the honour to be the head, to make one republic of the whole of South Africa. It has fallen to our lot not only to bring about a constitutional change, but to render service in many spheres of life, to make South Africa a great agricultural country, a great industrial country, a great stronghold of civilization! That this has been entrusted to us is to our honour; but it is also our privilege. Not only heroes in political life should be honoured, but also the heroes of everyday life; of the church, of the faith, of prosperity, industry, agriculture and commerce. I hope that my name on this tunnel will serve to symbolize what our leaders in every sphere of life have achieved. Here is a tribute to modern South Africa; to this short but eventful period in the history of our people.

My friends, I wish to refer for a few moments to the background of this achievement. In the early days the fastest means of travel — and the pride of the times — was the mule cart or mule coach. I believe a six-mule coach operated from Pietersburg to Louis Trichardt, and later, when this road was first undertaken, a ten-mule coach operated between Louis Trichardt and Messina. The journey then took only two days, instead of fourteen, and people felt that tremendous progress had been made in their means of transport, especially when a luxurious coach with better springing and velvet cushions was introduced.

After Lieutenant Wyllie had been given the task — early in the century — to find a pass, and a road-way somewhere close to this one was initiated, it was felt that great progress had been made. Decades later, when newer roads were opened, it was again thought that civilization's task had been fulfilled. But the time comes when the conqueror is conquered, when the roadmaker finds that his work no longer satisfies the needs of the people. And so it came to pass, only a few years ago, when in our pride we had thought that we had overcome the difficulties and troubles caused by the gorge, that we again had to plan a new road. So it always is and always must be. Once more we believe that we have finally conquered the difficulties of this road northwards.

I wish to pay tribute to the engineers of this particular project and to all those from the highest to the lowest, white and black, who were engaged on this work and worked together to conquer this difficulty. Whether this is the ultimate I do not know. I am inclined to think that this road will remain but that eventually it will not prove to be sufficient. South Africa is growing and growing fast. For that, the presence of the white nation of South Africa is a definite and final guarantee. Our growth is likely to be so great that quite likely more will have to be added to this: perhaps additional roads or new tunnels. This means, in terms of the symbolism with which I started, that not only will the nation and its needs grow, but that co-operation, and intercommunication, industrial and otherwise, between ourselves and the states farther north, will increase as peace, friendship and prosperity grow.

I believe that we are living in a time of woe which is not nearly at its end. We have to pass through troublesome times. We, the men and women of this generation, have to lay a foundation that will ensure a continuing overcoming of the difficulties which we are experiencing today. These are not going to pass soon or easily. Let us realize that. Perhaps it is a healthy situation for when man has nothing to strive for, he falls to pieces, he loses his power of resistance and becomes weakened. We become strong in mind and body only when we have difficulties to overcome, when we have hard work to do. This nation will never grow big if it continues to enjoy the easy times of the Africa of the past. This ease resulted in no civilization being built in Africa. We have built up something because life for us, and for those before us, was not as easy as life in the tropics where people merely gathered their food and vegetated. It is a good and a true fact of life that people must always be striving forwards and upwards if they wish to achieve. This is a further symbolism. We must always work and reach for a higher level, even though in the process we sometimes have to suffer great harm and face grave difficulties.

My friends, in man's course of life there is always striving and struggling. Riches do not remove them. No matter what has been attained, there is no rest. It is so in the life of a nation. Without purposeful striving life will decay. What we are doing here today, unveiling a name, opening of a tunnel, should be seen as a milestone in the struggle of a people to overcome physical obstacles, to perform spiritual deeds and as a way to the possessing and unfolding of new ideals. We stand here today. Others will come after us to conduct our country further and lead it higher. Let us

at each milestone affirm that we are a nation that believes in its God, that believes that its destiny has been guided and, that through struggle and trouble will always believe that nothing is created only to be destroyed.

**Address to the Union Council for Matters Concerning
Coloureds, in Cape Town on
December 12, 1961**

This speech, which Dr. Verwoerd made to the Union Advisory Council for Coloured Affairs, is important because it gave the first distinct, extensive and detailed exposition of the Government's policy towards the Coloureds. At the same time it also forms a basis for the method which will be applied to the administration of Indians. Not only was the address accepted with a standing ovation, but in his acknowledgment the Coloured chairman of the Council praised the Government highly for what it was doing and intended to do for the Coloureds, and expressed the hope that the United Nations would take note of their attitude.

I am very glad to have the opportunity of discussing the future of the Coloured community with this Council. I also wish to thank the Council for its co-operation up to the present. It is not easy for any council to gain esteem within a year or two, especially if the commencement, as it inevitably had to be, was imperfect. This Council had to do pioneer work and is still doing it. It has introduced a new era. In the beginning it experienced much opposition and difficulties had to be straightened out. It is easy to fight on the beaten track but quite a different matter if you have to hew your way through the bushes at the same time. The fact that there are Coloureds who regard the Council suspiciously, is one of the difficulties which those who stand at the head of the country's affairs continually have to contend with. It is, however, better that the difficulties should come early so that one can straighten them out and start to build.

The problems concerning race relations in South Africa cannot be tackled without goodwill. We approach them with that inclination. We have to be honest with ourselves and face the facts sober-mindedly. In that way alone will we be able to overcome the problems. Friendship can exist the best where there is an inclination to good neighbourliness. In that way there is no reason why people who differ from one another cannot live close together.

It just depends on how the differences are approached. It is also necessary to realize that there is a difference between differentiation and discrimination.

I want to mention a few facts about which we have to be sober-minded. There are four different groups in the population of our country: the Whites, the Coloureds and two others with which we are not concerned now. The difference between some groups is much greater than between others but, as a basic reality, it must be accepted that we differ. It does not necessarily have to be a fact which is unpleasant or nasty. It does not necessarily have to result in the one group looking down upon the other. It is just one of the facts of life which exist in many parts of the world. Even where groups of people do not differ very much from one another, the mild differences are nearly everywhere reason enough for them to seek their existence as separate nations or states. How much more will it not be so where the differences are greater!

In Europe there are sometimes fairly small differences between White nations of similar descent; yet those nations who are reasonably similar to one another in appearance, descent, knowledge and customs wish to retain the separate nationhood which is their historical heritage. In addition to that is the fact that the more distinct the boundaries are between them, the less they quarrel.

Quarrels arise as soon as boundary troubles make their appearance or when the one wants to take something away from the other. As long as they grant each other their future existence, prosperity and happiness and the right to determine their own affairs, there are good relations and neighbourliness. Then there can be close contact on matters of common interest. Jealousy, too, does not exist.

A second fact which has to be acknowledged is that in South Africa — as a result of our historical development — the Coloured was in a position of general subordination to the White man. Such a group relationship does not have to continue like that, but it has to be taken into consideration. It is a stumbling block to good neighbourliness, because it takes time, patience and faith to conquer the long history of subordination.

The greatest stumbling blocks that we have to overcome lie with our people themselves. Relations between people depend on psychological factors and the question is what is a practical method of creating sound relations. How will it be possible to give new direction to the historical heritage without clashing with human nature on both sides? That is our problem.

In the course of history deceptive solutions, which in practice

did not mean anything, have been tried. One example is when the Coloureds were given the franchise which, as it was practised — if considered honestly — only gave the Coloureds a seeming authority, but in reality brought them no prosperity or happiness. That deceptive solution rather resulted in estrangement. The White man started looking at the "voting cattle" disdainfully; they were totally forgotten for five years between elections. That false representation meant nothing to the economic prosperity of the Coloureds. Such a privilege appeared to create a step towards equality, but in practice it meant nothing. When a solution is sought, one must look further for other than seemingly easy orthodox methods.

Another fact which must be kept in mind is the question of human rights, good treatment, reasonableness, correctness and decency between groups. These virtues are found not only in a politically united state or political unification, as some people think. One sometimes gets a better chance of close co-operation and points of contact when groups of people who differ move side by side in two streams. It is easier to achieve good relations when there is a side-by-side existence instead of a mixed-up one.

Another fact we have to consider is the numbers of the different groups in this country. One cannot explain this away, nor the effect which it has on the thoughts and fears of the different groups. This also makes the problems more difficult.

With these facts as a background, one can ask what is there to do to find an honest, sound solution. In reality there are only two directions of policy in which progress can be made. The one is that all people can get opportunities and rights in a mixed community. The other is that everybody should get their opportunities and rights, but alongside one another — that is, apart. The morality of the two directions does not differ. In both cases one seeks for opportunities and rights for everybody. Let it be understood, right from the start, that it is the aim of all who seek an attractive future for South Africa to give everybody good prospects for the future.

The problem is how to do it without placing the one or the other at a disadvantage. It is, for instance, not morally right to grant the Coloureds advantages if it means the oppression of the Whites. In this country we shall progress far better if political enmity, which leads to misunderstanding and misjudgment of each other's considerations, is avoided between the groups. I accept that the advocates of those directions of policy which I regard to be dangerous are aiming at the same objects, namely to give everybody chances and rights; but then I also expect that such people

of other opinions will not doubt the motives of the Government.

I have earnestly asked myself whether the advocates of total unity of the different races can bring justice and fairness to everybody. I am absolutely convinced that integration in a country like South Africa cannot possibly succeed. If the differences between the communities are taken into consideration, together with the tendencies in the world and in Africa, and the desire of some Bantu for autocratic rule in South Africa, then I cannot see how we in a mixed community or state can achieve peace. It lies in the psychology of man and in the spirit of rivalry that he strives to obtain the best for himself and his kind.

How can justice be done to every group, on the road of integration, when consideration is given to the standard of the group's average development and the group's rights to, or within the country? If the principle of "one man, one vote" eventually comes into existence through methods of integration, it must result in Bantu domination. The numbers make it inevitable even if the Bantu group has no other necessary qualification for rule except numbers. It may appear to be very just in terms of the handling of individuals, but will it be just towards the other groups? Will it be fair (and I ask you this as Coloureds) towards the Whites who did so much to build up this country and in many respects looked after the Bantu — who came from other parts — and by this prevented them from dying out or exterminating themselves? I am seeking justice for all the groups and not justice for only one group at the cost of the other three.

The Coloureds must ask themselves what the policy of a mixed community will mean to them in all the spheres of life. Will they, without any protection, against the background of the knowledge and belongings which the Whites have, be able to make quick progress when competing equally with these Whites? Some individuals will be able to soar high while the Whites retain the reins of government in such a mixed community. But most of the Coloureds, the mass which I and this committee have to consider, will stay behind. Will they in such a community, have much chance of progress even if the appearance of equality is there? The honest answer is no.

However, I want to outline the position in a different way. What will happen if the Whites lose their hold on the government in such a unitary state? Who will then hold the reins of government? Not the Coloureds, but the Bantu. I do not want to insult the Bantu as a group, because I must seek justice for them too. It is, however, a fact that events in Africa prove that when the

Bantu takes over the government of a country, it inevitably leads to dictatorship by a small group of politically interested persons. The Bantu masses will be submissive to them and perhaps experience worse hardships than it is said they experience under White rule.

As for the other groups, there is no doubt that they will be pushed backwards, perhaps quickly, perhaps step by step. The Coloureds must not think that they will be the last to be pushed out of the control of, or the participation in, the advantages of such a mixed community. They might easily be the first. What group will be regarded by a Bantu dictatorship as the least necessary? Will it not be the Coloureds? The esteem and help of the Whites might still be kept because of the benefit of their knowledge.

The Coloureds must therefore ask themselves if they will really have much chance in such a mixed community. If I were a Coloured, I would not find any consolation in all the plans made by different parties to draw up constitutions which do not give one man one vote, but aim at the representation of groups, either racial groups according to civilization tests, in Parliament. It is easy to make such plans which, on paper, appear to give each group opportunities and rights, but in practice they do not work out like that. In a mixed community the force and the demands of the most numerous group will be the decisive factor. It is inevitable; we see it in the world around us. In such a mixed state justice cannot be done to all the groups. The others are either swallowed or pushed out.

My standpoint is therefore that in contrast with this path of integration, South Africa must choose the other direction of policy. Let us call it the four-stream policy. It is the only one that remains. According to it, one accepts that there are four community groups which differ from one another and one must also accept that each group must have its independence, its opportunities and its right of government within its own community.

It is reasonably easy to arrange matters in this way for the Bantu who have their own homelands. Even if it takes time one can form a clear vision and set up a definite aim concerning the manner in which self-government must be given them. In the case of the Coloureds it is not so. I want to state clearly that although there are people in the Coloured group who try to create the impression that the Government wants to set up a homeland for the Coloureds in a different part of South Africa, it is not so. This is not a solution for the Coloured group and an own homeland policy is in this case not enforceable. The Coloureds do,

however, have at their disposal over a million morgen of land where a part of their community can do well for themselves in agriculture. We shall also try to increase the usefulness and fertility of those territories with, for example, the construction of irrigation schemes. Independent Coloureds will be able to settle on the farming land. This is, however, only a part of the economic potentiality of the Coloureds which must be properly developed and protected.

In contrast to these Coloureds, the fact must be borne in mind that a great part of the Coloured community is working on farms owned by Whites, and still a greater part in the towns. This must be borne in mind when seeking a solution. We must find a way in which to give the Coloureds the right of governing their own people even though they live within the same boundaries as the Whites in the manner mentioned above without a potential homeland or their own towns.

Why do people want to share in the administration of matters concerning themselves? Surely it is chiefly to extend their chances of prosperity and participation of their own people in the great many different spheres of employment. To mix with people who differ from you does not necessarily produce happiness, and everyone's aim is naturally to enjoy happiness and prosperity and to forward it among one's own people. A share in government is desired so that you can provide your own people with employment, so that you can care for the community by controlling educational matters; so that you can be better off in life than your parents were before you.

What must be solved then is whether it is possible to create a situation for the Coloureds wherein their leaders may have such a share in administration that they will be able to fulfil this duty. How can the Coloured leaders help, however, when their people are scattered far and near? They can only do it if in the first place there is a community focal point. The foundation of the Coloureds as the equivalent of a national group lies in bringing them together in their own group territories. Houses must be built for them, their church and social unities must be promoted; and there they must deliver all the services to the community themselves. They must produce their own clergymen, teachers, postmasters, lawyers, policemen, town authorities, merchants, clerks, etc., themselves.

The unit from which all the opportunities of employment develop can be extended to as much of the whole community as is brought together in this way. Even though a person has to leave his house to occupy another one in his own civic area, it is still worthwhile.

One does not desire that the removal should be coupled with unfairness. It is not reasonable to expect anyone to suffer heavy losses. But then the understandable but selfish desire to stay where one spent one's childhood years must not be allowed to stand in the way of establishing an own community wherein the future of one's children and grandchildren will be assured.

Opportunities for work, church life, a well-organized school complex, an own local government with all the necessities for a happy life, are supplied by making provision for an own community. This is the ideal in the Group Areas legislation.

A community cannot, however, exist only by working for other people. There will have to be Coloureds who will establish independent undertakings, even industries. They will have to be helped and therefore a scheme is coming into operation to give the knowledge which perhaps the Coloureds do not yet have; it will also supply the necessary capital. It is an Investment and Finance Corporation for Coloureds.

If private White initiative is allowed in the economic life of the Coloured community, the danger exists that the Coloureds will be actually deprived of their potential growth. The guardian should rather introduce the opportunities for work, which he can transfer in time. Private concerns will, however, only want to sell with a profit and this will create points of conflict and not promote the building of the community. Service trades like bakeries, laundries, garages, etc., can be established in the residential area. Other industries can also develop there, for communities must receive an income from industry. Certain industries cannot, however, be allowed in the residential areas and the Coloureds also have the right of a share in them. This does not create a problem, because in the defined industrial territories the Coloureds may also obtain stands. The Government's policy therefore supplies the Coloureds with good chances of development and the establishment of industries. Eventually the Coloured leaders will control this Development Corporation and in this way help to lead and administer their community.

The Coloureds may regard one part of our country as predominantly the place of their origin, the source of their existence: the Western Cape. I well realize that the invasion of the Bantu into the territory where there were formerly no Bantus can be regarded as a development depriving the Coloureds of their chances and, moreover, right in the territory in which they should expect their best chances. It was caused by the development of South Africa, especially during the war. I want to give the assurance that the

Government has realized it for a long time, and that a change must come. Concerning this I can furnish you with one proof: When I was still Minister of Native Affairs, a decision had to be made concerning Bantu housing in Langa. Large blocks of single quarters were designed for Langa; buildings which would not be very useful in a normal communal life when the Bantu disappears. I therefore insisted that separate buildings should be erected with room for 8-16 people. These groups of rooms were so designed that each unit could be altered into a good homestead fairly cheaply. The ground around each unit was also left open for residential erven. The idea is thus that as the Bantu disappears from the Peninsula, Langa from the Pinelands side will be able to be adapted as part of the large Coloured town which is growing in the vicinity of Athlone. Therefore, as far back as six years ago provision was made for the Coloureds gradually to regain a sphere of activity which they had lost.

The removal and gradual reoccupation of spheres of activity in their original territory cannot be arranged easily without the co-operation of the Coloured people themselves. Therefore a proper control-body of Coloureds is necessary for the whole country. It is, moreover, also necessary because the Coloureds will have to take charge of other services in their own community. The return migration of the Coloureds, especially the unemployed from elsewhere to the Cape must not be enforced but should take place as a result of the attraction of taking active part in one's own society.

Consultations on the highest level are necessary to solve the problems of the four-stream policy. These organs for administration, consultation and co-operation have to be created. Firstly, each local community of Coloureds needs its own administration. I want to warn against agitators among the Coloureds who scoff at it and say that they will only be the caretakers of drainage systems. Local administrations indeed form the foundation of each society. On that is also built the democratic self-support of the greater national community.

Local administrations render a very important service because they are concerned with the demands of daily life. It is the basis upon which prosperity is built. That kind of work is of the most important community service which one person can render to another. It may be true that the smaller communities cannot render services like drainage or the supply of electricity alone, but then they can buy these from larger, neighbourly, possibly White communities and in that way co-operate and work together. It would be stupid if a greater Coloured community like Athlone

up to Bellville South did not co-operate with its neighbourly municipalities with regard to drainage and the supply of electricity, because the joint large-scale supply would make the cost of living so much smaller.

A committee is investigating the development of the Coloured towns. Its method of approach is that such administrations must develop from the more simple type into the more complicated administration of a town. This would give the Coloured committees a chance of gaining experience. I am, however, in a hurry and hope that it will be possible to find enough places where Coloureds will shortly, even within one or two years, call to life their own town councils.

In my opinion it will shortly, also within one or two years, be possible to found a Coloured city council in an area like Athlone and Bellville South and also a part of Johannesburg. Coloureds serving in those governing bodies can be trained as town clerks for the village councils which have to be founded after that. I should very much like to see a five-year plan drawn up with a view to fast progress, and to see within ten years, at the most, Coloureds all over the country living in their own villages and towns controlled by their own village and town councils.

The Coloureds must also be given control of the services rendered to their own people, all over the country. A suitable organ of control must be created for that purpose. This Council for Coloured Affairs is an advisory council. It was necessary to first found an advisory council in order to give a group of Coloureds a chance of considering these problems and to be the organ with which the State can deliberate on the next steps of development. The most important thing about this Council is that it can participate in the development of a Union Control Board for the Coloureds with actual, even legislative powers, and its own officials (call it a civil service) so that it can attend to the administration of its resolutions in different spheres. This Union Control Board can be regarded as a Coloured Parliament. The name is not important but the function is, because this board will control the interests of the Coloureds right through the country.

This Board will have to be larger than the present one. If the Coloureds want to co-operate to their own advantage, it will be possible to make quick progress and the Board will be able to be properly representative.

Such a chiefly representative Board with certain legislative powers will not be able to carry on its work without an executive council. I am thinking of an executive council of four members

who will each, like a Minister, be responsible for the execution of part of the functions controlled by the Board as a whole. These people will go to work like Ministers. Let us temporarily call them M.E.C.'s (Members of the Executive Council).

One member will supervise the rural settlements and all professional activities. In the economic sphere he will have to lead the Coloureds to prosperity and good co-operation.

A second M.E.C. will be necessary to supervise the development and work of all local committees for Coloured communities because they will need control guidance. Since the position differs in the different provinces, he might need the help of provincial committees.

A third M.E.C. will be necessary for Coloured education. All forms of Coloured education will eventually fall under the control of the Coloured community itself.

The fourth M.E.C. will supervise the development of other services like welfare work and health services and also hospitals for Coloureds.

The Control Board and its Executive Committee can be regarded as a Coloured Parliament and a Coloured Ministry. A great programme has therefore been laid before you. A sensible method must be followed to transfer the duties gradually with good co-operation. To prove that I am in earnest, I want to set a time at which to aim: within five years much progress ought to have been made with the construction of the whole framework. Within ten years all the duties ought to have been transferred. Exactly how fast progress is made, whether within the ten years, depends on the co-operation of the Coloureds. If we co-operate well in this beautiful ideal and if the Coloureds can succeed, and perceive all the chances, the process to self-government ought to take place quickly.

During the transition period, the Department of Coloured Affairs must not be regarded as a body created by the Whites to rule the roost but as the instrument of transition, the canal, which gives the necessary guidance. Let me take education as an example. The taking over of it by the Department of Coloured Affairs is considered to be a very contentious matter arousing considerable suspicion. It is, however, a fact that at present Coloured education falls under the various provincial administrations. As an outsider, it is therefore not an easy matter for the Central Government to organize the handing over of it as a running machine to the Coloured community or its organs. The Department of Coloured Affairs must first take over matters concerning education and with

the help of its officials, who as far as possible will be Coloureds, build up the machinery which controls Coloured education in such a way that it can be transferred (together with that part of the civil service concerned) when the time comes. In like manner it can be the medium through which other services, properly organized, can be placed under Coloured control.

After the various services have been handed over, the Department of Coloured Affairs will have another role to play, namely that of a link between the Coloured authorities and the Government. The Minister of Coloured Affairs will then come into more or less the position of a Minister of Foreign Affairs who tries to maintain good relations between his state and others.

One problem which will trouble Council members is where the money will be found for the new deal. Suspicion is sown there too. It is alleged, for instance, that the Coloured Council will have to demand new taxes from the Coloureds to finance these plans of development. Their taxes would be doubled or else the services would deteriorate! I wish to state clearly that it will be unnecessary to levy extra taxes. The services are paid for out of the ordinary taxes. So shall it remain. And it will also be unnecessary to create two tax systems. The part of the state income paid by the Coloureds directly and indirectly can be calculated by technicians. A rough estimate of this sum will then be transferred to the Coloured Control Board to be spent on the services under its control. It will have to decide on how to use it in the best interests of the Coloured community with regard to the functions entrusted to it, and it will have to give an account of it to its own people, just as any Government must do to its constituents.

After such control over the community has been ceded, there will naturally be an inclination to co-operation and co-ordination with the White government. Consultations will have to take place on the highest level in the new dispensation concerning matters of mutual interest. The Prime Minister, the Minister of Coloured Affairs, and other Ministers concerned, will consult the Executive Committee or its members every year when necessary.

This glance into the future ought to make the Coloureds feel very happy. It supplies prospects concerning self-government which have never before been set in store for the Coloured community. It is an opportunity which must be seized. Mutual goodwill will flow forth from it and the world will have to admit that we have found a unique solution to our unique situation. This planning also belies the allegation that this Government is the oppressor for which it is sometimes denounced.

The Coloured leaders who are prepared to seize the chance of nursing their little tree which is being planted today, will build for their nation like other leaders built for their nations. They will be remembered by their descendants in thankful memory, as other leaders of the world or from the history were who elevated or called their nations to life. The leaders who do not do this but would rather be absorbed in a mixed community, in White circles, owing to self-importance or self-righteousness, will be pushed aside and forgotten because they did not serve their own people.

I appeal to the Coloureds to find in their midst those leaders with idealism, initiative, dynamics and respect for themselves and for their own people as Coloureds, who will consequently be prepared to give their own people the highest and most worthy form of guidance.

New Year Message to the People of South Africa on December 31, 1961

We stand on the threshold of the New Year. What does 1962 hold in store for South Africa and the world? This is the question on the lips of each of us. And no one can provide the answer. It could become a year of destiny. It could become a year of great achievement in the interest of mankind, a miracle year, a year of rejoicing. On the other hand it could become a very ordinary year without any shocking or striking events. Nobody knows.

Why then should people allow themselves to become alarmed beforehand by what might happen in 1962, as if they were privileged with a clear insight into the future? Pessimists and prophets of woe particularly like to cause dismay, and enjoy the anxiety and distress of others or the uneasiness and uncertainty into which some people allow themselves to be misled. Rather let us all remember the teaching of the Gospel: "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof", and save ourselves much worry. It is quite unnecessary to add to each day's weal or woe the anticipation of fear and grief in connection with events which may never come to pass. Just as the coward suffers pain and terror and defeat and humiliation a hundred times — usually quite needlessly so the hyper-sensitive person can create in his imagination trouble for his country or world-wide turmoil to no purpose whatsoever, and thereby cause himself and others around him anxiety or sorrow or damage.

I wish to warn against all this now because everybody realizes that we are passing through difficult times. For that reason we must be careful not to overstress possible trouble in advance and not to create tension. We should rather enter the future cheerfully, perform each day the tasks that come to hand, and make a positive contribution to the building of our undertakings, our state, good relationships between individuals, in fact, aid constructively in all that men do. The destructive forces which surround all of us, and are present throughout the world, will then always find themselves up against the new progress and increasing

goodwill. This will check them in their evil designs. Much hope for our beloved country springs from the application of these precepts.

A level-headed approach and self-control with regard to such emotions need not, however, prevent us from looking around and evaluating properly events and tendencies which may influence the future. It will be of particular value to South Africa to take stock here and in the world at large in order to be prepared to meet the demands of what may prove to be an important year for her. This can also fortify her for what may become her unavoidable duty.

One can commence with the failure of the U.N. as an organization for peace, at least at this stage. During 1961 this became so apparent that it could no longer be neglected or ignored since it will leave its mark on 1962. Many reasons can be given for this state of affairs, but three merit special attention.

The first is that, while the older Western nations undoubtedly sought the realization of the original purpose, Russia made the U.N. its chief platform to gradually undermine the West, with the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom as the primary objective.

The second reason for the failure of the U.N. as an instrument for peace is that the Communist bloc soon realized that it would have to be able to rely on more votes there but would not receive these from existing members. The position would, however, change if sufficient immature states could be created in Asia and Africa, and be provided with enough grievances and ambitions aimed at the Western nations.

The third reason is that the leaders of the West, with the U.S.A. in the van, apparently did not have the faintest notion of what was about to happen. Responsible for this were, inter alia, plausible humanistic ideologies, and also economic self-interest. Consequently they played right into the hands of the Communist move by creating new states, many small and not economically viable, left and right in Asia and Africa, and even by competing in the stimulation of grievances, for example in connection with "colonialism", and of ambitions, such as the demand for political independence even if it came precipitately and without sufficient preparation. In this way the West hoped to snatch the goodwill and support of the new states from before the eyes of the Communists.

Their tactics failed. No Western nation can exploit the backwardness and confusion of others to the same extent as Communism. It is a hopeful sign that the realization of this fact is

gradually gaining ground. But how quickly will a change of policy take place? When, in the first place, will the U.S.A. as leader of the West, realize that she herself, in her struggle against Communism, is being doomed through the vote of new member states, who want to play a dominant role, to a steady decrease of her influence in this enormous organization, notwithstanding the fact that the U.N. has its setting in her own country and is being financed mainly by herself? Increasingly it is felt that nothing less than a new organization, consisting of only the older, experienced and economically stable states, can provide support for world peace. This new vision must gain ground as confidence in the U.N. weakens further as a result of the atmosphere and content of its discussions, by its inability to rouse the mightier states of the world to a continuous determination to maintain peace: by its own aggression in the Congo and its condonement of that by India against Portugal in Goa and elsewhere, and by its interference in the internal affairs of several states, although this can bring about or increase discord there.

The world eagerly seeks quiet and rest. The Western nations wish to retain their mutual friendly relationships and the advantages of the existing trade between them. They do not want to be driven further in the direction of such clashes and recriminations against each other by pandering to either the Communist bloc or that of the Afro-Asian nations, so that only Communism can rub its hands in glee.

For the Republic of South Africa, these stirrings on the world stage are promising. Certain other factors which follow from the preceding analysis, however, need consideration.

South Africa is not faced with a world opinion based solely on idealistic and humanistic concepts, although they played some part in forming it. Such an opinion could be influenced — by clarifying the similar aspects of one's own objectives, motives and actions — in the direction of one or other of the political solutions which are being put forward here in connection with our complicated racial problems. No, South Africa is confronted with something else. Firstly, it stands in the way of the Communist aim to place Europe, with at least the North American continent, in the grip of a pincer movement, since the whole of Africa must be in turmoil or under direct or indirect control to achieve that. Secondly, South Africa has to deal with the situation that the African states cannot as yet exhibit much political or economic success in domestic matters, as a result of their new status, to their own inhabitants or the outside world, and do not

expect to be able to do so soon. Attention must therefore be withdrawn to an apparent continuation of their struggle for political freedom by engaging in a new crusade for the application of the principle of "one man, one vote". This is done by attacking the situation in the Portuguese and remaining British possessions in Southern Africa, including the Federation, and in South-West Africa and the Republic of South Africa.

As far as the last two are concerned, South-West Africa may be or become the first target under the slogan of "liberation" and "one man, one vote", which in actual fact means nothing less than handing over completely to the natives there, in spite of their not being equal to the task even in their own opinion, and even though this would mean their ruin and that of the country. Undoubtedly the Republic is to be the second target with the same object of introducing "one man, one vote" and subsequent black domination — again without regard to the consequences for the ordinary members of all races.

Under these circumstances it is clear that the campaign is not directed against the policy of separate development. It is merely a matter of expediency to link it with this policy on account of the world-wide agitation against it during past years and the bad feeling this engendered. The efforts of the Communist and Afro-Asian blocs are indeed aimed at all political policies and at all possible concessions on race policies in South-West Africa and the Republic which will not immediately lead to "one man, one vote" and black domination. With the exception of Communists and the few who believe in such a policy, it should therefore be no difficult choice for any South African, of whatever political persuasion, to decide on implacable resistance to these demands. For all, it concerns the survival of their nation and the retention of their prosperity and happiness. The non-white groups too, including the masses of the Bantu, can only be thrust into Congo-like chaos and suffering by the economic dislocation which would follow the success of such a policy.

Does the above exposition of world affairs necessarily lead to the deduction that the test of the nation's combined power of resistance will come in 1962? In addition to the hopeful signs that this may not prove to be the case, there are others which favour the continuation of peace in this country.

The world powers of the West seem to be becoming increasingly aware of the reality that South Africa and South-West Africa are only pawns in the game which is mainly directed against themselves, and that they will weaken their own cause by placing

South Africa on the altar of appeasement. The realization of the strong resistance which any aggression against South Africa or South West Africa will undoubtedly raise, also contributes to the expectation of a peaceful year for the Republic.

Apart from all this, the economic realities of Southern Africa will compel serious consideration before it is attacked. The Republic is not only of considerable economic value to all its overseas partners in trade, and to the world economy, but it also anchors safely the economic progress and even continued prosperity of neighbouring territories, including South West Africa and Black entities. Is it conceivable that the U.N. would argue in the case of the Congo that a rich Katanga may not decide on separate existence, since this would mean that the remainder of the Congo would become the economic responsibility of the U.S.A. or some other state or states, but that the very opposite road would be followed in the case of, say, South-West Africa, where economic unity and interdependence would be disrupted?

Most important of all for the prospect that South Africa and South-West Africa may be spared the evils of strife, is the fact that the implementation of the positive policy for each race group, taking into consideration its urge towards political independence, its human dignity and its economical progress, is proceeding, and may attain special heights during 1962. Without any doubt, South Africa, if left to herself, will work out a happy co-existence for all, perhaps even better than has been done by the multitude of nations and states in parts of other continents.

With all this in mind I return to the sentiments expressed at the beginning of my message. We need not be alarmed at what 1962 may bring us. We can usher in the New Year with cheerfulness, even though we are living in such difficult times. We have the plans which will grant progress to all our races in all directions and from that better mutual relationships must spring and this must check the destructive forces.

I have on this occasion, it is true, only dealt with one central theme which is of importance to the South Africa of today and have not referred to the blessings of nature which promise so much for our country during 1962. Nor did I refer to what is being undertaken in the sphere of industry and commerce and the many satisfying traits of our economy, at a time when so many other countries must needs wrestle with great economic problems. It would actually not be easy to mention a single country without such problems, and few would compare favourably with our country. I could also point at highlights in other spheres of en-

deavour. There is much for which we should be thankful. Truly, the Lord of Heaven and Earth has favoured us in many ways.

South Africa is, and shall remain, a country which deserves our loyalty, of which we can be proud, and for which we can sacrifice our all. It is a country which notwithstanding all its problems we should wish to leave to the following generation: better, happier, more restful, more united, more tolerant and with healthier race relations than we inherited. Make of 1962 a year of real national service and may you all find in it great prosperity and joy.

Speech in the House of Assembly, January 23, 1962

On the 23rd January, 1962 Sir de Villiers Graaff, Leader of the Opposition, proposed his usual motion of no-confidence in the Government. In his speech he mentioned a great many questions concerning policy and put forward the standpoint of his party against that of the Government. Immediately after Sir de Villiers Graaff had taken his seat, the Prime Minister stood up and in his characteristic manner, quickly responded to the less important points of criticism. After that he announced in the House of Assembly that the Government had decided to grant the Transkei self-government. The Opposition was so unprepared for this announcement, which gave new purpose and meaning to the Government's policy of self-realization, that it was completely overwhelmed and unable to react immediately. In addition, Dr. Verwoerd summarized and repeated what he had said before on his policy concerning the Coloureds and Indians. This part of his speech, together with the introduction, is not published.

Let us, in view of the gravity of the times in which we live, analyse the fundamental problem in respect of which we are being attacked, externally and internally. Fundamentally South Africa's problem is not one which has to do with its economy, although South Africa, has like any other country, her problems in this field. Nor do her difficulties lie in other spheres; basically they lie in the political sphere. In the political sphere the outside world seeks to interfere in South Africa's domestic affairs, and it is in the political sphere that agitation is taking place. In other words, this is not a mere party struggle; it is not merely a matter concerning this nation itself; it has been magnified to embrace any form of attack from within or without which can be launched against the South African state. Why is that so? I want to sketch the background as follows: A territory which generally speaking was unpopulated became the area of settlement of two population groups at a certain stage. White who came from Europe and Bantu who came from central and East Africa. These two groups established themselves in specific areas and generally speaking

these specific areas did not encroach upon each other. Later on there were some clashes and there were some cases where people were driven back; additions were made to the White area and to the Black area. Basically, however, we had two communities here of totally different origin, who had actually settled more or less simultaneously in certain areas which did not overlap. That was how the two main groups of our population came into being. In addition to that, a population group came into being here which throughout our history has continued to exist as a separate community, amongst the Whites but separately, namely the Coloureds. There is a fourth group, the Indians, who were recruited to work in a certain part of the country but who remained here, who developed here and who also remained a separate community although living among the other sections of the population. Historically that is how the four groups originated here and that is the basis of our problem.

In addition to that there is a second point, and that is that until World War II it was considered right and proper and fair and advantageous in our country and in many other countries that the government should be in the hands of the White man, by virtue of his greater culture and knowledge, his power and his money. It was considered a good thing that Britain and France, for example, had brought civilization to large undeveloped territories. They were not cursed and condemned for it and they themselves were proud of it, proud of their Empires and proud of the way in which they had educated and guided people towards a higher civilization. It was something which added to the prestige of those countries. It was something meritorious on their part. In the same way, in our country the British Government first of all and later South African Governments ruled all the elements of the population with honour and as a service and it was regarded as something good and fine and as the right thing.

We come now to a third factor which helped to create our problem and that is that especially after World War II a new development took place. It had already started after World War I but after World War II particularly the feeling grew that national groups or entities ruled as subject territories should be liberated and converted to states. That was all very well in the case of guardian states such as Britain and France. They liberated territories situated far from them and which, particularly in the case of Britain, they had never really regarded as part of their own territory and therefore entitled to representation in their Parliaments; they had always regarded them as separate territories which

had to be governed separately and which would not even become united among themselves but would remain separated from each other. It may have been anticipated that they would one day become states. As far as they were concerned this was quite in order but we here, faced with a similar situation of White rule over the destinies of the four groups which I have mentioned, had those communities with us, that is to say, either on our own borders or within our borders.

We come now to the fourth aspect of the situation that we are trying to outline with reference to the problem I have mentioned, a situation which in one respect is unique and different from that in other states. The Afro-Asiatic nations and the Communist nations, for their own reasons, began to exert pressure to compel us not to give separate political rights to the different groups, but political rights in a form which would suit and please them, that is, as one community in a multi-racial country. They knew — and that is what they desired — that pressure would be exerted to bring about a system of "one man, one vote" and consequently the domination of the Republic by the Bantu. The African nations believed that in that way they would be able to spill all the wealth of South Africa into the hands of a Bantu-controlled state so that they too would all benefit by it. Apart from this there were other, more sentimental reasons. In any event the Communist bloc had a completely different motive and that was to be able to apply the pincers to the Western democracies and to Western civilization as practised by them. This pressure affected not only the way of thinking and the actions not only of international organizations but also of people in our country and of parties in our country.

The fifth point I wish to make in connection with the background is that either it is not realized that there are two ways, not one, of applying the principles on the basis of which one can satisfy moral arguments, or that fact is deliberately shut out of their thoughts. The one is by way of a multi-racial state and the other by way of separation, that is to say, where there is a separation within states or amongst communities. Let me illustrate that with an example. There is the franchise principle or even that one form of it, namely "one man, one vote". You can have the franchise on the basis of "one man, one vote" in a multi-racial state but you can also have voting rights for each group even on the basis of "one man, one vote" where a separation is brought about in the political life of those groups. It is possible therefore to give effect in two ways to the principle on which people rely so much,

namely, the principle of human dignity, of the right to vote. The difficulty is this: There are people like hon. members on the other side who advocate one method, a multi-racial state, and there are others who advocate the path of separation as the method to comply with all those lofty principles. That is the issue about which the struggle is being waged. The problem therefore is how to give political rights in South Africa on a sound basis and in a way which is fair and suited to each group. Above all, then, I must emphasize that in that process the White man must not be done an injustice, because he is the victim of the other system. The same also applies to the Coloured and to the Indian.

Let us consider a little more closely the solution which a multi-racial state represents. For the purposes of my argument it does not really matter whether it is constituted on a federal basis or according to another system. If the one multi-racial state were to become a federally constituted state (in accordance with the United Party's policy) or a unitary state (in accordance with the Progressive Party's policy, with a civilization test) or a unitary state (on the basis of the Liberal Party's proposition of "one man, one vote") and at the same time be truly democratic and in harmony with the spirit of the times, it would inexorably lead to Bantu domination. Because in the long run numbers must tell. That is what this age wants. That is what is said to be true democracy. That is not what the Communists practise. It is not even what the African states practise. But that is the pressure being exerted when demands are made upon our country. In other words, the process towards integration may be delayed by some and accelerated by others if they were given the chance, but inexorably it would lead to Bantu domination, a situation from which there would be no escape. The result would inevitably be an injustice to all minority groups. My hon. friend referred to Tanganyika. But the proper reference to Tanganyika would be in this connection, that in Tanganyika Britain and others relied upon the fact that Nyerere was a moderate and that he would remain in power and that he would give the Whites (20,000) and the Indians (100,000) an equal say. It is true that, as minorities, they would be swamped if the entire population formed a unitary electorate. It is also true, however, that at first they did not expect this; they expected that each group would have a more or less equal say on a communal basis. To-day, however, even in that state — whatever may have been the expectations and irrespective of what happened — one finds that what is happening is no different from what is happening in other states and that is that the Bantu are saying: "This is my

country and I want complete rule because I am in the majority." The Whites and the Indians there are equally affected therefore.

That is something which will have to be borne in mind by our Coloureds and our Indians. They must not think that the colour of their skins will protect them. The minority groups will all have to contend with an unrestricted domination by the Bantu if a multi-racial state comes into being. I say this explicitly because it is self-evident that if one could follow the course of retaining one state in which the White man continued to exercise his historic rule (even if its limits had to be restricted to some extent) that course would be preferred. As far as we are concerned that is the easiest road; it is the most convenient, regard being had to the past. But when that cannot be done and continued, ever-increasing integration is insisted upon, then it must be put forward as the one alternative and the other alternative must also be put forward and weighed, with all its difficulties, of which there are many, and with all its dangers, of which there are many, as against the first method with all its dangers and difficulties. That is a fact that I never hide. You must, when faced with a choice between the alternatives, test both, whether you wish to retain the present state of affairs or not. And I say it unequivocally that the people of South Africa cannot accept the consequence of having a multi-racial state unless the Whites, the Coloureds and the Indians are prepared to commit race suicide.

There remains only the second course and that is that separate states must be developed. Ultimately separate states must be created for the groups which originally settled here and the greatest possible degree of governmental separation must be given to the groups which have grown up in our midst. Separate states must be created for the original groups, such as those which I mentioned at the beginning, and the maximum degree of governmental separation for those groups which have developed in our midst. That is going to create problems. The hon. the Leader of the Opposition need not try to frighten me with a summary of the problems. He does not have to frighten the people with it; we are aware of those problems; the people are aware of them. Nobody is under the delusion that that course will bring with it only comfort and that there will be no obstacles to be overcome.

But there would also be certain advantages, which I now propose to enumerate. The first is that each group would then at least be able to exercise control over its own people and that would give them real satisfaction; it would satisfy their ambitions and it could prevent them from being too envious of their fellowmen and from

trying to take away from them what belongs to them. Secondly, it could offer an opportunity of developing equalities amongst the groups. It could satisfy the desire for the recognition of human dignity. Because just as it is possible for us to live with the Black states on a basis of equality as separate states, to negotiate with each other and to help each other when necessary, so it would also be possible here if separation could be put into effect. It would then be possible to recognize human dignity and to introduce equalities here, or to do so to an infinitely greater extent, because one does not concede those things at the additional risk of continually losing more than one gives.

But, thirdly, we have the example of how, throughout history, the creation of states has brought with it contentment, not only in the present age but right throughout history. In what way has satisfaction been given in Africa, notably in our time? Africa has been given satisfaction through the creation of states, and where there is conflict that is as a result of the fact that these new states are not states which embrace national entities but which have state boundaries cutting right across national entities. There they have trouble. Difficulties arise where the founders try to throw together in one state more than one national community. Whenever account has been taken of national entities when creating new states, contentment has been the result. Is this not the lesson taught by the history of Southern and Eastern Europe? Was the Roman Empire as well as other empires that came into being, not continually involved in internal strife and conflict and disorder until there was a separation and states were created? It is true that neighbouring states also fought one another, but there was never such a great degree of unrest and internal struggle, strife and hatred between states. After a conflict of interests, they often settled the matter between them and became allies. When, however, people of different nationalities were forced together into one state, the result was an ever-present canker until the whole body disintegrated. We must realize that here we are in a similar position. In those instances national entities with the same degree of civilization and the same colour could not be held together — entities of the same Germanic origin, or of Slavonic origin. They could not be held together and yet the most diverse national entities as far as colour and degree of civilization are concerned now have to be thrown together, according to the policy of the Opposition, into one multi-racial state. Even the different colour groups here are so diverse that one cannot bring about unity in their case. Let me say this to hon. members: It is as unlikely that

it will be possible to hold together the Whites and the Bantu in peace and free of strife in one multi-racial unit as it is to do so in the case of Black nations in other parts of Africa or as it is to throw together Xhosa, Basuto and Zulu without conflict into one communal entity. They too are just as proud of their own national identity as we as Whites are of our national identity.

Then I want to mention a fourth advantage or fact that we have to consider as to why separation is better than integration, and that is that we must take into account the possibility that relationships can then be reorganized for the sake of mutual interests between two or more groups each in the knowledge that it has a hold over the members of its own group. Alliances can easily be brought about which can be retained even for centuries, whereas a throwing together of different communities into one common society cannot ensure the maintenance of goodwill. Here too, once we have implemented separation, we shall create beneficial relations and alliances by mutual arrangement, as I have stated before. Any attempt to force different communities into one national entity will never succeed. Suppression will be possible but never co-operation between separate groups who desire to remain separate. The White man, the Coloured and the Indian can only be pushed out or absorbed. Just as little as it is possible in Tanganyika, from which more was expected, just as little as it is possible in Kenya, from which less is expected, and just as little as it is possible in the Federation where fear and anxiety are gripping the hearts of the people because they realize which way things are heading, so little will it be possible in South Africa to get the groups to live separately and to co-operate on a basis which will be fair in a multi-racial state. In other words, it is only the policy of nation building, the policy of good neighbourliness which can hold out any hope that one will be able to eliminate racial hatred, which cannot be eliminated in an enforced, multi-racial state.

Mr. Speaker, I want to say that in order to build on these principles, we have already taken a number of steps. The process for implementing our policy, in spite of the accusation by the Leader of the Opposition, has been going on for a considerable time. It is not true that this Government has not accomplished anything during its term of office. On the contrary, its machinery of government is continually directed towards implementing that policy. It is not my intention to outline in detail at this stage the economic, social and educational progress that has taken place both in the country as a whole and in the different Bantu areas. I would, however, refer in passing to the political foundation which

has already been laid for the process which has started. I refer to the establishment, as far as the Bantu are concerned, of Bantu Authorities. The Bantu Authorities system, which hon. members have attacked so often as a retrogressive step, has in fact been a great boon and blessing to everyone of the Bantu nations in our midst. It has proved an important step in binding together hereditary national units and it has also created an authority with which we can negotiate so that we can take into account their views in connection with any future step. It is unfortunate that the impression was created that what was meant to be a first step was in fact our final idea and that it was our aim to return to primitive conditions, because that is not true, of course. The fact of the matter is simply that if one wants to lead a community to adulthood, one has to begin by using the talents and the skills available in that community. One has to build on its traditions and institutions. That is what has been done in this case. I am not going to enlarge on that, but I want to add that while prior to the establishment of the Bantu Authorities there was an instrument of government only in the Transkei and the Ciskei, and at that only an advisory body, each Bantu community to-day has a central authority. The smaller units are all consolidating into the national units of which they naturally form part. In other words, tremendous progress has been made in the sense that the Government now has to deal with actual entities, which have an authoritative body with which it can negotiate in connection with this further constructive process.

I must also add that formerly there were no true leaders; there were no leaders with whom the Government could consult. There was certainly never a leader of all the Bantu nations combined. [Interjections.] That is not a strange phenomenon. The same situation obtained everywhere else in Africa. In West Africa there was not one leader who could speak on behalf of all those nations. Nkrumah could only speak for Ghana. There was one or there were a few leaders in Nigeria, one in Togoland and one in Guinea, etc. It is true that these territories had some leader or other but he could only speak for a particular territory. We have never had one or two or three leaders or a group of leaders for all the Bantu, Zulus, Xhosas, Shangaans, etc., who could in actual fact speak on behalf of all these nations. The fact that there were a few persons who pushed themselves into prominent positions or who became chairmen or secretaries of small organizations did not change them into leaders of those large communities. They were elevated by the Press and sometimes by the Opposition to so-

called leaders in order to embarrass us. Such an exhibition does not, however, make them true leaders. This new machinery has been instrumental in producing true leader-groups. The natural representatives of a whole community, aided by councillors in accordance with the democratic character of the typical Bantu political structure, have been given a say in their affairs. I do not say that it must end there, nor have I ever believed that it must end there. We are living in a modern world and development is inevitable. Now, however, the nation concerned will be able to participate in the process of development; now we shall be able to ascertain what the Bantu himself desires as the next step.

In the case of the Transkeian Authority the stage was reached where the body which speaks on behalf of their national group specifically asked to be given a form of self-government. The Government then declared its willingness to grant self-government to the Transkei. Approximately five months after the resolution passed by the Transkeian Authority in May of last year, that is to say, towards the end of last year, I personally met the Executive Council of the Transkei, who were supported by their Councillors, in Pretoria. They were there in connection with other administrative matters and I took advantage of the opportunity to have a brief discussion with them, in the course of which I conveyed to them the Government's willingness to help them in connection with this step, since their own organization apparently considered itself capable of undertaking this task. Obviously the Government does not wish to force upon them a new constitution now that there is an authoritative body with whom one can consult and negotiate. I put it to them, therefore, that I would like to hear from them precisely what type of constitution they had in mind. They then asked that further consultation should take place after the recess-committee appointed by them had had an opportunity of reducing its ideas into writing. They also asked to see me personally again as soon as they had reached that stage. I told them, of course, that they could come to see me, together with the Minister of Bantu Administration, as soon as they reached that stage. As soon as they are ready with their proposals therefore the matter will be dealt with at some future meeting. I do not know exactly what they are going to ask but I want to state specifically here today what the Government is prepared to do so that there can be no doubt — not even in the mind of the hon. the Leader of the Opposition.

Let me say at once that there has been considerable speculation on this matter recently. I do not claim therefore that in that sense

we are preparing a dramatic development. I do claim, however, that it is an important development of which everybody in this country and the outside world should take due note. Inasmuch as people did not believe that we were honest with our policy, that we were in earnest and that we were prepared to implement it, the development which I am announcing here is in fact a dramatic one. The hon. Leader of the Opposition need not think, however, that he has forced me or the Government to take this step. I want to inform him that the decision to state this attitude during the present Session and to do so at the very first opportunity, was taken before we had any idea as to the nature of his motion. The hon. member must not say either that the Government has been forced to act hastily in spite of the fact that I stated, when we were returned to power, that we refused to allow ourselves to be rushed. Because we are not going to permit ourselves to be rushed. The Government will act when we consider the time opportune, whether the hon. the Leader of the Opposition considers it too early or whether he considers it too late.

I want to add that this announcement will prove that the policy of separate development is not just theory but practical politics. In fact its character is that of day-to-day practical politics. That is to say, the Government implements its plans from stage to stage as the Bantu progress. The granting of responsibilities will not be separate, unrelated steps but will form part of a progressive development — not progressive in the Houghton sense of the word!

The Government will therefore grant the Transkei self-government. The Transkeian Authority will have to obtain clarity as to its ideas concerning the form and content of the constitution and will then have to come and discuss it with us. As far as the Government is concerned, the element of representation will have to be introduced, together with a vote for potential Bantu voters living in the Transkei and outside it. Who in fact is to receive the vote — that is to say, the question of age and sex — is the sort of information that will have to come from those with whom we have to consult, otherwise consultation is meaningless. If, as indicated by the Basuto and Swazi nations, it is desired that there should be a suitable form of representation through the Chiefs, directly or indirectly, in the Transkei Parliament, then they will have to say so. The Government wants the element of representation to be introduced in one form or another, but as to the details and as to how it is to go hand in hand with the idea of Chieftainship, that is a matter on which the Bantu themselves will have to

inform us in the course of consultations. I need not emphasize that the Transkei Parliament will consist of Bantu members only, elected by Bantu voters only.

It will not be a multi-racial Transkei as far as its administration is concerned. The Whites living there will be represented in the Parliament of the Republic, just as the Bantu electors in the White areas will be represented in the Transkeian Parliament. This is precisely how the Basutos working and living in the Republic are represented in the Basutoland Parliament. Hon. members need not laugh at this, therefore, because they never laugh at anything that Britain does!

Secondly, this Parliament will have to have an executive body. I do not know whether at this stage the Bantu in that area will be prepared to accept the Cabinet system — that a Prime Minister be appointed who will then himself appoint his other Ministers. But the Government is prepared to allow the introduction of the Cabinet system in the Transkeian Parliament.

Then I come to the third point. It stands to reason that this body will require guidance and help for proper democratic development and its present leaders have already asked for this. It goes without saying that the assumption of full responsibility will accordingly have to take place gradually. In other words, there are certain powers which the Transkeian Government will have to take over immediately and some powers which will be added gradually as and when others are mastered. Amongst the powers and duties which I assume it will be possible to transfer to their control immediately, are such matters — I mention them even though I do not know what they will ask for — as agriculture, education, health and welfare, lands, roads, local Bantu Authorities and things of that kind. The Republic will continue to act as guardian and will undertake the remaining functions which will include, amongst others, defence, external affairs, certain functions of the judiciary and so forth. In other words, the fear which the hon. Leader of the Opposition expressed, namely, that the Bantu Government would not be able to administer its affairs or do so efficiently, and his question as to whether we intend taking measures to ensure that the Bantu will learn to administer his affairs efficiently, relate to matters which have all been considered already. The Bantu Administration will be trained in the process of democratic government and duties will be handed over to it in such a way that it will be able to cope with them, in spite of the distrust now expressed in the Bantu leaders by the Leader of the Opposition — when it suits him to do so.

I would add that as far as the time factor is concerned, it will be possible, I hope, to make a start with this institution this year, but I do not know how soon the recess committee of the Transkeian Authority will be in a position, through its other committees and through its Territorial Authority which has to meet, to finalize the matters which will come up for its consideration. Then legislation on this will of course still have to be piloted through this Parliament. Therefore, although the Government would be prepared to start this year, it is possible that the proposal will only be capable of implementation during the first half of 1963. I have also explained that the progressive assumption of functions will take longer — how long I am not in a position to prophesy — because more and more functions will be transferred as it becomes possible for the Bantu rulers and their public service to cope with those functions.

Here I want to add that this development will result in Transkeian citizenship for the Transkei Bantu. In the transition period this Transkeian citizenship will probably suffer from certain disabilities and the protection and aid to be provided by South African citizenship will have to be properly worked out by constitutional lawyers. It is a matter which obviously requires careful study, but here I want to state clearly that the principle of a distinctive national identity must be coupled to the principle of a distinctive citizenship.

The sixth point that I wish to put very clearly is that such an administration will obviously have to have its own public service at its disposal. It is equally self-evident, as in the case of other recently constituted African states which came into being under British control, that the Bantu will simply not be able to staff a Bantu Public Service. Consequently White public servants will have to be made available to train Bantu officials. The posts of the White officials and their promotion within the White Public Service of the Republic will continue to be guaranteed. Their return and promotion in the meantime will remain guaranteed, and it is the intention to help the Transkei Government to replace the White officials, from the lowest grades upward, as soon as possible, with Bantu officials who have been properly trained.

In conjunction with the Bantu Government, the Department of Bantu Administration and the Department of Bantu Education will try to draw up a programme of replacement as the target to be aimed at over the next five years. In this way increased opportunities will be given to the Bantu in their own territory.

The question will now be asked: How can the costs involved

in this connection be covered by the Bantu Government? In the first place, the direct taxes of the Transkeian Authority, collected both within and outside the territory, will be placed at the disposal of this Authority. The direct tax consists of the poll tax and direct income tax payable by the higher income groups.

The taxes will be collected through the existing machinery and since we still have to assume the responsibility for the finances, only we ourselves will be able to amend the taxes. We can, however, obtain advice from them.

Secondly, a sum will be granted by the Department of Bantu Administration and the Native Trust equal to the expenditure now incurred in respect of those functions for which that body will assume the responsibility. To begin with an amount equal to this will be handed over annually to the Transkeian Government. I trust that this point has been clearly stated. An amount equal to the expenditure now incurred by the Department of Bantu Administration and by the Native Trust in respect of those functions to be taken over by the Transkeian Authority will be transferred to them.

Thirdly, it is assumed that this development will entail additional expenditure in connection with the functioning of this body as well as certain additional duties to be assumed by it. Precautions will naturally have to be taken against unlimited expenditure and waste; but one realizes that at this stage the Transkeian Government will not be in a position to obtain from its own people sufficient money to meet all requirements. The Republic will therefore be prepared, just as other states do so for underdeveloped territories, to grant an additional sum to this territory under its care. It is difficult to say now what this amount should be, but if it is an amount like R2,000,000 over and above the other funds which I have already mentioned, it will not deter the Government.

If loans are required, the Republic will serve as the channel through which such loans will be sought whether internally or abroad; but it will have to be for works for which loans can be considered and not for any wasteful or transitory administrative purpose.

The Government regards this expenditure as appropriate and justified on two grounds. One of them is that of common justice. It is always necessary, for the solution of the problems facing us in this country, to bring about good relations and friendship and co-operation between Black and White. Secondly, in doing this, the international struggle against South Africa will be deprived of whatever background there is to it. I shall have more to say at a

later stage as to the effect that this may possibly have and about which the Leader of the Opposition put a question to me. At this stage I just want to say that if there is still justice in the world, this should strongly counteract the international animosity and suspicion which have such a detrimental effect on our economy. For this reason it will pay us to incur such expenditure. It is also worth a great deal to us if we can create for ourselves peaceful neighbours who are also granted an opportunity to become prosperous. They should not look to others for assistance, as the Leader of the Opposition fears.

Another point in this connection (an eighth point in connection with this programme which I am announcing) is the following: It will be necessary, in the interests of peaceful co-existence, to start making arrangements immediately for regular mutual discussions on matters of common interest. This should also serve as a step towards some form of consultative relationship in future, perhaps through more representative gatherings which might be compared with what Britain endeavours to attain in the Commonwealth through Prime Ministers' Conferences. We are, in other words, prepared to create machinery for consultation and co-operation with Bantu neighbours. [Laughter.] I consider it extremely silly on the part of hon. members of the Opposition to laugh about it. They want to co-operate with them as junior partners who may eventually become their rulers. Why therefore do they ridicule our effort to co-operate with Bantu States as neighbours, thereby obviating Bantu domination in one state?

Then there is a last point in this connection. As I explained previously in connection with the Coloured community, the relationship between the Minister concerned, the Minister of Bantu Administration, and the government in such a territory will be gradually modified. His functions as administrative controller will gradually decrease and more and more his task will be to obtain good territorial relations. In other words, in respect of these territories he will exercise a function similar to that of the Minister of External Affairs, and that is to bring about good relations between the states and to undertake negotiations on matters of common interest.

This political development will, of course, have to be coupled with economic development. In the first place I want to indicate that the Department of Bantu Administration, in conjunction with the Native Trust, has already drawn up a five-year plan for the general development of the infra-structure which is essential for industrial development. This programme will then have to be

implemented in co-operation with the Transkeian Government. I shall not be able to deal with this five-year plan in detail; but the Minister concerned will make it known to the House in due course. That programme will, as I have mentioned, deal with two kinds of undertakings. One is the creation of the infra-structure for industrial growth, that is to say, roads, water and electricity supply. The second part of the programme will deal with general development — amongst others, the development of agriculture — but that also includes the production of certain raw materials, for example by the cultivation of fibres and, in some of the Bantu areas, sugar and timber and perhaps other products of that nature. I mention these merely as examples.

Secondly, in connection with the economic development, the Bantu Investment Corporation, which is already functioning in the Bantu territories in different parts of the country, will also continue in the Transkei. It will have to draw up a one-year investment programme and a five-year investment programme for both the Transkei and the other territories. The Corporation is being requested to do so. That means that White money and White initiative can be canalized through this investment corporation towards such services. This investment corporation has not only already financed development in various places, but has guided development by means of advice and made it more fruitful by means of administrative assistance.

A moment ago the hon. the Leader of the Opposition scoffed at the fact that so little had been accomplished with this; but naturally one starts in a small way. The industrial development of our country also commenced slowly in spite of the opposition of his political predecessors, but it has grown tremendously. I do not therefore apologize for its small beginning; I am proud of the fact that a start is being made. Here I want to add that the Bantu have themselves shown so much interest in this Corporation that they have already invested R200,000 of their savings in it. At this stage of development I regard that as a great demonstration of confidence. An investment of R200,000 by the Bantu so soon after the establishment of such a Corporation, about which they really knew nothing, is no small matter to them.

Parallel to this, a special development corporation will be established for the Transkei, with a Board of Directors not necessarily consisting of persons taking part in politics. We would like to use the services of businessmen particularly in this corporation. This development corporation for Bantu development within this area will concentrate on the more direct services to

Bantu industrial undertakings and more especially on the establishment of new Bantu undertakings within this area. It will train Bantu workers from the bottom up, as well as Bantu managers and Bantu directorates: In other words, this development corporation, the special Transkeian Development Corporation, must be looked upon as a guardian entrepreneur, as a body which will not itself acquire vested interests, as in the case of a private owner, and which will have no desire in that direction, but which will be established to utilize White initiative, White managerial ability, White skill, White training ability and White money without the profit motive or any inclination towards exploitation of the undertaking itself. It will be a development corporation for the benefit of the Bantu and as the latter learns to play his full role at the various levels of development, he will be given the opportunity to take over those undertakings. The economic potential within his own area rightfully belongs to him and to nobody else.

The Bantu Development Corporation will be able to make use of private firms who wish to place their skill and administrative abilities at its disposal and even to make use of those who wish to make their money available through the medium of the Corporation, but who do not desire to work or to co-operate there simply to acquire ownership or to obtain profit for themselves. In other words it will be possible to make use of the services of those firms who are helpful and obliging but do not expect to acquire private ownership or a business or branch of their own within the Bantu area. This will serve as a test of the *bona fides* of many of those people who have intimated that they wish to help to utilize White initiative and skill simply for the sake of the Bantu and not in their own interests. This opportunity will now be given to everybody who is sincere, but not to those who simply want to establish branches for self-gain without the service motive. I shall return to this matter of private firms within the Bantu territories.

I also wish to refer specially to a particular form of industrial development in which White initiative is most certainly necessary, and that is where large locality-bound industries such as mining must come into being. There it will be possible to come to an arrangement with experienced industrialists to guide and to undertake that development either on an agency basis or as employees of either the Development Corporation or the Bantu Government. In other words, there are certainly ways and means by which White initiative, money and skill can be harnessed in the transition periods without the dangers with which I still intend to deal and which are created by the demand made by White firms for the

ownership either of Bantu land or of ventures of their own at the expense of the Bantu.

My next point is that this development corporation or a broader consultative body, whichever is found most suitable in the light of experience, will be given the responsibility of exercising supervision over the co-ordination and the promotion and the acceleration of all economic activities in this area, whether undertaken by the State, the Government of the Republic, by the Bantu Government, or by the Investment Corporation. In other words, it will be necessary to bring about co-ordinated planning on an objective basis.

Then I wish to announce that the industrial development of the border areas will now also have to be promoted energetically and to that end a five-year target programme will be drawn up. In spite of the fact that the hon. the Leader of the Opposition has sought to ridicule the progress made up to now in the industrial development of the border areas, I wish to say that this is the policy which is the most important and which provides the most promising solution to the problem of how to bring about development in the backward Bantu areas. After all, in these border areas White private firms are able to establish their industries freely and with a view to making profits. It is not true that this will be accompanied by a form of political integration. On the contrary, the fact of the matter is that the industries on the borders make use of workers who are also able to lead full political lives because they reside in the neighbouring Bantu area. The industrialist can, therefore, count on labour living with their own families, labour which can be content because it looks after its own general interests. The industrialist can rest assured in the knowledge that here he will be able to continue to own his undertaking. Under these circumstances it presents a more attractive opportunity for development for those industries which would have been prepared to go to the Bantu areas. The proposition is also made attractive through various auxiliary measures undertaken by the Government. There is really little reason why a private firm should want to establish its industry in a Bantu area and not in a border area. What reason could there be? For the greater part the Bantu areas are not 50 miles from the border, but a much shorter distance. As far as locality is concerned, therefore, it does not make any difference to an industry whether it is just inside or just outside. The industrialist need not go into the areas in order to obtain raw materials because one of the problems of the Bantu areas is the general lack of raw materials of their own. He has no particular

reason therefore to wish to establish his industry in the Bantu areas, except perhaps two, and in respect of these two reasons he will be thwarted. The one is that he may wish to enter to exploit labour by means of low wages. A low wage structure cannot be allowed in the Bantu areas and a Bantu Government would have to oppose it, because it would be destructive of the whole development of such Bantu areas if they were to become second Hong Kongs. It would also destroy the chances of obtaining outside markets for their products. A low wage policy in the Bantu areas would, therefore, be opposed and it would not necessarily attract a White firm. The second reason is that no opportunity will arise for a firm to establish itself and then by means of sales to the Bantu obtain an exorbitant price for the products of its industry. These two undesirable practices will be controlled by the Republican Government as long as it is responsible for the economic development of those areas in the interests of the Bantu. I shall deal in a moment with what the position will be in this respect when a Bantu area has reached full independence.

As soon as the border areas show healthy development, the Bantu areas too will develop just as much as they would have if the industries were within the Bantu areas. A Bantu area will have this advantage that the worker's wages will be spent in the town in which he lives and accordingly this will promote the building up of such towns, as well as all the service industries and the services which come into being in those towns. It will be possible for all such undertakings to be controlled and owned by the Bantu. He will be able to make bricks and build houses and run laundries. He will be able to run motor-car workshops. He is already doing so. The wages from the nearby border industries will form the basis of the development of a growing community with the whole background of precisely those service industries which constituted the beginning of the industrial development of most nations on a much larger scale. It is for this reason that I say that this form of development will be of great importance to the Bantu.

In this way the development of the Bantu homelands will take place in a way which will not be dangerous or contentious or give offence to the Bantu. One knows that the growth of private Bantu firms into great undertakings owned and managed by themselves will not take place easily and in a short time. As a matter of fact, in the same way the Bantu will not be able to farm as productively and economically within the same space as the White man. But just as we cannot on this ground allow the White farmer to

go into the Bantu area to acquire or to lease the Bantu's land and to have the Bantu there as his labourer because he would then be taking away the potentialities from before his very nose and in all probability would not easily give it up later, so we cannot allow the same sort of thing to happen in the case of industrial development, whereby these potentialities are taken away from them and not preserved for them until they can exploit them themselves. The principle, therefore, remains that there cannot be White private ownership or even co-ownership of industries. White initiative, as I have just said, must be used in other ways in the Bantu area. As long as the White guardian, the Republican Government, must control the economic development of the Bantu homelands in the interests of the Bantu, this will have to remain the policy.

What is the reason for this?

There is one important decisive reason, and that is that if the White guardian foists a private undertaking on it or allows it into those areas, it will be viewed as economic colonialism. It will be regarded as an attempt by the Whites to rid themselves of the responsibilities of government in the political sphere, but to carry on with economic exploitation. This would destroy all our efforts to develop friendship. We cannot allow it. If the Bantu, when they are in full control, wish to invite White firms, that is their affair. Then the White government cannot be accused of seeking to apply White colonialism. I am convinced, however, that the Bantu will not allow White firms to diminish their (Bantu) chances if the process of gradual development takes place in this sphere in accordance with the methods we envisage and for which they need and require our help. Hon. members must look at what is happening in other parts of Africa. Surely they need not be reminded of how one Black state after another has started to talk of the nationalization of White industries and about methods of removing White entrepreneurs and replacing them with Blacks? In those cases the Black states actually invited many of those White firms to enter or found them there as the providers of employment or even as sources of the prosperity of the country, but later on became jealous of them or sought to push them out for other reasons. Already, even at this early stage, their reaction is one of expulsion. I am not talking about Egypt; I am talking about what is even being said in a country like Nigeria which is supposed to be well disposed to the Whites, that the Whites should get out, and the same thing has even been mentioned in Tanganyika, as well as in Kenya even before it has received its independence.

We cannot get away from the fact that quite naturally the Black

man would like to control his own industrial development. The Black state will perhaps temporarily accept White firms, but will possibly later expel them. That does not make much difference to Britain and the United States, where perhaps some of their undertakings are far distant from them in the other territories and if perhaps as the result of the process of expulsion enmity ensues. But to us it makes a big difference. To us it is of vital interest that good neighbourliness and friendship should be maintained. Therefore we dare not introduce White initiative and capital and "know-how" into our Bantu areas in a form which will become permanent and possessive. We must introduce it, but in the form of a guardian who assists with the object of giving away these undertakings as and when those people become capable of taking them over. To that I want to add that a partnership is no solution at this stage. The hon. the Leader of the Opposition referred to what Mr. Rupert said in this regard, but what has been left out of account is that when a partnership is formed with the Malays in Malaya it is simply a company formed in partnership with rich Asiatic investors in another independent country, with the agreement of that country's Government. In our case the position will be different, viz. that the White guardian allows no partnership to be formed and should no more have to bear the responsibility than it dare allow a White business in a country where the Black Government perhaps does not at the outset want anything like that, or even later.

When those territories are completely free and independent and then themselves want to allow partnership or private undertakings, I have no objection to it. Then it will not be the responsibility or the fault of the White Government. However, we should be careful not to earn the stigma of seeking to introduce any form of economic imperialism. Nor should there be an element of bluff, as is inherent in that proposal. That will be the case if some or other financial organization controlled by Whites, with the object of rendering services to the Bantu, and which in that sense may be called "Bantu", like the Bantu Trust or the Bantu Investment Corporation, is proposed, or if use is simply made of the Bantu, ignorant and poor as they may be, as a so-called Black partner. These two forms of bluff will not disguise the fact that these partnerships are in fact White undertakings. That is why we say that at this stage we must concentrate on the development of those areas in the economic sphere, firstly, by opening up the border areas for permanent occupation by private White undertakings and, secondly, by promoting industrial development in the Bantu area

for the Bantu himself wherever possible, or otherwise during a transition period by means of machinery such as I have just described, in terms of the principle of guardianship.

Mr. Speaker, I do not want to intimate that everything will go very smoothly and easily and that there are no great problems. On the contrary, there will be. The psychological problems referred to by the hon. Leader of the Opposition are of the greatest importance. We know that the Native's idea of "freedom", also in Central Africa, is not to work hard for one's independent existence, but that after "freedom" you need not work any more, because you will inherit that which the White man built up there! That is often the idea of freedom or "Uhuru". I also accept what the Leader of the Opposition said about the initiative of the Bantu, particularly in the economic sphere, that it is by far not developed yet, but it is particularly with due regard to that fact and those problems that we make our proposals. We also know of the shortage of raw materials in those areas, as well as the shortage of skill and capital. It is also for that reason that we are making this type of guardianship proposal which I have just mentioned. However, we must ensure in all our planning that we do not create the impression that with the one hand we give (in the political sphere) whilst taking with the other (in the economic sphere).

Whilst I am on this subject, I want to give a hint to the South African firms who intend establishing their private undertakings in the High Commission Territories. It is their own business if they want to do so there in conflict with our policy as I have expounded it; it is Britain's concern whether they want to allow it. That does not concern us and I am not going to say anything about the establishment of such businesses. If the Basutos or whoever it might be later become dissatisfied with it, they must settle accounts with England. We have already had the experience, where South African undertakings have gone to other territories in Africa, that when the Government concerned wants to take it over or wants to destroy it in some other way, they then ask the South African Government to protect them. All I want to say here is this: These firms should not then come and ask us for assistance. What they are doing is, in my opinion, looking for trouble and it is against the policy of this Government. If later they are faced with such problems as nationalization, they must not seek our protection. In addition, it must be understood that South Africa will continue to protect its own industries against competition from any country with a low wage level. It may be possible, although I hope that it will not be the case, that lower wage

levels will be established in the High Commission Territories. Then such firms should not, because they are of South African origin and are established in well-disposed neighbouring territories, think that we will give them the right to compete with people in the Republic who are trying to build up a higher wage structure for our Bantu. I realize that the reason why some firms want to establish undertakings in those territories (and that is also the reason why some private firms would like to establish themselves in our Bantu territories) is because they think that this will make it easier for them to capture markets in the rest of Africa than if they do so from our White areas or our border areas. That may be so, although there is some reason for doubt, but as against that they must offset the other problems and difficulties.

Mr. Speaker, the question has been put to me: What about the expansion of the Bantu Territories and what about their borders? I am aware that it is often alleged that the Bantu have too little land; it is said that they have only 13 per cent of the land as against the 87 per cent owned by the Whites. Of course, this comparison, as I have often said, is not accurate in principle. The Bantu are still in those parts of Southern Africa where they themselves settled. Not only did they settle themselves in their present areas in the Republic, but also in the High Commission Territories which are under British rule. If one considers those areas in which the Bantu settled themselves, including of course what South Africa has already added to those areas since 1913, then all the Bantu territories together constitute 50 per cent of that portion of Southern Africa, let us say, south of the line formed by the northern border of Bechuanaland and the Republic, just as the Whites have 50 per cent of that part of Southern Africa.

Of course, it is a further fact that one cannot compare territories just in terms of percentages, and this comparison made by the critics is meaningless. In Europe and other parts of the world there are also certain areas which constitute densely populated small states. Sometimes one finds adjoining them larger states with more territory, but which proportionally are not so densely populated. Surely that does not give the nation which settled itself in that smaller area the right, as its population increases, to make demands on its neighbour in respect of its larger territory! The same principle applies here. Besides, it should be remembered that even though one were to give unlimited land to the Bantu, that would not afford a solution. The solution lies in the sphere of industrialization.

The hon. member for King William's Town recently, together

with some of his friends, objected to the purchase of additional land to be added to the Ciskei, and the argument used by them, according to the Press, was that one could settle many more Natives on the land they already have if only they would make better use of it. Because they are not good farmers, they should not be given more land. I am not using that argument because I know that in terms of the promises made in 1936 the Republic must purchase still more land. It is, however, correct that many more people should be able to make a living on that land. The comparison in regard to Pondoland to which the Leader of the Opposition referred originated with me, and not with Mr. Rupert. I said a long time ago, also in this House, that in West Pondoland the climatic conditions and the nature of the soil were such that that area alone could carry 14,000,000 people if there were the necessary initiative, the skill and the capital development, and the type of people existing in Holland or in Denmark or in any of the thickly populated, developed countries of Europe. But the Bantu there do not have these characteristics and therefore it cannot be developed to that extent. However, the potentiality of that soil is there, provided the other types of development are also there. The problem cannot be solved merely by buying more land. However, what is in fact necessary in terms of providing additional land is to provide such land as will assist in consolidating these areas into economic units. But in this process of consolidation it is not necessary to buy all the land belonging to Whites which lies in between Black spots. There should also be a process of the exchange of land. Therefore the whole problem of additional land and the exchange of land must stand over until there is a separate government for such an area.

Our problem, Sir, in regard to matters pertaining to land is the psychology of the Native. If a Black spot is bought out, and even if a more expensive, larger and better White area adjoining this Bantu area is given gratis to the inhabitants of this Black spot, generally there is the greatest difficulty in getting them to move. Then there is a lot of unjustifiable talk about oppression and coercion, even by hon. members opposite. Therefore it is essential that this process should rather take place through proper co-operation between the Bantu Government and the White Government. That also applies to the question of determining the borders. Of course, there must be borders immediately. One cannot grant self-rule to an area without specifying what its present borders are, but those borders need not and will not be the final borders. To prevent a long time elapsing during which political develop-

ment cannot take place because there are quarrels over borders, for practical reasons the existing borders of what are the Black areas — even though they are spread out in spots — will have to be accepted as the present borders. On that basis there will have to be a lengthy process of consolidation. However, the Department of Bantu Administration is already instituting investigations in various areas and making plans in regard to what may eventually be the consolidated borders. That requires much study. Those who were concerned with the earlier determination of what was to be the released areas will understand this. It took years. The necessary investigation has been set in process, but the basic starting point is that the borders now being laid down, although not finally determined, will be what are now the borders of the area inhabited by the Bantu who at the moment fall within the territory of such a Bantu authority.

I want to add this too. In the Transkei there is a very special problem, namely the White spot problem. In terms of what I have just said, those areas will in the meantime remain White spots, and therefore under the control of the Republic, but the process, as I have announced earlier, of the gradual and, if possible, rapid darkening particularly of the smaller White spots, will have to take place. In other words, portions of the White spots will continually pass over into the territory of the Transkeian Government. In the case of Umtata, because it is big, the problem is consequently also greater, and it will take longer to solve, but I do not think anyone can escape the fact that just as a city such as Nairobi and large White areas in Kenya fall under that Government, so in the course of time also a city like Umtata will become part of the territory of the Transkeian Government. Its environments are already becoming Bantu areas. I believe that the process will be slower in the case of the town itself, but the eventual position is inevitable. The choice is that either such places become Black, or the whole of South Africa will become Black in terms of the policy of the United Party.

I should now like to deal with a few points of criticism which were again mentioned by the hon. the Leader of the Opposition today. One of the points of criticism often heard is that the Government wants to dismember the South Africa we all love. But is that not really the old imperialistic argument? Is that not the argument of colonialism? Is that not the argument of people who first governed solely as Whites and seek to retain that right when the position later arises where they have to consider the aspirations of Black people and others to self-rule? Such people then say: No, we do

not want to hand over those areas settled by the Bantu to be governed by them. The Opposition, however, goes further and says: We want to retain the reins of government in our hands together with them; in order to achieve that, i.e. in order to be able to retain White domination and the country as a whole, we will, however, give them the semblance of joint government. The question is not whether they will be able to manage that, but whether this is not imperialism; whether it is not the argument of the colonist? Is that not the argument of the imperialist who wants to retain control over what belongs to other people? I say that it is nothing less than that. It is again the same type of argument which existed in days gone by when White states in Europe ruled Black areas. It is the same type of argument which formerly existed in connection with the High Commission Territories when everybody wanted them to be governed by the Whites as part of South Africa. But as it became clear that, in terms of the present world tendency, Britain was going to make those areas Black self-governing countries, surely we could no longer have the ambition to have them under our control. I am not referring to the mistake in British policy of appearing to make them multi-racial. Some people may have the ambition — as the hon. the Leader of the Opposition has — of bringing them into a multi-racial South African partnership Government, but of course that also means that he will thereby be increasing the Black powers which will then govern and triumph over him. In other words, if heed has to be paid to present-day demands, the fact should be faced that in these Black areas the Whites would have obtained control, but not in areas settled by them. These areas were in fact conquered and consequently came under White control, but if the Republic wants to act in terms of the tendency of the present-day world, in terms of the demands made by present-day morality, then self-rule must be given to these Bantu areas — nothing more, but also nothing less.

If we cannot escape that, it means that we are not now dividing up South Africa; history divided it up long ago and we are just accepting the hard facts of life and their consequences. To that I have to add this: If the Opposition is correct and we are now dividing the country, then I now have to choose between dividing it (and thereby retaining control over the area settled by our White forefathers) or regarding the country as one governmental unit (and thereby turning it into a multi-racial state which, as I said before, will be under Black domination). I choose division. If I have to choose between division with all the dangers that may be attached to it, and the so-called territorial unity with its

attendant White racial suicide, then I unhesitatingly choose division.

A second point in this regard which was also made by the Leader of the Opposition is that these separate Bantu areas will be dangerous. The hon. member for Yeoville (Mr. S. J. M. Steyn) also asked me a moment ago whether these separate Bantu areas would not be dangerous. Will the Russians not perhaps invest money there or offer other assistance; will the Bantu states, as is sometimes said outside this House, not perhaps have their own armies; will they not become a jumping-off ground for Communism to penetrate South Africa? Of course, these dangers exist. They also exist in connection with the High Commission Territories to which Britain is giving self-rule, and that danger will remain, even with race federation. In fact, those dangers will then really be greater, because in such a race federation the Bantu will be encouraged by the Afro-Asian or Communist states and others, to the same extent as is happening in Kenya or Ghana, to triumph over the White minority. Communism will seek a foothold which it cannot now obtain in South Africa or later at least in the White area, but which it will get in a race federation through the Bantu and their leaders in the whole country, and even in this Parliament. That will be an even greater danger, because it will bring the threat to the West and to the Whites of South Africa that the whole of South Africa can be taken over by this majority partner of the Leader of the Opposition, who will in fact later become the ruler. I repeat: if we are not able, through our friendship and our assistance and through the common sense of the Bantu, to keep them opposed to Communism in their own states, we will be even less able to do so when they live in a multi-racial state in which a United Party Government tries to rule them under White domination. My own belief is therefore that in such a multi-racial state the danger will be much greater, particularly if the United Party continues telling its story that they will enforce White leadership and domination. As against that, I believe that these people should be given their own states, as they desire, and if they are assisted financially and in regard to "know-how" and advice and by means of temporary public servants in their public service, as I have outlined, a well-disposed neighbouring state will be able to develop.

I have confidence in the mass of our Bantu, with the exception of a small group of agitators. I believe that they will see what is taking place in the rest of Africa, and that this will strengthen the bonds between us rather than lead to their joining up with foreign

countries, which will result in conflict and chaos. I must also make this further point. If my confidence is misplaced and the Bantu choose Communism, and we have one multi-racial state here with the Bantu as partners in it, surely they will also be in the public service and in the army and in all of those organizations which have been mentioned, and constitute a danger! Is that not much more dangerous than if these Bantu areas were to have their own armies, even armies which want to take action against the Republic? Then at least they will have to conquer our army, which may be stronger than theirs. If they number so many millions more than the Whites in a multi-racial state, of course the army of that multi-racial state will consist of more Blacks than Whites and its public service will consist of more Blacks than Whites. What will then happen to the Whites and their ideology? Why is the electorate being frightened when we are trying to establish well-disposed little Black neighbouring states and to safeguard them from such dangers by being prepared to render all kinds of services to them? Why should the Bantu be incited by all this scare-mongering? We could also frighten the public by saying how, in the proposed system of the Opposition, the dangers are infinitely greater, as I have outlined above, but one does not want to do so, nor is it in the best interest of good relations. Still, I have had to reply to these provocative statements.

A further argument advanced is that the Bantu in the White areas is being forgotten in all these plans. I have already replied to this often, to the effect that it is not true. Let me take the Transkei Bantu as an example. They form part of their community wherever they may live. Through the franchise they will now be getting, they will have a say in the Government of their community there. They will have as many opportunities, or probably as the result of their experience and skill, greater opportunities than the inhabitants of the Transkei to obtain posts in that public service and better positions than they can fill here. They will have opportunities, and probably better opportunities, to play a greater role in the development there than anything they can enjoy here under the present circumstances. In other words, for the urban Transkei Bantu a rich field of opportunity is now being opened up for their own enrichment and for the rendering of service in their own community as it develops. I foresee that the position will in time become such that particularly the Bantu who comes to work and gains experience in the White area will go back to put it to use there because of the multiplicity of other activities which will continually develop there. In other words, just as in the case of

the Italians working in Switzerland and Germany and Holland and other countries of Europe, the Bantu will seek work in the Republic particularly when they are still young and while they still retain their own tribal connection or national connection. When they have gained experience and have saved money, they will use or spend it in their own territories and among their own people.

Apart from these tremendous prospects and opportunities which will be given to our urban Bantu in their homelands, the Government will also continue doing what it announced here previously, and which is already in progress, namely to allow the Bantu in the Bantu urban residential areas to attain a fairly high level of self-government under the supervision of the Whites to whom those residential areas belong. There will be local self-government within certain limits, as has already been announced. For the rest, there will be all kinds of links, direct bonds, between them and their homeland, with representatives going back and forth and at the same time also an inter-change of opportunities. For example, in the educational sphere the teachers for whom we must still take responsibility amongst the Bantu in our area will be interchangeable with those for whom the Bantu Government takes responsibility in its area. In regard to the urban Bantu in the political sphere, this Government argues no differently from the way in which England does in different circumstances about the urban Bantu in the Republic and his rights in Basutoland; as far as other rights are concerned it can do more for its own Bantu here. Those urban Basuto know that Britain cannot demand different rights here. Therefore he has rights only in regard to that area. The new position is therefore both like that of the Italians who go to work temporarily in another country but who retain their vote and their citizenship in Italy, and like that of the Basuto from Basutoland who are in the Republic. That is precisely the position which will arise here, where one is dealing with another developing state.

A further argument is that it is the policy of the Government to suppress the human rights of the Bantu, including the franchise; that apartheid is a policy of perpetual domination; that it amounts to the denial of any form of franchise to the non-Whites. Everything I have said to-day negatives this argument. It is true that we want to grant these rights in a different way from what is asked by some people, but it is a fact that we want to grant these rights. I also want to say that it is a fundamental right of the White man too to protect his own nation from disaster. Every nation has the right to continued existence. That is the most

basic human right. It is a fundamental right to preserve one's nation and to protect one's identity as a nation. That is the basis of our whole policy.

There are Bantu leaders with whom we have had discussions who clearly told us that they attach as much importance to the preservation of their identity as we do. They are anxious to preserve their own national ideals and their culture and their heritage and they realize that this can only be done if they obtain the franchise and other rights, apart from other groups, in this way.

Another argument used is that the White extremists in South Africa are simply out to dominate the Black man in every respect and that the Government is not serious about its policy of apartheid. They say it is just a bluff. Another of these arguments is that the policy of apartheid is just a cloak behind which to hide White domination. Again I say that all these accusations are given the lie by what I have announced to-day about the steps we are taking. In fact, I think that under the greatest provocation from within and without the country, the Whites in South Africa, with few exceptions, have always been very tolerant. When one considers all the pressure exerted on us and all the ugly things said about us (but one also notes how our people in this election supported this policy of granting to others what they demand for themselves, viz. their own freedoms), then I say that the White man in South Africa is very tolerant indeed. Proof has been afforded of our earnest and of our faith that our policy can be implemented, and of our lack of a desire simply to dominate everybody. There is proof that the White man does not fear the development of the Bantu and is not unwilling but even anxious to live as good neighbours with the Black man. That is proved by everything I have just stated officially and by what we are doing.

Then it has been alleged that this will have terrible financial repercussions. The hon. the Leader of the Opposition again said so today. He stated that we would have to spend more than would otherwise have been devoted to the development of the country as a whole. It is surprising that people can argue like that, because if we consider what must be done in any case to afford livelihood to all these people, if one considers all the needs of life of all the individuals who will in any case be living somewhere, then what one has to spend on caring for them, wherever they may be, cannot make much difference. A nation cannot be expected to pay for that all at once. Through the continual circulation of money and the growth and development of the whole community, every-

thing which affords a living to a growing community is established gradually. To ascertain the cost of it, not only the expenditure incurred by an industrialist to employ a Native in Johannesburg or anywhere else should be taken into consideration, but also everything which the taxpayers of Johannesburg and the country have to pay, such as what has to be spent on housing and land and services. The cost of a whole series of measures for welfare and the maintenance of order has to be taken into account. Everything it costs the State to provide new railway lines and for subsidizing transport and for all kinds of special machinery to combat subversion must be included. If one only thinks of the tremendous extra cost of housing in such expensive areas, I say that the costs of the developments for the benefit of these communities, spread as they are at the moment, are enormous. The Leader of the Opposition has in fact said that he has no objection if this spreading out takes place as we are planning and it takes place for purely economic reasons, and I presume he will also include security. Will it then cost no more? No one will in fact be able to analyse the financial implications in terms of total expenditure in regard to the one system as contrasted with the other. In 1910 nobody would have been able to calculate what it would cost to bring South Africa to where it is to-day; nobody could even have imagined the position which exists to-day and which provides a living for so many people. When we think of the millions and millions of pounds spent in the past 50 years, I say that nobody at that time could have imagined where all would come from to bring about the South Africa of 1961. People would have waved their arms and said it was impossible, just as the Leader of the Opposition does to-day. Therefore I do not hesitate for a moment to face the future with him. We will have to care for all the citizens of the country, whether in terms of the federation plan of the Leader of the Opposition or in terms of a process of separation. In fact, he himself wants to develop the Bantu areas fully in terms of his federation, but then he does not mention the cost! In the process of separation certain things will cost more and others less than in terms of the policy of the Opposition, and vice versa. It is wrong to adopt the attitude that the country is faced here with a tremendous and impossibly expensive process, when nobody can prove why that should be true, except by uttering vague generalities. Nor can I prove why, in my opinion, his process will be more expensive, except by using similar generalities. This is one of the things in respect of which humanity and a State must go forward with faith.

Speech at the 1820 Settlers' Trust Banquet in Johannesburg on April 27, 1962

On the 27th April, 1962 the Johannesburg branch of the 1820 Settlers' Trust held a banquet in a Johannesburg hotel to open a fund-raising campaign for the erection of a worthy monument commemorating the 1820 Settlers. Besides Dr. Verwoerd, who attended the banquet as guest of honour and was the main speaker, Mr. J. M. Thompson, chairman of the Johannesburg branch of the Trust, also spoke and disclosed that the Government had opened the fund with a donation of R100,000. The Transvaal and Free State Chamber of Mines donated R50,000.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I wish to thank His Worship the Mayor and the Chairman for being so courteous as to welcome me in Afrikaans, and I think I cannot do better than return their courtesy by continuing exclusively in English.

It is always a very happy occasion when people are able to think back with piety and pride on those who have gone before and it is a still happier occasion, when the whole nation is able to look back upon its ancestors who laid the foundation for the prosperity which it enjoys today. This is such an occasion. South Africa can look back with piety and pride on the arrival of the new South Africans in 1820, who came here without any intention of ever returning to their homelands; who came with tenacity of purpose to stay here under the most difficult circumstances that one could possibly experience, and to leave us an inheritance of not only a large constituent part of our population, but all their achievements throughout the 140 and more years that have passed since their arrival.

When we consider what happened in 1820, we must realize that there is a lesson for us in the fact that small numbers can sometimes be responsible for greater things than large numbers which seem to be a fetish in the minds of people today. Only four thousand men, women and children. Only four thousand, and yet, what have they left us? As it was in the past, so it will always be in the future. The control of the future of civilization does not

rest with numbers, but rests with those who have the strength of character, the knowledge, the initiative and the courage which was the basis of the success of the four thousand of whom we are talking this evening.

I am proud to be here with you tonight, to share in your joy and your endeavours to commemorate those who have done so much for our country. The Government, which I represent, will take part in whatever you find necessary to be done in order to keep their memory ever fresh in the minds of generations to come. I am also proud to have as a member of my Cabinet a descendant of the 1820 Settlers, Mr. Alf Trollip. I wish to add that in years to come, nobody will be able to say anything similar. At present we are still able to distinguish between the sons and daughters of the Voortrekkers and those of the 1820 Settlers, but it will not always be so. There will come a time when the whole nation, no matter who its rulers may be, will look back with grateful pride on its ancestors from all parts of the community. There will be an indistinguishable intertwining of us all and we shall all be South Africans, gratefully commemorating our forbears who served the country long before we thought it possible that we would all become united.

When you look at the names of some Afrikaans-speaking people in South Africa today, almost unilingual, you would be amazed to find how many there are who still bear the names of 1820 Settlers. I could mention quite a number, such as Barry, Dyason and Hayward — names of people (at least some of them) — counted among the Afrikaans-speaking community today and yet their forbears were the same as those of many of you here tonight.

That is the first step in the process I just mentioned, but it is not the only reason why we Afrikaners are joining you tonight and hope to join you in the future in grateful commemoration of those forbears of whom we are thinking now. Besides the links of history, there is also a memory of great and common friendship which existed between the Voortrekkers and the 1820 Settlers. I had the privilege recently of glancing into Mr. H. E. Hockly's book called "The Story of the British Settlers of 1820 in South Africa". In this book you will find various tales referring to the depth of the friendship which existed between the English and Dutch people who lived on the border. Mr. Hockly writes of the great amity and the strong bonds of friendship which existed so many years ago. I want to recall to your mind the well-known story of the occasion when a Settler leader, Mr. J. P. Phillips, presented a Bible to Jacobus Uys when the Voortrekkers left that vicinity. I

am quoting to you from the "Grahamstown Journal" of, I think, April 27th, 1837. "We offer this book to you as proof of our regard and with expressions of sorrow that you are going so far from us. We regret for many reasons that circumstances should have arisen to separate us, for ever since we, the British Settlers, arrived in this Colony now a period of seventeen years, the greatest cordiality has continued to be maintained between us and our Dutch neighbours; and we must always acknowledge the general and unbounded hospitality with which we have been welcomed in every portion of the Colony. We trust therefore that although widely separated, you will hold us in remembrance, and we wish that all will retain for each other the warmest sentiments of friendship." After the patriarch, Jacobus Uys had spoken, his eldest son "redoubtable Piet Uys", as Hockly calls him, "begged to thank the deputation for the very kind manner in which they had expressed themselves. He felt very deep regret at parting with so many kind friends, but he hoped that as long as they all remained on this side of the grave, although parted by distance, they should ever remain united in heart."

I quoted this because it also has a lesson for us today. We eagerly seek greater friendship, more co-operation and goodwill between the various sections of our population, in everything that we do. We see, in the dangers which may befall us, the same ones that befell them at that time and brought them together, and the same incentive for cordial friendship and co-operation that they had. When we talk about new friendship, greater friendship and coalescing into one united nation which must come to pass in this new Republic of ours, we are not talking of the cultivation of anything new. We often don't realize it, but all that we have to do is to recultivate that which has already been ours for such a long time.

In the past, the two sections of our population did not only part physically but also spiritually. Much has passed during all these decades, even strife and hate. But as time passes it cannot last. Love and friendship, ever greater than hate, ever more binding and ever more lasting cannot do otherwise than take its place with us in the future. Therefore, I look upon this occasion as a great moment not only in commemorating the Settlers, not only as the beginning of the erection of great monuments, but also as an occasion where there is a union of hearts, which will mean much more to our nation in the future than any monument that we can build.

During the years that have passed, we have perhaps thought

of the 1820 Settlers as a small group of people, the story of which has not been told sufficiently. It is a wonderful story to tell — the story of a group of people and their descendants, but actually there is much more than a fascinating story in all this. They are part of history, not the history of the eastern border, but part of the history of South Africa. They and their descendants scattered over the whole of South Africa and took part in its development throughout the decades and throughout the country. They left their marks everywhere just as the Afrikaners' forbears did. You cannot move anywhere in South Africa without being able to trace their footsteps either in industry, agriculture or social life. Therefore, when we think of the 1820 Settlers, we cannot help remembering the other pioneers. When we think of the heritage of the one, we must necessarily think of the heritage of the other too, because together they left us that which is material — the country as it has developed, and that which is spiritual — the character which we have.

The heritage left by the Settlers is manifold. The English language is part of it. We regard the 1820 Settlers as a symbol of all those many of whom came later and some who came sooner, who left us this as one of the languages of South Africa; for let it be said once again, South Africans do not have one language for each section, they all have two languages. I have said so before and I should like to repeat today that the Afrikaner is prepared not only to accept the English language, but cannot do otherwise and would not do otherwise than regard the present Republic as the country of all of us, and both our languages as the proud and valuable possessions of all of us; valuable partly for communication with one another, and partly as a means of contact with the outside world. We can build on this part of our heritage only if both sections are prepared to accept each other's possessions. That is one part of our heritage. But there is also another:

The pioneering spirit was not only inherent in the 1820 Settlers and in the Voortrekkers, it was part of the character of all those who came to South Africa, no matter where they resided, for all of them left safety and the protection of some older country to come to a new sphere of life without knowing where that adventure might lead them. The adventurous spirit is the spirit of all our forefathers, but it is most perceivable in those who as groups, particularly the Voortrekkers and the 1820 Settlers, had so strong an influence on our history that we feel it our duty to build monuments in their memory. But this pioneering spirit was not

very noticeable at that time. After all, these people were very ordinary human beings from all spheres of life, just as ordinary as we are, and just as we don't realize that we are making history, they did not realize that they were doing so either; and yet that was their task.

They came to a new land to seek for themselves a new life, a new livelihood and a future for their children. They came to tame the soil of a small portion of a then dark continent. We are not coming to a new country, we have other visions. We seek to tame the atom and the universe. We think deeper and deeper into what is small and further and further into what is huge and endless, but the strain of adventure is the same. Whether it be with the strength of your arm or the strength of your mind when you look ahead into unknown territory as a country can be, or unknown territory as knowledge can be, you are exploring, you are a pioneer. We seek to settle that which is unknown, dark and hidden, but the initiative, the spirit of adventure is one of our inheritances. No man, woman or child has been able to penetrate these mysteries, or perform some great task such as building up the industry of a country, alone. It is always the task of the group or of the nation. Some leaders may be known to history, but the makers of history are the nations of the time. And so, we all owe our prosperity, our initiative, our desire to build up something whether it be a home or an industry or a country, to an inner drive derived from those who came before us.

But then there is a third attribute which we owe our ancestors, particularly the 1820 Settlers who had to live under such difficult circumstances. That is the desire for self-preservation. They were faced with forces very similar to those with which we are faced today, which could break or undermine or drive away. But small as their numbers were, they would not and could not submit. Self-preservation, such a grand and great factor in life, so often unjustly derided by those who feel safe under more comfortable circumstances, was a driving force in their lives. Sometimes they had to ride the wave of possible black dominance with the strength of their arms and the courage of their hearts, not because they did not desire peace, but because on the contrary, they did. Peace is not always attained by submission, it can sometimes only be attained by struggling for what one thinks is worthwhile. In their time, they had to seek prosperity and peace, sometimes in one way and sometimes in another, but after a while their ship did reach the haven of peace, and it became possible for them to do the constructive work which they desired above all.

Yet, as so often happens in life, after this interlude of peace, the ship had to embark again for deep seas, the high waves and the storms. And so from time to time throughout the history of our country, we have had our periods of fighting for our very existence, and our periods of solid construction in thankful times of peace. We must expect that in the future too. These periods of peace and struggle will follow one another, but no nation is built without courage and faith or belief in the Hand of the Almighty which is stretched over all nations to guide each to the object it must fulfil.

I could say ever so much more about what these heroes of the past, some unknown, have left us in our national character because, after all, much more worthwhile than any material heritage is what you can receive in your character. One parent can leave his child millions of pounds and certain death, death of all hope or wish to do anything for others, death of all love. Another parent can leave the child only education and a strong character, initiative, hope, fellowship and love for all people. The greater heritage is the second. For that we are grateful because we feel that in our national character something is bound up which is going to preserve us in the difficult days to come, days through which we are just beginning to pass.

When we erect a monument to the memory of our forbears, let us not only think of them as courageous people, not only as the builders of what we possess materially, but let us above all think of them as those who have made us what we are. I, therefore, join in the appeal to the whole nation for its support to make possible a monument which will be true to the memory of those with whom we are dealing this evening.

It sounds very good, beautiful and sentimental when you say that the memory of your forbears, either of your parents or those of your nation are enshrined in your hearts, but enshrinement in your hearts means so very little, if you are not prepared to give outward expression to that love, loyalty, piety and pride, because so much is recognized in a symbol, the symbol of a nation, the outward exhibition of what is felt inwardly. No nation can be truly great without its monuments or its symbols which inspire; therefore, I appeal to you and to all sections of the nation to co-operate in making this monument the true shrine which it is intended to be. When one thinks of the 1820 Settlers, just as the Voortrekkers, one thinks of a religious people, of people who set high store by the education of their children and in that way made all development possible. We think of them as people

living close to nature. Those in whose hearts the idea of a monument was born, have fittingly seen that the form of the monument decided upon will be a shrine to carry forward to future generations the memories of all those people; and that it will serve education and keep unspoiled the place where they lived and which they loved. A nation cannot do better than invest in this way. Let the memory of the pioneers who often suffered much to establish all that we enjoy today be revived and kept alive forever.

**Address on the Occasion of the Convention for the
Promotion of Export Trade, Johannesburg,
May 16, 1962**

The Export Promotion Convention resulted directly from the emphasizing of the importance of export trade at the Bloemfontein conference of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut in September, 1960. The idea was carried further at a meeting of the Export Committee of Commerce and Industries when such a convention with Government support was decided on. The convention took place under the auspices of the Association of Chambers of Commerce, the Credit Guarantee Insurance Corporation of Africa, Limited, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Federation of Steel and Engineering Industries of South Africa, the Exporters' Association of S.A. and the S.A. Federated Chamber of Industries, in collaboration with the Department of Commerce and Industries. It was held in Johannesburg from 14th to 16th May, 1962 for the purpose of promoting South Africa's exports and aiding existing and potential exporters. The convention, in which a large number of leading businessmen and economists took part, was concluded by and climaxed with an address by the Prime Minister at a banquet held in the Wanderers Club, Johannesburg, on Wednesday evening, 16th May, 1962. On this occasion the 500 businessmen present, of which the Afrikaans-speaking element did not form a large percentage, rose to their feet spontaneously and gave Dr. Verwoerd a standing ovation after he had, as usual, delivered his address extemporaneously.

Mr. Chairman and esteemed friends, I should like to express a hearty word of thanks to the chairman for the welcome extended to me and my colleagues here, and I also want to thank you all very much for the kind reception given to us here tonight. I really feel like a cat, not out of water, but in the water — to be in company where you, probably still more than I, feel that I do not belong. But despite this, I still want to try and say a few words, as far as a layman can do it, regarding the task you have imposed upon yourself and for which the Government is very

grateful to you, I propose to give the major part of my exposition of the few thoughts I have, in English, with something in Afrikaans in between, because I feel that most of you will then probably best understand me, especially since I shall move in a sphere in which I am not as at home as the rest of you.

I wish to thank you, Mr. Chairman, and your worship, the Mayor, for the kindness which you have shown me and my friends this evening. I'm not going to inflict any technical address full of statistics on you — they would weigh too heavily on your mind as this fine banquet weighs on us elsewhere! I would rather underline certain of the principles with which you have been dealing, no doubt, during the three days gone by.

As a layman, I feel rather diffident about addressing you and possibly, must accept the responsibility of seeming to preach without recognizing how great one's own sins of omission are. However, the task has been laid upon me to say something and I do it gladly for one reason, even if only for that reason — that is — that the Government very highly appreciates this step your convention has taken in attempting to speed up what seems to me of the utmost importance not only for our economic progress, but in the interests of South Africa as a whole. Before I continue, I wish to thank you all very heartily for what you have said and done in the past few days and, more particularly, for what I believe you are going to do in the days to come. This has been a well-timed meeting for a convention of this kind, timely because the economic development of South Africa has now reached that mature stage when it is fundamental to any further growth that we should see export in the important light which it deserves to have shed upon it. For a long time a country can build its industries on the market it has within itself. As an infant one must grow up at home, but then a time comes when you must look further afield; when you have to compete with others in this field — with the world at large. The time has come when you can only feel that you have justified your existence as a manufacturer when you can compete on even terms with anybody anywhere. That you cannot discover within your own country alone — although you can find even there how independent you are of protection — but you can discover best what you have achieved when you go further afield and bring your products into the markets particularly of highly industrialized countries and find that there is a market for you there.

We have reached that stage. Now it is up to us — those South Africans who have the know-how — to develop that export field.

I wish to thank you for your fine attitude during these three days in which, as I have been told, a spirit has prevailed almost beyond anything that has been seen in connection with those matters with which you are dealing. I have been told that an enthusiasm and a devotedness to the task you have undertaken has been conspicuous in all your meetings. For that not only the Government, but the country, must be thankful, I am very much distressed that in the Press, both Afrikaans- and English-speaking, justice does not seem to have been done to your deliberations. I feel that this convention is so important, so much of a turning point in our economic development, that it should have been seen — however technical it may sometimes have been — it should have been seen not only as worthwhile for you but of very great moment to all. I hope that in future, as time goes by, those who do not realize that solid constructive work deserves the same attention that sensational incidents and oddities do, will begin to understand that they missed the bus in by-passing your convention as not being of news value, as has been done. I look upon the promotion and advancement of our experts as of national importance. It is not only the task of the industrialist; it is the task of all who can do something to support you in your efforts. The Government not only welcomes this convention but has been most gratified by everything that has taken place so far and will watch with great interest, and support wherever it can any attempts that are to be made to implement ideas and ideals that have found their way into your minds and hearts during these past few days.

I said a few moments ago that this was a timely convention. By that I meant timely in the sense I have already mentioned — namely, that the industrialists' development of South Africa has reached this present stage and they must look further afield — but also timely in another sense. People say today that everything needs the right climate or atmosphere, and in this case the economic climate generally should be suitable. Well, as far as the world is concerned — and particularly with regard to South Africa — the economic climate is just that which we have desired for the past three years. We had to overcome many difficulties standing in the way of establishing a favourable climate for South Africa in the economic sense. A number of factors — partially through our own endeavours and partially through what has happened outside our boundary — have, however, brought about a climate generally favourable to economic reconstruction and development here. The Government itself has attempted by initiating projects of many kinds — in various directions, and in various parts of

South Africa — to create that climate and improve upon it. I believe it has met with much success. It has also demonstrated its desire to help in the export field by sending trade missions to three parts of the world. In these three directions much good has been done. It is not only the general economic climate which is favourable today, but the export climate, so it seems to me, is also favourable.

Those who come to our shores very often think of our achievements beforehand in the same modest terms that we attach to our own products. I don't know whether it is really modesty or something else which makes us inclined to believe that we cannot compete and compare our products with those of other countries. Sometimes we need such foreign visitors to come and, by their amazement, demonstrate to us how well South African goods can compare with what others produce in other parts of the world. Now that we have come to recognize that, and they too have found out about us, and now that some of our pioneers — our pioneer exporters — have demonstrated in other countries what South Africa can deliver, there is an atmosphere of expectancy in this country and a preparedness elsewhere to receive from us what we can produce. All this should make for great advancement in the manufacturing and export fields very soon. Therefore, I repeat, there is a favourable general economic climate and more particularly an export climate which is favourable to the ends for which you have met.

But there is another form of climate which also seems to me to have suddenly become favourable if I interpret the spirit of the last few days' meetings correctly. That is the climate between the Government and the industrialists and exporters of this country. I hope I have been correctly informed that this seems to be the case. Once and for all — and what a future this can create — we have discovered that, whatever our political opinions may be, we have one thing in common, namely, that we are all South Africans who love our country and seek its prosperity. That prosperity can only be served if we co-operate and forget our differences in other matters. Indeed, when we co-operate and co-ordinate our efforts in this particular sector of economic affairs, then we shall be dealing with matters on which, generally speaking, we do not differ — not even the political parties. It is true that in South Africa there is very little difference in connection with economic policy. Whilst that is so, there is so much we can leave aside while seeking to promote that which is advantageous to us all.

All of us and all population groups in this country, everybody, will earn the future for himself and his descendants if he can throw in his full weight into the promotion of what we, who are here tonight, think is demanded of us — you in your way and we, of the Government, in another.

While I'm speaking about this favourable economic climate — the good climate of co-operation, of goodwill — that exists between those who must further new endeavours in the export trade, I wish to refer, just in passing, to something which may have disturbed us before and possibly retarded the advancement which is sorely needed. Some of us were, and other people outside South Africa certainly were, inclined to look upon South Africa and further investment here as too much of a risk — candidly speaking, too much of a political risk. But my friends, when we look at the world outside South Africa, where do you find a single country in which there is no political risk? Even the best of them, even the greatest of them, are full of political risks of all kinds. If political risk should exist with regard to the stability of governments then South Africa is perhaps the least risk of all! Fifty years have passed since Union and there have only been six Prime Ministers, and I am young enough to say that it may be some time before you get another! Which other country in the world can say the same? And stability of government does make for stability of development, because there are certain fundamental rules which always remain the same.

A Swiss banker came to see me a number of years ago, about eight years ago, when I was Minister of Native Affairs, at the request of the Minister of Finance of that time, Mr. Havenga. He sat down next to my desk and asked bluntly: "What is your Native policy?" I replied: "Well, that is a tall order; must I tell you that for the next three days or in twenty minutes?" He said: "No, twenty minutes will do." I was not surprised, because I knew that he realized that he would be in for quite a talk if he wanted that, but would not be able to fit it in his programme. At any rate, I gave him certain fundamental information and then he said: "Thank you, that is enough, I'm going to tell Mr. Havenga we are going to give him the loan he has asked for." I naturally asked: "As a matter of curiosity, tell me why you have told me that?" He said: "Well, you know, we bankers don't know about the politics of all the countries in which we invest, but what we do know is that if people in authority know what they want to do, then whether we agree with them or not, if it is certain that they are going to be in power for a sufficiently

long time, we are prepared to invest." I naturally thanked him for the compliment; but the fact is that the money came.

That is still the position in this country. There is a stable government. In other countries you find that changes of government take place more often. Even if on general policy there does seem to be the great differences of opinion which we have today, those changes of government can cause so much disruption that, from the standpoint of risk, they are worse risks than we are.

But that is not all. The fact is that in many countries changes of government, and also the dangers in which they are placed through their proximity to mighty powers, may mean a change from the capitalist system to a socialist or Communist system. It may mean the difference between the safety of private investment and it being in danger. In South Africa that problem just does not arise. Here, whichever government is in charge, there would be no danger of rising Communism, and no danger to the system of encouraging private initiative. This is the basis of our prosperity today. Therefore, I say, where is the political risk in South Africa if these two major factors are taken into consideration; the stability of government, and the stability of the ideology which its people support?

Perhaps somebody would say: "Yes, but then there is the colour problem, the colour policy, on which there are so many different opinions, and that colour policy is at present of great importance in the world, and so many countries look askance at the policy of South Africa and of its government." This may be true. Through the appearance of many new states in Africa and Asia, and through the desire of the older nations (on account of their own differences amongst themselves) to curry favour with these large numbers of non-powerful nations, maybe that does affect the attitude towards South Africa to a certain extent. To my mind it would, however, be the same no matter which government in South Africa were in power; but that is only by the way. The main fact is that those major states who have great financial interests and who know us well, have had most satisfactory economic relations with us throughout decades. In spite of sometimes harshly expressed differences of opinion on this particular phase of our policy (on which we believe we must stand fast if White civilization is to survive) we find that, when we get into touch with these nations, then basically, and especially in the economic field, they are our friends and allies. This economic relationship will not be torn apart easily. In that lies a major guarantee. I have no hesitance in saying that we need

not fear the future, no matter what discussions we may be involved in at the U.N. We need have no fundamental fear that the prosperity of South Africa will be endangered by a lack of co-operation when it comes down to fundamental economic matters. Therefore, when I praise you for having organized this convention and having shown that spirit of co-operation, I feel that I am endorsing an effort which must bear great fruit even in the immediate future and in spite of all that we know and all that we see. I believe that you have put your feet on the first steps of a ladder leading straight upwards to prosperity not far ahead.

The question might be put: Why are we, the Government, so interested in export? The reply, generally speaking, is that South Africa has reached the stage when not only its economic development, but also the accumulation of necessities for the proper development of our country and the policy to create safety by strengthening our armed forces, are linked up with this particular aspect of economic life. Export is becoming part of the lifeblood of our country. I wish to develop that theme a little further in Afrikaans.

I ask the question: Why are we so serious about the export trade at this particular stage? The first answer is self-evident — namely, that in South Africa itself, within our own fatherland, economic life has developed so far that the goods we produce are beginning more and more to supply all our necessities of life.

Our industry should, however, supply them not on account of strong support by protective tariffs, but whilst standing on its own legs. Sometimes it has to supply our wants with only moderate protection enjoyed in competition with imports from abroad. In other words, we have reached a stage when our industry is finding its own feet to such an extent that it can notice in the home trade how well it competes with other countries. When you discover that you are able in your own country, in your home trade, to compete with goods from outside, then obviously you immediately gain confidence in your ability to compete in those other countries. You begin to have faith in the quality and the price of your own goods. This is the first reason I wanted to give why we believe that South Africa should be able at the present time to advance its export trade on a much larger scale than ever before. The experience of what South Africa can do and the competition found in our own country makes it export-conscious.

Then there is a second reason. This is that we have already found that goods manufactured here, without protection and with the transport cost added, can compete abroad both in price and

quality. There are, for instance, some of our industrialists who have been pioneers enough to ascertain that there is a market waiting for their products, and have begun to exploit it. They have set the example. Thus South Africa has now reached a stage where its industrialists have become aware that they can compete not only in the home trade but also abroad.

There is also a third reason. This is that South Africa is beginning to realize that its economic growth ought to be large and fast if it wants to supply all the needs of its whole population. We have huge problems — in a certain sense bigger problems than other countries in the world. In order to triumph we must supply employment to our own population and to an immigrant population which we desire to have for the sake of the security of the White man insofar as we feel that we have to strengthen ourselves. At the same time we have many non-Europeans from various population groups who are basically dependent on us and will remain thus no matter how politically independent they may become. They remain our responsibility and we cannot evade it except at the risk of our own defeat. Thus we have to build up industry, whether it be in the existing industrial areas or along the borders of Bantu areas or wherever it may be. We have to build up an industrialism which will create the widest background for supplying the needs for employment and subsistence of all those people. When this is the object, it can be reached partly by the expansion of the home market. Our eyes are not closed thereto. We all realize how that by wage increases of employees of all races on a basis which is practical and not disrupting to industry, our market can be expanded in the interior. But this is not enough. In addition thereto, and actually building thereon, a larger production will be necessary than we can consume ourselves. South Africa will have to go and earn abroad that wherewith it can build up its own prosperity and as a result of which it will be able to pay out such wages that the circuit of the economy may be made fruitful thereby.

But further, South Africa needs this additional income. Only by prosperity the country will be able to defy the dangers that the future may hold in store. The more prosperous we are financially as a country, the stronger we can equip ourselves to preserve the peace, to ensure security for ourselves. Thereby we shall be able to afford, like every other nation on earth does, those means, those teeth whereby a nation can show that it has power of resistance against any dangers that may threaten it. It is only the powerful country, it is only the country that can show that

it is strong enough to protect its own interests, to whom peace is vouchsafed and who can preserve peace — at home and abroad. Then it does not need to fight for its peace and freedom. It is only necessary to prove that it is able to protect itself. It is, therefore, necessary for South Africa to fortify itself economically to such an extent that it can equip itself for safeguarding its people and country.

Larger industrial growth and prosperity are also necessary, not only for protection externally, and not only for peace internally, but also for its general progress. No country can stagnate, least of all a young country. Because our country is young and the birth-rate is, therefore, still high and because our country is a place to which people who can no longer find means of livelihood elsewhere in the older over-populated countries will continually turn longing eyes, we shall have to prepare ourselves to care for those who will come here, that is to provide employment, and thereby to strengthen and enrich ourselves in other respects. Thus also it is necessary that we should build up our prosperity and we can only do it by building up and expanding our industries.

Furthermore, the time has come that we want to improve our export trade because we want to raise the standard of living of all people from every population group in this country. One can raise the standard of living particularly when, by reduction of prices of goods, everybody is increasingly able to obtain and use that which makes life more abundant and more complete and more pleasant. Price reductions for the home consumer can, of course, be promoted best by increased production also based on the buying power of consumers abroad. The standard of living can be raised by buying cheaper and more, by promoting our export trade and increasing our individual productivity and, besides that increased production, by making full use of factories and their equipment which otherwise are partly occupied, not working at full swing. By making full use of our means of production we shall enhance the chances of a better life for all.

I do not even mention other reasons in favour of export such as an increased export trade safeguarding the country's balance of payments, in addition to the nation's standard of living. I do not even speak of certain other advantages which a country can obtain in the international sphere. One has to take into account, however, the fact that, as the export trade expands, the country's contacts with the outside world also increase — and this also increases their knowledge of our people and their state and they begin to realize that here at the southern tip of Africa there is

really a piece of Europe and that the Republic of South Africa is more than just another part of Africa. The more the outside world realizes this through our international trade, the more our friendships in the international political field will grow, mutual understanding will improve and the misunderstandings and the hate will disappear. Trade can be the means towards better, sounder relations between South Africa and other countries.

Thus I could continue, but time does not allow me to give you more examples of what I have in mind regarding the way in which promotion of our export trade can obtain advantages for our fatherland and its population and can help in solving our problems. One of the advantages which I should perhaps not leave unmentioned is this: South Africa is a country of great wealth, a country with many raw materials. One does not want this wealth, taken from our own earth or cultivated by our agriculture, to go into the world as raw materials if one could export it in semi-processed or processed form (that is to say, by having our labour paid for, which would then benefit thereby). A raw-material country should not export its wealth. It is entitled to retain that wealth for itself. For this reason it is felt that South Africa has now reached such a level of development, and South Africans have already gained such a measure of experience that the chances laid in our lap, lying in the lap of our soil, should not be given away. South Africa has discovered that it has the skill to process its raw materials itself. This convention that you have had was perhaps the greatest revelation that South Africa has yet had of how much management ability and skill we have here, enabling us to supply to the world when we create here what others need.

I have attempted in these few words to give my own impression as a layman — and very superficially no doubt — as to why South Africa at this exact moment can feel that it is equipped to enter the wider world in its competition for markets overseas. As I said, we have the raw materials entrusted to us. We also have large masses of people dependent upon us for their very existence. If we do not utilize the presence of these materials, particularly since it serves the object of giving these many people a livelihood which will make them happy and prosperous and live in peace with us, then we shall have failed in performing a duty entrusted to us. Everything has been placed at our disposal. Only the will and the initiative are expected from us.

When we have, however, come to the decision to proceed, one may ask: What are the principles on which South Africa must

base its ideals for further economic development, particularly in the export field? With regard to this I cannot tell you anything new. From the Press notices I gather that I have covered a few principles which you already stressed yourselves. I wish to repeat them, however, because by mentioning one after the other in close proximity, this might impress a little more upon all of us the principles on which we must seek to base further attempts. I wish to mention to you these fundamental principles as I wrote them down and as they appealed to me. The first is: South Africa cannot isolate her cost and price structure from that of the rest of the world if exports are to be increased. This means that the conservative policy followed so far of not erecting high tariff walls, but being satisfied with relatively low tariffs, must be continued. We must prevent unhealthy industrial development. Our protection policy is no doubt necessary, but should be kept within clear bounds. We must only protect those industries which we can develop to maturity and independence, but we must not create those which have no possibility of existence here, unless for special strategic reasons. Our engineers, our finances, our managerial possibilities are limited and we must inspan them where they can serve our country best. We also do not want inflationary conditions to be forced upon this country. We wish to develop all those possible industries which can compete properly, both with regard to the price and the quality of their products. After some time they must certainly stand on their own legs. On this we must base our chances of competing in the world outside. High productivity and efficiency must be our watchwords.

The second basic principle is: We must never damage our country's name and that of all its products by allowing low quality exports or any deviation from proper standards. I am ready to admit that everything we export cannot be top quality, and I am prepared to admit that just as others sometimes succeed in competing with us in spite of price deviations, we must be able to do the same. That, within certain limits, is unavoidable. Low quality articles and the seeking of markets out of sentiment, however, just do not come into the picture of an expanding export market. Therefore the maintenance of high standards does not only serve every single particular industry and help it in its own endeavour, but it is of the utmost importance to all the others. One black sheep can spoil our market for all our products to such an extent that we can hardly improve it again afterwards. This has already happened in the past for example with regard to a certain brand of tinned fish as you remember. We must never

damage the country's name. The interest of every single industrialist is the interest of all.

A third principle is: Even low prices and good quality do not guarantee a market. Competition for the export market is extremely keen and markets have to be captured. You have to fight for them — they will never fall into your lap. And for that reason every industry will demand personal initiative, great industriousness, and preparedness to work hard for the friendship of agents here and overseas for the products concerned. Every industrialist will need to exercise personal interest and charm. You will have to seek personal contacts. You will have to find out what the other man wants. Whether you think his tastes are odd or quaint, or however critically inclined you may be towards his ideas on the correct colouring of the packaging which appeals to his country or whatever demands might be made by the overseas buyers you will have to fight for your market by satisfying it. You will have to capture it by every means at your disposal.

That brings the following factor into the picture. As in all matters, knowledge in the export field gives power. Knowledge of what the other man wants, knowledge of what is best for his circumstances, knowledge of systems of marketing in other countries, are all utterly necessary for success. We, as a government, shall and must seek to aid in providing research facilities in all such matters. It is, however, not only the research work that the Government can promote which is of importance. Investigations by the practical man of industry, each in his particular line, also brings knowledge which cannot be gained by other means. Therefore information should be gathered through research and through personal contact, if one wishes to capture the markets which are so desirable for South Africa. Obtaining information is nonetheless only one aspect of this particular principle — the other is using the information. Alas, it is our experience as a government that we often spend fortunes on obtaining information which could be used by many people — agriculturists and others — and yet the use which is made of that information is often so limited. Therefore, I repeat, that one of the fundamental principles, if we wish to capture overseas markets, is to gain knowledge and not only to gain knowledge but to use it deliberately and well.

The next principle of importance, it seems to me, is this: Individual manufacturers or traders do not necessarily possess either the knowledge or the means to develop the potential export markets. Therefore, wherever industrialists cannot go forward on their own, they must be able and prepared to co-ordinate their

efforts. I noticed that in your discussions you have been planning for methods of co-ordinating such efforts. On this matter I shall have something to say a little later.

Another point I wish to stress is the following: Marketing in advanced countries must be our first goal. It is quite true that these advanced countries may not be those countries to which we are accustomed, mainly in Europe. We must in future look to the Americas and to the East as well as to Europe. But, as has so strongly been stressed by my colleague, the Minister of Economic Affairs, it is in the advanced countries that the buying power is the greatest and that the markets will be most accessible in spite of the fact that they are themselves even more highly industrialized than we are. Yet, there we shall find our immediate future.

By that I do not mean that less-developed countries or the under-developed countries are, and should remain, taboo to us — not for a single moment. It may be true that we are, at the present moment, to a certain extent out of favour with them. It is also true that the large countries which give financial support to these under-developed countries do so for their own economic as well as political reasons, and will therefore try to keep competitors out. It is also true that private initiative does not care to invest much of its funds in those countries. But all this does not mean that for ever and evermore South Africa will be barred from those markets. I am quite convinced in my own mind, that as time goes by and present feelings subside, the services which South Africa can render through its specialized knowledge of African conditions, and its proximity to African states, will prove more attractive than all the bad feelings which exist at present. For that reason I am firmly convinced that we should retain proper self-control. Exhibitions of hatred by such countries or their spokesmen should pass us by as the wise parent can ignore the temper-tantrums of a child. In the course of time, change must come. The change will come but not through any words of ours. We cannot change our policy since no party will be able to change it sufficiently to overcome the feelings of the Afro-Asian nations today. Only one fact will create a change in the attitude towards us. That is when it becomes generally known how South Africa develops in spite of all antagonism. It will be the deeds of progress here, the ever-remaining willingness to aid others, the cheapness of our articles, and the value that they will have for the development of those countries, which will bring investment and international trade. Our preparedness to share our know-how of

the particular conditions of Africa with African states — such factors, deeds — will ultimately change the attitudes with which we are faced today. Therefore, if we concentrate our export drive on those countries who are prepared to receive goods from us, and on those from whom we can buy whatever they produce, so that through reciprocity we can serve one another, we shall find that afterwards the rest will follow.

Another principle on which we must base our efforts is that there should be no concentration of exports on a small number of countries, because then we shall become overdependent on their economies. There are nations whose economies are being grouped together. Our dependence on one such group, or on a small number of single nations, must never be so over-emphasized that when something happens to them, either through ideological struggles which could more easily reach them than us; or for other reasons, South Africa will also be dragged down by them. This need not be so. It is a matter of not carrying all your eggs in one or two or three baskets. Now, in the new era in which we live, in South Africa, we must spread our activities over all the many and various economies and seek our opportunities throughout the world. Then the Republic will never feel left in the lurch when some country gets into trouble. This is a fundamental principle of major importance.

Then, finally, there is another principle which I wish to stress — and indeed with great emphasis. This is: However much we may talk about the importance of export markets, the very foundation of our industry must remain our internal markets. If we cannot produce the goods which our internal market needs and if we cannot produce them at the prices and provide the quality — by the very productiveness and efficiency of our undertakings — that our people need here, so that they prefer such articles to those from elsewhere, i.e. if we cannot sell our goods within our own country, what hope shall we have then of marketing these goods in other countries where on account of the competition and transport costs it is so much more difficult than here? Therefore, let us always realize that however important our export market may be, it must be based on a full use of the internal market in South Africa.

This brings me to the last few words I have to say. I wish once again, in conclusion, not only to express my appreciation for all that you have done so far, but also my admiration for what you have shown yourself to be capable of planning through these discussions. Not only is your capacity for taking a serious

view of these matters very gratifying, but also the extent to which you have shown yourself capable of assembling within a single hall the know-how of South Africa. Your conference has shown us all how much knowledge and experience we have in our midst which can be exploited to our mutual benefit. I do not think South Africa ever realized before quite what it can do in this field. All that is needed is that our industrial capacity must be properly organized, that plans must be properly co-ordinated and that the fullest initiative must be taken in the opportunities in the new directions which are opening up and on which we are embarking.

I have been informed that you have discussed the possibility of developing an export corporation and that this export corporation forms part of the line on which you are thinking towards organizing yourselves for our export future and for making greater strides than in the past. I understand too, that the functions and the methods by means of which such a corporation should operate, have not yet been fully gone into. Consequently I don't expect you — and I don't suppose you expect me — to comment on this. I should, however, like to give one assurance and that is: if any practical means are developed by private initiative — whether in the form of such a corporation or by means of something else — for the furtherance of our export drive, it will not only be viewed with the greatest interest by the Government, but will receive the support of the Government.

I hope that in your deliberations and in seeking practical means of improving on exports, you will make the utmost use of the technical departments at our disposal so that when a plan is developed it will be one which has the concurrence of all concerned and of all who must co-operate and that the Government can throw its weight behind it without any hesitation. You know the departments concerned. You have already asked, I understand, that our Department for Commerce and Economic Affairs be strengthened in certain directions. I have no doubt that you will find the Government sympathetic. But in order to co-operate we must see eye-to-eye on certain fundamentals. That should not be difficult to attain.

Secondly, I understand that you have given great attention to the fundamental fact that if we want to compete in the export of capital goods — which has so far not been a major portion of our exports — there will be need for medium and long-term financial arrangements. It is with great interest that I noticed that our financial institutions, who deserve our thanks for their

endeavours, are interested in developing a scheme to promote this very object. As a result of proper co-ordination with those institutions which can help best, we may find that our export of capital goods can increase considerably. Our cheap steel, our coal, water and power, are the basic commodities on which we can base that objective. The Government will give all the encouragement that it possibly can towards this development.

Thirdly, I have been informed that the main export on which we rely also suffers from a deficiency of short-term loans. I have been told that in this connection short-term credit is being arranged by certain organizations. You yourselves know to what extent the Government has already given support to that. Indeed, I wish to emphasize that wherever trade and industry find problems in which it needs Government assistance its approaches always receive most sympathetic treatment. I do not say that we can or do accede to all your requests or demands. If we did that, I know that they would immediately increase fourfold! But I do say so that you can know and should know that we look upon economic policy and economic development as the mainspring of our policy for the future. Much which we politicians felt had to be done in the constitutional field, in connection with Native policy and in other directions, has now been completed or is becoming routine. Fundamentally, just as in most other countries economic policies and economic development have become the most important government tasks. It is for that reason that I too, although Prime Minister, have had to give more attention to providing the ministers mainly concerned with Economic Affairs with the necessary support, and that within my own department an advisory body had to be developed to make it possible for me to co-ordinate such endeavours. We have shown how strongly the Government believes that in the South Africa of the future it will be necessary to pay great attention to all matters concerning economic affairs.

We must go forward together — all of us — prepared even though our industry has been described as only infant industry, to meet the world. We shall compete ever more in the export markets of the world and we hope to show that in spite of our country's youth, we are full of that strength and that courage and that belief which will make it possible for us to serve South Africa better than ever before in this field — our South Africa — yours and mine.

**Radio Message on the Occasion of the First
Anniversary of the Republic,
May 30, 1962**

A year has passed, the first birthday of the Republic of South Africa will, however, not be celebrated with great festivity since it happens to fall on a day consecrated to the memory of an event of major import to all Christendom. Nevertheless, it behoves us all to abide a while in grateful meditation on the eve of the anniversary of this historic occasion.

Thankfulness for all that has been apportioned to us rather than pride of achievement or exultation over others will be the keynote of this message. Indeed, the first year of the Republic has become the bearer of the first fruits of a new era full of promise.

The economic outlook is becoming brighter by the day. Expectations of growing prosperity for all inhabitants may be confidently voiced without any fear that this could be regarded as pure bluff or empty propaganda. From a low ebb the national reserves have risen to high tide, and the upward trend even now shows no sign of halting. New confidence, revitalized initiative, the spirit of adventure, and a wealth of ideas and plans for the future development are all happy auguries of boom-time to come. The days of doubt and uncertainty as to which the coming of the Republic could bring are gone for good. The pessimists are disappearing. Material prospects and a correct psychological approach bode well for the future. The republican ship has set sail for the haven of prosperity.

Human relations too have taken a most satisfactory turn. The two language groups are well on the way to forming one united nation. Bitterness over historical and constitutional issues is becoming outdated. The ground has fallen away with the coming of the Republic and the growth of common interests. There are dangers which face this young state and its people, but in facing them together strength through unity is being achieved. Both hardship and hope are welding the component parts of this new nation together now it must stand on its own feet. The latest constitutional development is fulfilling the prophecies of those

who believed that thus alone would the past bury its dead and the new generations find their own soul. And, after all, only one year has passed!

The determination to survive as a White nation in this country of Africa, wrested from barren desolation by forefathers centuries ago, has become absolute. Without demur the mobilization of its manpower and resources in defence of all that is held dear is proceeding apace. Never before has such unity of purpose in the service of the country's defence inspired us all. This too holds great promise for the future, both materially and spiritually.

The young Republic had to face its problems with great courage. It did not attempt to evade them, even those which it had to face alone. Particularly in the sphere of race relations it had a lone furrow to plough. Nowhere else in the world do people of various races and colours live in quite the same set of circumstances as they do in South Africa. Therefore the world at large could not understand or provide a solution. Come what may, this young Republic must find its own way out of the difficulties, so that White and Black and Coloured can each survive, become prosperous and be happy. The challenge is there. The task will be fulfilled.

South Africa could not, however, concentrate all her energy and thought during the past year — the first of the republican era — on her domestic affairs. She had to play her part on the international scene. This she did with great credit and success despite the harsh and unreasonable attacks to which she was almost continuously subjected. In the diplomatic field her interests have been carefully guarded. It can justly be claimed that tensions have eased, and the atmosphere has become clearer. With great satisfaction it can be stated that whatever attitude governments may have found necessary to adopt, much sympathy for South Africa's dilemmas has consistently been demonstrated throughout by the man in the street of many nations, all over the earth. Here too, the prospect is becoming still brighter.

I began by saying that this message should be one expressing a nation's thankfulness for all that it could achieve and with which it was blessed during a difficult foundation year. It has also become a message of hope for the future. True, most remains to be done. But a sure foundation has been laid on which we can build the aspirations in many fields and the progress of our Republic. Particularly the youth of our country, who have the greater stake in its future, should endeavour to serve their country with all their great gifts of heart and mind. It is not only for

their country's good, but for the creation of their own future that they must join hands. The future of their country is their own future.

One can only create out of love. Hate destroys. I pray that this mutual love among the members of this growing nation, and loyalty to their country, may be characteristic of our sons and daughters in greater measure than it has been of us and of those who went before.

The Republic of South Africa can become really great in a few decades. This inaugural year does hold out the promise of such greatness to come. May we and our children who live today prove strong and wise enough to fulfil that destiny.

New Year Message to the People of South Africa on December 31, 1962

Very few South Africans are not approaching the coming year with greater confidence than they found possible at the beginning of 1962 or 1961. In fact, there is a spirit of real optimism abroad. This may seem amazing when some of the attacks on the Republic are recalled, or if some U.N. decisions are taken into account. South Africa has, however, learnt to take such attacks from whence they come and, together with most well-established and stable countries, not to take the U.N. too seriously.

It may be regrettable that the U.N. no longer embodies the hopes of mankind. Everyone must face the fact, however, that since juvenile nations practically took charge by determining the majority vote, the U.N. commands little respect. It is now a platform for their display of immature aggressiveness and their inferiority complexes; for their eagerness to interfere in the domestic affairs of others — perhaps because their own are badly administered — and for slapping the great powers in the face, while collecting from them every possible kind of favour, still made available for a variety of reasons.

The U.N. has failed its purpose. It solves no problems; guarantees no peace or protection against genuine aggression; is financially weak; and has involved itself in futilities whenever it acts. The grand adventure of the nations has become a sordid scramble for the microphone — the new toy of the exhibitionist and the agitator.

South Africans, South West Africans and their friends have not been intimidated. Instead, they have turned wholeheartedly to the task of building their own nation, their country's prosperity and a spirit of good-neighbourliness with the non-European groups entrusted to their care. Therefore they are not only optimistic with regard to their own future but are also optimists in their appraisal of what can be done for the prosperity and self-determination of various racial groups in their midst.

There are, however, more positive reasons for the general optimism than this tendency to ignore external threats.

Nature has been kind to us. With the exception of very few areas, the outlook for our very fundamental farming industry is bright. True, the drought has brought tremendous setbacks and great losses have been sustained, but when the rains came the inborn optimism of our farming population triumphed once more. Certain marketing problems remain while others have been overcome, and those arising from Common Market problems seem less incapable of being handled than was once feared. Farming will have its ups and downs, caused by nature and by man; but by and large there is quiet confidence and the will to build anew.

In the industrial field there is more than confidence. An enthusiasm for new developments in many fields has been aroused. The future that the Republic holds for industry has gripped the imagination, not only of South African entrepreneurs but also of others overseas. New ventures have been both started and planned; expansion of existing ones are the order of the day. Five-year and ten-year plans are characteristic of the great key industries initiated by the State.

The climate is right and the prophets of doom dare not raise their voices as loudly as before. There are still those who only reluctantly see the light. They prefer to cloud the issue by holding out greater expectations or a quicker pace. Then they proceed to criticize what is being done by comparison with such impossible standards. All who realize, however, that really worthwhile undertakings need months, and in some cases a few years of planning, blue-printing and building before operations can commence, know that the upward turn in the economy which began more than a year ago, can only begin to bear fruit in the year which lies ahead. Thereafter a snowballing effect may follow.

In all this commerce will take its turn. The retail trade has already felt the effects for the better. The effects of drought and the plight of the farmers which sometimes can show quite disastrous repercussions in the commercial field, have been smoothed over. Now that is past, more visible advances may be expected. Despite threats of sanctions — mainly by those whose contact with the economy of the Republic counts for little — greater exploitation of the export trade is envisaged. In the international economic field South Africa has an increasing part to play, and it is clearing the decks in anticipation of the task at hand.

Our mining industry, and particularly the gold mining industry, continues to break records. It remains fundamental in providing the funds and commodities so necessary for our prosperity. By looking far ahead and always searching for new opportunities it

retains the pioneering spirit in developing our country's resources.

The growth of the country's reserves and the resiliency of its economy, the lack of serious balance of payments problems, are now too well known to need stressing.

Apart from such a favourable analysis of an economic situation which would create optimism in any country, there are other experiences which make any other attitude of mind impossible. There is the continual experience of the friendliness of individuals and peoples from many countries. One cannot remain impressed by the pessimist's admonition that South Africa is the most hated country just because governments and politicians for their own political purposes strike attitudes in public which seem to be inimical to South Africa. This is certainly unpleasant and basically unjust, but must not be allowed to obscure the many spheres of common interest and the broadly based goodwill. Visitors of note and insight to South Africa's shores rarely leave without expressing their belief in South Africa's great future and delighting in the thought of it.

There is great hope too in the internal relations between the various sections of our population. Becoming a republic and leaving the Commonwealth have not fulfilled the dire prophecies of the pessimists, and all that they can do now is to attempt to create the impression that members of our two language groups are drifting further and further apart. In my experience — and this is very wide — the opposite is true. No wonder that immigrants of various countries, and particularly Great Britain, are happy to come to South Africa knowing that they will be welcomed and must become citizens of this new republic outside the Commonwealth if they make it their home and that of their children.

Also in the field of relations between Black and White in South Africa I confidently give the lie to those who deny improvement. They allow the voluble protestations and the admittedly ugly demonstrations of the few to colour their beliefs. I prefer to take the attitude and the actions of the great masses as the test of human relations. There is no doubt whatsoever that the planning for Bantu development, including the proof provided by the Transkei plan that is not mere theory, has formed the basis for better understanding and hopes for the future.

Similarly our Coloured people recognize increasingly that the planning for their future holds great promise for them. It is hoped that the Indian population will follow suit soon, of which there are already most promising signs.

Can optimism be founded on better grounds? Economically, socially and politically speaking, there are clear plans and policies which are increasingly bearing fruit in important spheres of human activity.

Let us then face the future together in this spirit which pervades the country. If we should ever have to fight for our existence and our country, let no man and no country doubt that we shall do so, for this is ours, our heritage, with which all our hopes and ambitions are deeply bound, and in which we, under the guidance of the Almighty, shall solve all the problems in our own way for the benefit and happiness of all.

**Speech on the Occasion of the First Quinquennial
Celebration of the Republic of South Africa at
Monument Hill, Pretoria, on May
31, 1966**

Dear countrymen and fellow citizens,

The light of the sun of freedom was extinguished years ago, but not forever. In this Republic of South Africa we are once again abiding in the full strength of its light, in the warmth which it spreads; we are a free, happy and prosperous nation.

We shall not have the privilege of gathering in this wonderful place every five years. Every fifth year we shall, however, celebrate the birth of the Republic. We shall do it because as a nation it binds us closer together in the unity we want, the unity which we must have in the face of the attacks surrounding us. But every fifth year we shall have the main celebrations in another part of the country. You are thus again tonight attending a unique event which the next generation will live to see here in perhaps twenty or twenty-five years' time.

Where we are tonight so united in spirit and in our numbers, I want to point out to you the strength of an ideal, the strength of the human mind which precedes the deed. A nation without bearings, that does not know whither it wants to go, will not get anywhere; similarly so with a human being in his personal life. It is the choice of an ideal, an aim set clearly, which leads to victory in the end. And it is since the day that we, as a nation, set the Republic as an ideal, that we have been inspired with strength and progressed day after day in all spheres of life. The power of inspiration of the Republican ideal was not limited to the achievement of political freedom. On the contrary, it was the inspiration of all our deeds, it was the inspiration of our growth as a nation. It led to our unity, it led to our economic prosperity, and it was based on our faith in God. We placed our future in His hands and received the gift from His hands five years ago. My friends, the strength of an ideal is inexhaustible and it will inspire us still further onwards, but when we consider it we must glance back and think of those who laid the foundations.

Now I want to put you a question, and in order to prevent it from being too much confused by the emotions of our time, I want to put it as follows: If in future years one looks back on the history of the last sixty years, what will one see? My answer is quite clear that this observer of the past will see a heroic nation; a nation which could lift itself up out of defeat and rise to victory; a nation which did not remain defeated but which in spite of all the human weaknesses which it inherited like other nations, could yet rise out of its defeat and grow to greatness in all spheres of life. Greatness only exists when you can use your defeat as the foundation on which to build a future.

When the past is surveyed not only a heroic nation will be seen, but also how a clear future was unravelled out of an apparently inextricable crow's nest. The two great streams of the history of the first sixty years of this century will be seen as two opposite streams; one which sought independence but an independence enclosed in a greater whole; a pursuit of an independent South Africa as part, firstly of the British Empire, and later of a Commonwealth. Independence, but within limits; the desire of a share in a greater unity.

Beside that was the second stream; that of a nation which wanted to become independent, altogether free of all ties, but at the same time on friendly terms with those to whom it was tied before. It was the stream of the birth of a nation; the stream of a republican form of freedom. On looking back one will see that the two clear, separate, even opposing streams, are symbolized by two groups of men. On the one side Generals Botha and Smuts and on the other side General Hertzog, Dr. Malan and Advocate Strijdom. Those who represented the first course, who also inspired to a form of unity for the nation, sought it in the rise of that unity into the greater entity; in accepting the fact that the weaker and smaller would find its salvation in what appeared to be an everlasting world power. On the other hand, in the second stream, there was also an aspiration to national unity, but a unity of the people alone, of those who belong together; those who are loyal to each other, loyal to their country and nation and after that loyal to everybody outside.

On looking back, the first road will be seen as the *cul-de-sac* and the second as the road which led to fulfilment — the republican road. But let me state clearly now that history will judge that the courses and events which were included in that first political trend — although the road led to a dead-end — were linked up with the main road. It was the smaller stream, the stream

which also helped to frame the Union; a stream which originally included the idea of separating the races; a stream which within limits also sought independence. That stream, as a tributary, flowed into the main stream and helped to fill and give it capacity. In that sense I can acknowledge the contribution of that stream, with which I personally never could identify myself, to the events which are taking place today: as a tributary which flowed into the main stream and in the fullness of time helped to make possible the greatness and magnitude which we are experiencing today.

But my actual tribute must be paid to the main stream and its leaders; the leaders and the followers, the leaders and the nation. General Hertzog who started it; laid the foundation of the Republican ideal with his point of view, his aims and his endeavours. Although he later felt satisfied with the length of the road on which he was able to walk, he will remain — when in the future a survey is made of the past — the great and powerful architect of what has been achieved. After him came Dr. Malan, the prolonged leader of the republican aim and idea. In the Cape where the republican ideal was not so obvious as in the northern provinces, it was he who clinched the ideal so that when the time came we could stand side by side and make sure that what had to come, did come. Cautiously and calmly, according to his nature, he moved onwards. And then again at the right time that which was also necessary, was added — the ardour and the driving force of Advocate Strijdom, the fighting prophet who had to work to overcome obstacles, who had to work to so engrave this ideal on the heart of the nation that it could remain there indelibly; that it could not disappear but had to come to fulfilment.

My friends, we have much to thank these leaders for, but together with them we have undeniably much for which we have to thank the followers, who stood behind them right through the past six decades and were prepared to carry this burden until the day of fulfilment. The time of preparation lasted for sixty years, six decades. And then, like a flash of lightning, the Republic was there within two years! The preparation took a long time, essential details were settled, inspiration was given; but the right time had to come and when it came the nation and its leaders had to seize the hand immediately which history offered them. And it is the fame of this generation, we who are sitting together here tonight celebrating, because we did not fail; because we were ready at the right moment, ready at heart, united in our decision and courage to attempt the future.

I said that in the future we would be judged as a heroic nation.

We proved that in those days, in those two years of decision. In the five years of the Republic's existence, we have proved that we can continue working onwards, but it was especially in those fateful months that we had to be prepared to act and did act!

Now I want to give expression to the often unexpressed longing of our people, that writers and poets may come into existence who can and will sing the praises of their own generation such as those of other nations in their hour of wonder. Oh, if it could also be granted to us as it was granted in the past to great nations in their hour of fame that those would come forward who do not ask hesitatingly, "what is a nation", but who will cry out: "*This is my nation, my nation is like this, thus it can do wonders, thus it can create its own future*". The writer and poet who can sing the praises of what is happening now will be quoted as long as the people of the Republic of South Africa remain. If out of our midst someone would come forward to sing the praises of the life of a nation, without hesitating to pay homage to patriotism, love of country, without following modern patterns which are the fashion elsewhere with nations who are already old, someone who in accordance with the fixed pattern of paying homage to his own people, could push aside what is carnal and ugly and see the spiritual, the beauty and the greatness in modern history and sing their praises! If only we could find such writers and poets of our time, how rich would we not feel? How rich would our people of the future be if they were told by such interpreters how the heart of the nation feels today — five years after this miraculous event, this great milestone in the history of our people.

My friends, the Republic was once the one-sided ideal of many, but it has become the fulfilment for most. I dare say with great assurance that through these eventful five years many who were not prepared for this constitutional development in 1961, are now happy that it actually did come to pass. We have learned much in these five years. We have learned that we are, even if young, a nation in South Africa; that we all belong to that nation, that with pride we may say: this is our country, the country of all of us. Five years is an extremely short time for so strong a feeling to grow after the differences we had before. The amazing fact of life today is not that there are some who cannot yet accommodate themselves to this new era, but that so many can.

To the few who cannot yet accept this Republic as the best for South Africa and their own, there is so little to look back to, to hanker for. After all, in the past there was the link with the Commonwealth, which could be looked upon as a club of kindred

spirits. It has become quite different, a conglomeration of nations, who do not understand one another in most respects. What is there to desire in that context? Let all who still cannot find it in their hearts to be wholly at one with us, realize this one fact of today's history, and align themselves in future, whatever political objectives they may have, with us all as one nation, loving one country, prepared to defend her with all that we have.

There may be another group for whom I have no appeal and no comfort: those who would only accept the Republic if it were a multi-racial or even a Black or a "majority" Republic, as they would call it. To-night I am not dealing with the wreckers, but with the builders. Those few who cannot see South Africa as it has grown and with all the grand ideals it also has for the others entrusted to its care, but seek to change all this into something wholly new, which would bring us to disaster and chaos as elsewhere in Africa — for them I have no word to say and with them I have no patience.

Let those of us who wish to be builders — and they are nearly the whole of this South African nation — for those of us who wish to be the builders let us continue to face the future with confidence and with hope. Let us be assured of success in the face of difficulties which we know are there. Briefly I wish to answer the question: What then is this Republic of ours, the Republic of the builders of this new nation? I can say at the outset that this Republic is part of the White man's domain in the world. When viewed in terms of space, the White man's domain in this world is fairly small: a tip of the great Asian-European Continent, Australia, New Zealand, great parts of the Americas, and this tip of the Continent of Africa which is the anchor too of Western civilization. The White man and all that he has created for humanity through the past ages, is of incalculable importance for civilization and for history, and not only for history that has passed. He, and the spirit with which he is endowed, the characteristics which led him to this day and will in the future provide his inspiration, will always be needed where order and peace and progress are desired.

But, while we see this Republic as part of the White man's domain, we are not unresponsive to the ideals of others. We see Africa, for example, as it is, a continent of many nations, each with its own degree of development, each with the form of government acceptable to itself, each with its own pace of progress — a continent of many nations, Black nations, and in the southern portion, White. If the world could only realize that this continent

is no different from Europe with its many states and nations, and from Asia with its many states and nations! If it only could realize that in this Africa to which we belong, the differences are there and will remain there and must lead to the existence and co-existence of many widely different peoples and states. If only they could realize this, what great opportunities for better co-operation and better solution for all our problems we would then find! We are not insensitive to the ambitions of others. On the contrary we, who as a nation had to fight for what we have and who have achieved this freedom, cannot but understand similar ambitions in the breasts of others. Those who believe in their own nation and its separate existence are best capable of understanding the desires of others to achieve the same.

We understand the nationalism of each of the separate states of Africa. We understand the similar ambitions of the various nations and national groups at present within our own boundaries. And because of our own experience, we not only understand their ambitions, but would also wish to help lead them to fulfilment in the right way so that it can be an achievement not only for the selected few, a dictator or two, but for the masses, for their progress and their happiness.

This is a White republic, ruled by the White man, part of the White domain of the world, but with full understanding for the ambitions and the objectives of the Black man of Africa within our own midst, our closest neighbours and those farther afield.

But this Republic is also a Republic of goodwill and friendship. We desire the well-being of all. We have no ambitions, in spite of what some say, to exploit others. Our nearest neighbours, the High Commission Territories, need have no fear. Those further away — states like Zambia, Malawi, many others farther north — need be neither jealous nor filled with fear that we have any intentions of attacking or exploiting them. The one principle we have laid down for ourselves is that we desire nobody to interfere with us, and that precept by which we wish to live, we intend to apply to others. We will not interfere in the development of Basutoland or Swaziland or Bechuanaland or Malawi or any other state of Africa. We offer goodwill, but we expect to receive goodwill in return. We will not interfere, but we will not be interfered with. And so this Republic is a Republic which is prepared to aid all those who need us but, since our hand of friendship has been struck aside so often, the initiative to obtain aid rests with those who need it. They must ask and we can give. We can give of our knowledge, that knowledge grown from the earth of

Africa itself. We can give of our prosperity, plucked from the hard earth of Africa. All that we possess we worked for. We are not prepared to provide handouts to buy friendship, but are prepared to aid those who wish to work for themselves, who can keep their eyes off the possessions of others, who can keep their hands to the plough rather than outspread like beggars. We wish to help the process of self-development because no respect and no continued independence can be achieved without working hard and developing your own country yourself.

To the outside world we must also say that when the morality of our Republic is called in question, when it is said that we are not prepared to accept equality or assimilation with all who are in our midst, to them we must say that morality does not exist on the principle in which they believe, which they have experienced alone. Nations, various kinds of people who live close together, can solve that problem so easily called multi-racialism when there is a multi-national existence. I question the morality of forced assimilation or absorption of peoples.

It might be the way for some of the mighty nations of the world; it can be true that in the United States of America, its huge majority of White people can assimilate, in the course of time, the non-Whites in their midst. If that is their policy, if that is their way of life, who are we to question it? It is their problem, it is their country, those are their peoples and it is their future which they must seek themselves in their own way. Perhaps that may be the best solution there and in the United Kingdom, which has created a similar problem for itself, it may also be the right way to absorb and to assimilate, but is it the right way for a country like the Republic of South Africa? If we were to apply that principle of assimilation as if it were the only moral solution for our problems, what would happen to the White man whose heritage this South Africa is, settled by his forefathers, built by them throughout three centuries and more, a home for its people, drenched with their sweat and the blood of these three centuries? Must the White population be assimilated and lost; must all that they possess and have gained be lost? Would this be right for them? Would this be right for the Coloured and the Indian minorities who would also have to be absorbed in spite of their differences, their own ambitions, partially their own religions? Must they be assimilated and lost? And for the Bantu, would it be right for them to become the dominating group, but in the course of that process to lose their various national identities and perhaps languages and customs and to suffer by being unable, as we know

is the case, to direct and run and develop the degree of Western civilization this country has reached in the form of industrialization and more? Would this be right to their masses? The few who might attain power, may be satisfactory and may be wasters for all we know. The masses would become to a great extent unemployed and the land desolated, as we have seen elsewhere in Africa. Would it be just to them? Would it be moral to create the semblance of freedom, but in fact allow living conditions of slavery?

True morality seeks another solution and that is the solution which this Republic is attempting today. It is the solution of doing right to all in the same way, by following the way that the nations of other continents have sought, namely of each going his separate road. To that we wish to add that we judge it our duty to help those, still far behind in civilization, along the road which for them will be long and difficult. We, the Republic of South Africa, would wish the major nations to have sufficient confidence in our honesty of purpose; in our deep desire to retain for ourselves what is justly ours, but to give to others even more than is justly theirs.

This is a Republic of peace. We seek peace, co-operation and friendship; we seek peace within our own country, and it is there. The extent of the co-operation from the various non-White groups has again come to the fore during these celebrations because they know what we wish for them.

We seek peace with our neighbours. If we are invited to the Day of Independence of Bechuanaland or Basutoland or whichever territory might wish our presence, we will be there. We seek peace and friendship with the great nations of the world. We will, however, not sacrifice this Republic and its independence and our way of life. If we are forced to by aggression, we will defend it with all that we have at our disposal. We will bring to the altar our lives, our wealth and all our possessions. This Republic is not simply to be taken away from this new nation which has come so far and is so proud of what it does possess.

We offer to our immediate neighbours co-operation and goodwill. We do not wish to exploit their interests in the form of any type of economic colonialism. We would rather see them develop on their own and in full control of what is theirs, and must remain theirs in our view, just as what is ours must remain ours according to the same policy. We offer to all the other states the same goodwill and the same co-operation. We offer to the Western nations, big and small, that friendship which we believe should accompany the kinship which we feel with all of them. If this

hand of friendship is not welcome, it is not the fault of this Republic, which is built on the high values, the high moral values, which Western Civilization has created through centuries and centuries of endeavour.

And now my friends, what about the future? It is easy to foretell the future in the material field. Economic development can be vast. The conditions are there; the raw materials exist, the people are there. Concerning this I have no doubt. I do not want to elaborate on that tonight. I have equally little doubt about the solution of our racial problems, if given the time. If meddling people keep their hands off us, we shall in a just way, such as behoves a Christian nation, work out solutions in the finest detail and carry them out. We shall provide all our races with happiness and prosperity.

The problem of the future, however, lies in the international field, because it is not in our hands. We have a road on which we have to walk ourselves. If we can make the nations of the world understand that we are honest and sensible in our aims, then here also I have no doubt. If, however, they should want to sacrifice us and break us down because of their own selfishness in order to get support for their own purposes — not in fairness or with any moral considerations but as the victim of their ambition — then the future for us in the international field would be dark. But I cannot believe it. I cannot believe that in the end the common sense of the human race will not triumph over self-interest. Therefore, I hope that our voices, wherein we bear witness to our good intentions towards all states and people, will extend to all the world so that it will come to its senses and protect us from international pressure and attack.

If that should be the case then a golden age lies in store for South Africa, this Republic. Then we may ask the question: What do we intend making of that golden age? Only strong legs are able to carry a heavy burden. Are our legs as a nation strong? Shall we be able to build up great spiritual values out of our prosperity if we are safeguarded against attack and adversity? Shall we become contributors to art and science? Shall we keep our faith or shall we become spineless like some other nations in their prosperity? This depends on the character of our people.

If we as parents and educators use correctly the opportunity which we have, then we can build a great and mighty nation out of this young one. We will: that is my hope and my belief. I believe in our nation. I believe in our inner strength. There have been weaknesses of discord, and others — so often pushed to the

fore — which are perhaps still there. But in spite of that we have grown, built, developed and conquered. Why will those characteristics not stay with us and lead us to further growth and victories? I believe that we will do it, and therefore I have an unshakeable faith in the future of our nation.

This Republic did not come into being easily or quickly. Anything built in a hurry is easily broken down. New states that are continually disintegrating have come into being. Anything that grows slowly is not destroyed easily. Our Republic has grown slowly; there were sixty years of preparation and now there have been five years of building up. Signs exist which show that the work can be continued in this way. Our slowly developing state has developed an inner strength; but more still, our state is built on self-sacrifice. The blood of brave men and women has drenched our earth. Those sacrifices burn in the life of a nation like a fire, a fire which is never quenched. Whenever difficulties arise the flame flares again, although it may burn low in the times between.

The fire that steels the hearts of people, will make us stand our ground. We shall continue to dedicate ourselves wholeheartedly to our people and our fatherland. The Republic of South Africa has all our devotion, whether it be in times of fame or grief, in difficult or prosperous times. We dedicate our strength and our lives to *this* Republic of South Africa.

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